

COURSE GUIDE

GST 202 FUNDAMENTALS OF PEACE STUDIES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Course Team Oyedolapo Babatunde Durojaye, Abiodun
Joseph Oluwadare & Mathias E
Jarikre. (Course Developers/Writers)-NOUN
Prof. Anifowose Remi (Course Editor)



NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

National Open University of Nigeria

Headquarters

University Village,
Plot 91, Cadastral Zone,
Nnamdi Azikiwe Expressway,
Jabi, Abuja

Lagos Office

14/16 Ahmadu Bello Way,
Victoria Island, Lagos

e-mail: centralinfo@noun.edu.ng

website: www.nouedu.net

Printed by
NOUN Press

Printed 2013, 2015

Reprinted 2017

ISBN: 978-058-099-9

All Rights Reserved

CONTENTS	PAGES
Introduction.....	iv
What You will Learn in this Course.....	iv
Course Aim.....	v
Course Objectives.....	v
Working through this Course.....	vi
Course Materials.....	vi
Study Units.....	vi
Textbooks and References.....	vii
Assignment File.....	viii
Presentation Schedule.....	viii
Tutor-Marked Assignment.....	ix
Final Examination and Grading.....	ix
Course Marking Scheme.....	ix
How to Get the Most from this Course.....	xi
Facilitation/Tutors and Tutorials.....	xii
Summary.....	xiii

INTRODUCTION

GST202 Fundamentals of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution is a two-credit unit course. It is a compulsory course for all undergraduate students of the National Open University of Nigeria. The course is recommended for other student(s), who may be interested in the study of peace studies and conflict resolution.

This course consists of three modules made up of fifteen units, which include the meaning of conflict and the conceptual definition of conflict resolution from the perspective of the United Nations. Other areas of discourse are themes, theories, issues, challenges, tools and techniques of peace studies and conflict resolution.

This course draws its major case studies from the global arena and continent of Africa with particular reference to Nigeria with the aim of equipping you with the desired skills and knowledge of developing viable analytical mind and conceptual framework for addressing the conflict problems in Nigeria and elsewhere.

This Course Guide informs you on what this course is all about, what you should appreciate in each unit, what text materials you shall be using and how you can make the best use of these materials. This Course Guide also discerns the need for taking tutor-marked assignments seriously. However, necessary information on tutor-marked assignments shall be made known in a separate file, which will be sent to you. This course is also supported by periodic tutorial classes.

WHAT YOU WILL LEARN IN THIS COURSE

The overall aim of **GST202 Fundamentals of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution** is to introduce you to the interrelationship between conflict, peace, and conflict resolution, and prominent areas of inquiry and issues in the discourse of peace and conflict resolution. Your understanding of this fundamentals will enable you to explain some basic concepts in the study of conflicts.

In fact, the course will also expose you to relevant issues in conflict resolution at the local, national and international levels. **GST202** is an interesting course, which can stimulate your understanding of how values, resources, psychological needs and information management can cause conflict the world over.

Therefore, this course is so significant as it shows how conflict resolution can bring about enduring peace among opposing people of a state. It can also engender a systemic approach to resolving conflict at

the latent stage. In the quest to address culture of violence and war, a lot of individual and institutional (both lateral and multilateral) initiatives have been adopted to promote social networks, that can guarantee peaceful co-existence.

However, efforts to engendering peace are very important because it is only under a peaceful atmosphere that sustainable development can take place in any society. There is also the need to promote peace-generating values among state and non-state actors. This can be achieved through peace education, proper practice of democracy, respect for fundamental human rights, and poverty alleviation among others, to remove the culture of violence in the behaviour of state and non-state actors. Conflict resolution demands that parties should resolve their conflicts through non-violent and peaceful ways for effective conflict transformation.

COURSE AIM

The aim of this course is to enable you understand the fundamental issues and requirements for foundational principles of peace studies and conflict resolution. To attain this, you will be introduced to the:

- general background and basis of the fundamental of peace studies and conflict resolution
- meaning, trend and trajectories of peace studies and conflict resolution
- nature of conflict and processes of conflict resolution
- benefits of peace education and global trends in peace studies and conflict resolution
- importance of social conflict and conflict management, transformation and resolution.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

This course is designed to equip you with basic understanding of the fundamental issues in peace studies and conflict resolution. As indicated above, it is pertinent that you acquire basic principles at the general studies level in peace studies and conflict resolution. Each unit has its specific objectives. The unit objectives can be found at the beginning of each unit. You should always look at the unit objectives after completing a unit to ascertain whether you have covered the unit requirement.

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

- define and explain the meaning and nature of conflict
- discuss the causes and types of conflicts

- discuss issues on conflict analysis, management, resolution and transformation
- explain the processes of conflict resolution – mediation, negotiation, arbitration, litigation, conciliation and so on
- give detailed explanation of peace education
- examine the role of communication and language in conflicts
- explain the importance of the rules of conflict intervention
- determine the latent stage of conflict and possible responses
- discuss and be familiar with global issues and peace-building.

WORKING THROUGH THIS COURSE

On the completion of this course, you are required to study the whole units, and try to read all (or substantial number of) the recommended textbooks, journals and other reading materials including electronic resources. Each unit contains self-assessment exercise(s) and you are required to submit your assignment for the purpose of assessment.

At the end of the course, there will be a final examination . The time of the final examination and venue shall be communicated to you through your study centre. Below are the components of the course and what you are required to do.

COURSE MATERIALS

Major components of this course include:

1. Course Guide
2. Study Units
3. Textbooks/References
4. Assignments File
5. Presentation Schedule

It is incumbent upon you to get your copy of the course material. You are also advised to contact your tutorial facilitator, if you have any difficulty in getting any of the text materials recommended for your further reading.

STUDY UNITS

In this course, there are four modules. The first module is the introduction and general background of peace studies and conflict resolution. The second examines dynamics of conflict while the third looks at forceful/peaceful processes of conflict resolution. The fourth module presents practical trends in global issues.

There are three modules in this course; each module contains five units. They are as listed below.

Module 1 Basic Understanding of Conflict

- Unit 1 Definition Causes and Types of Conflict
- Unit 2 Conflict Theories
- Unit 3 Phases in Conflict
- Unit 4 Conflict Analysis
- Unit 5 Conflict Transformation

Module 2 Dynamics of Conflict

- Unit 1 Relationship between Perception and Conflict
- Unit 2 Language Barriers in Conflict and Resolution
- Unit 3 Early Warning and Early Response Mechanism
- Unit 4 Arms Control and Demilitarisation
- Unit 5 Peace and Education

Module 3 Trends in Global Issues

- Unit 1 International, Continental and Regional Organisations in the Pursuance of World Peace
- Unit 2 Peaceful Methods of Conflict Resolution I
- Unit 3 Peaceful Methods of Conflict Resolution II
- Unit 4 Coercive Means of Conflict Resolution
- Unit 5 Gender Issues and Humanitarian Intervention

TEXTBOOKS/REFERENCES

Best, S.G. (2006). *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa* (ed.). Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.

Otite, O. & Albert, I.O. (1999). *Community Conflict in Nigeria: Management Resolution and Transformation* (ed.). Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.

Albert, I.O. (2002). *Introduction to Third-Party Intervention in Community Conflicts*. Ibadan: John Archers Publisher Limited.

Schimid, A.P. (2000). *Thesaurus and Glossary of Early Warning Conflict Prevention Terms*. Forum on Early Warning and Early Response.

Goldberg, S. *etal.* (1992). *Dispute Resolution; Negotiation, Mediation and Other Processes*. Little, Brown and Co.

Deutsch, M.A. (1973). *The Resolution of Conflict*. New Haven: ConnYale.

Lederach, J. P.(1996). *Preparing for Peace; Conflict Transformation Across Culture*. Syracuse: N.Y. Syracuse University Press.

Pirouet, M. L.(1995).“The Effects of Conflict Human Rights and Refugees.”In Oliver Furley (Ed.). *Conflict in Africa*, Tannis Academic Studies, PublishersInc.

Mansson, K.(2005).“Integrating Human Rights in United Nations Peace Building Activities; Developing Gender Justice Best Practices” in *Gender Justice in Post Conflict Countries in East, Central and Southern Africa*. Advocacy Magazine, Centre for Human Rights, University of Pretoria UNIFEM.

ASSIGNMENT FILE

In this file, you will find the necessary details of the assignments you must submit to your tutor for assessment. The marks you get from these assignments will form part of your final assessment in this course.

PRESENTATION SCHEDULE

The presentation schedule included in your course materials gives you the important dates for the completion of tutor-marked assignments and attending tutorials. Remember, you are required to submit all your assignments by the due date. You should guard against falling behind in your work.

ASSESSMENT

There are two aspects to the assessment of the course. First are the tutor-marked assignments; second, there is a written examination. In tackling the assignments, you are expected to apply information and knowledge acquired during this course.

The assignments must be submitted to your tutor for assessment in accordance with the deadlines stated in the assignment file. The work you submit to your tutor for assessment will count for 30 per cent of your total course mark. At the end of the course, you will need to sit for a final three-hour examination. This will also count for 70 per cent of your total course mark.

TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

There are twenty tutor-marked assignments in this course. You need to submit four assignments out of which the best three will be used for your assessment. These three assignments shall be 30 per cent of your total course mark.

Assignment questions for the units in this course are contained in the Assignment File. You should be able to complete your assignments from the information and materials contained in your set textbooks, reading and study units. However, you are advised to use other references to broaden your viewpoint and provide a deeper understanding of the subject.

When you have completed each assignment, send it, together with tutor-marked assignment (TMA) file to your tutor. Make sure that each assignment gets to your tutor on or before the deadline. However, in case of being unable to complete your work on time, contact your tutor before the submission deadline of assignments elapses to discuss the possibility of an extension.

FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination of GST 202 will be of three hours' duration and have a value of 70 per cent of the total course grade. The examination shall consist of questions which reflect the type of self-testing, practice exercises and tutor-marked problems you have come across. All areas of the course will be assessed.

You are advised to revise the entire course after studying the last unit before you sit for the examination. You will find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments and the comments of your tutor on them before the final examination.

COURSE MARKING SCHEME

This table shows how the actual course marking is broken down.

Table 1: Course Making Scheme

Assessment	Marks
Assignment 1 – 4	Four assignments are to be submitted, out of which the three best shall be considered at 10% each, making 30% of the overall scores
Final Examination	70% of overall course marks
Total	100% of course marks

COURSE OVERVIEW

This table brings together the entire units contained in this course, the number of weeks you should take to complete them, and the assignments that follow.

Table 2: Course Overview

Unit	Title	Week's Activity	Assessment (end of unit)
	Course Guide	1	
Module 1 Basic Understanding of Conflict			
1	Definition Causes and Types of Conflict	1	Assignment 1
2	Conflict Theories	2	Assignment 2
3	Phases in Conflict	2	Assignment 3
4	Conflict Analysis	3	Assignment 4
5	Conflict Transformation	4	Assignment 5
Module 2 Dynamics of Conflict			
1	Relationship between Perception and Conflict	5	Assignment 6
2	Language Barriers in Conflict and Resolution	6	Assignment 7
3	Early Warning and Early Response Mechanism	6	Assignment 8
4	Arms Control and Demilitarisation	7	Assignment 9
5	Peace and Education	7	Assignment 10
Module 3 Trends in Global Issues			
1	International, Continental and Regional Organisations in the Pursuance of World Peace	8	Assignment 11
2	Peaceful Methods of Conflict Resolution I	9	Assignment 12
3	Peaceful Methods of Conflict Resolution II	10	Assignment 13
4	Coercive Means of Conflict Resolution	11	Assignment 14
5	Gender Issues and Humanitarian Intervention	11	Assignment 15
	Revision	17	
	Examination	18	

HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE

In distance learning the study units replace the university lecturer. 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 suit you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to a lecturer.

In this same way that a lecturer might set you some reading to do, the study units tell you when to read your set of books or other materials. Just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise, your study units provide exercises for you to do at appropriate points.

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 is a set of learning objectives. These objectives shall let you know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. You should use these objectives to guide your study. When you have finished, the units you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If you make a habit of doing this 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.

Remember that your tutor's job is to assist you. When you need help, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

- Read this Course Guide thoroughly.
- Organise a study schedule. Refer to the 'Course Overview' for more details. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments related to the units. Whatever method you chose to use, you should decide on and write in your own dates for working on each unit.
- Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything you can to stick 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.
- Turn to Unit 1 and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
- Assemble the study materials. Information about what you need

for a unit is given in the 'Overview' at the beginning of each unit. You will almost always need both the study unit you are working on and one of your set books on your desk at the same time.

- Work through the unit. The content of the unit itself has been arranged to provide a sequence for you to follow. As you work through the unit you will be instructed to read sections from your set books or other articles. Use the unit to guide your reading.
- 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 material or consult your tutor.
- When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can then 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.
- 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 on what is written on the assignment. Consult your tutor as soon as possible if you have any questions or problems.
- 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 this Course Guide).

FACILITATION/TUTORS AND TUTORIALS

There are between eight hours of tutorials provided in support of this course. The dates, time and venue of these tutorials shall be communicated to you. The name and phone number of your tutor will be made known to you immediately 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 if you need help. You will definitely benefit a lot by doing that. Contact your tutor if:

- you do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings,
- you have difficulty with the self-tests or exercises,
- 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 make an effort to attend the tutorials. Thus, it is the only opportunity you have to enjoy face to face contact with your tutor and to ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefit from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn a lot from participating in discussion actively.

SUMMARY

GST202 aims to expose you to basic concepts, ideas, themes, perspective of peace studies and conflict resolution.

Finally, you are advised to read the course material appreciably well in order to prepare fully and not to be caught pants down by the final examination questions. So, we sincerely wish you success in your academic career as you will find this course **GST202** very interesting. You should always avoid examination malpractices!

**MAIN
COURSE**

CONTENTS		PAGE
Module 1	Basic Understanding of Conflict.....	1
Unit 1	Definition Causes and Types of Conflict.....	1
Unit 2	Conflict Theories.....	9
Unit 3	Phases in Conflict.....	21
Unit 4	Conflict Analysis.....	33
Unit 5	Conflict Transformation.....	49
Module 2	Dynamics of Conflict.....	66
Unit 1	Relationship between Perception and Conflict.....	66
Unit 2	Language Barriers in Conflict and Resolution.....	74
Unit 3	Early Warning and Early Response Mechanism.....	84
Unit 4	Arms Control and Demilitarisation.....	91
Unit 5	Peace and Education.....	101
Module 3	Trends in Global Issues.....	117
Unit 1	International, Continental and Regional Organisations in the Pursuance of World Peace.	117
Unit 2	Peaceful Methods of Conflict Resolution I....	131
Unit 3	Peaceful Methods of Conflict Resolution II...	140
Unit 4	Coercive Means of Conflict Resolution.....	149
Unit 5	Gender Issues and Humanitarian Intervention.....	158

MODULE 1 BASIC UNDERSTANDING OF CONFLICT

Unit 1	Definition, Causes and Types of Conflict
Unit 2	Conflict Theories
Unit 3	Phases in Conflict
Unit 4	Conflict Analysis
Unit 5	Conflict Transformation

UNIT 1 DEFINITION, CAUSES AND TYPES OF CONFLICT

CONTENTS

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
3.1	Conceptual Definition and Historical Background of Conflict
3.2	Causes of Conflict
3.3	Types of Conflict
3.4	Classification of Conflict
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The word “conflict” is as old as mankind. This is because the word has been in existence in all spheres of human life since the inception of the world. In the recent past, the world socio-political environs have been on the boil despite the colossal amount of human and material resources expended on global peace and conflict management by several nations, states, regional organisations and the United Nations (UN). Rather than a global crisis diminishing in spite of the several steps taken, it is becoming more virulent and destructive because it has continued to drain the energy and man power resources of the troubled spots if not the entire world and emasculate governance.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- identify the origin of the word “conflict”
- define conflict in your own words

- discuss causes of conflict
- explain types of conflict.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Historical Background and Conceptual Definition of Conflict

The word “conflict” is derived from the Latin word *confligere*, meaning to “strike together.”

Lexically, according to *Webster Dictionary, Vol. 1, 1971*, conflict means : to strike, to dasy. A fight, struggle or battle, clash, contention, confrontation, a controversy or quarrel, active opposition, strife or incompatibility, to meet in opposition or hostility, to contend, to be contrary or to be at variance.

Conflict also means contradiction arising from differences in interests, ideas, ideologies, orientations, beliefs, perceptions and tendencies. Although, conflict is a normal, natural and inevitable phenomenon in any interactive situation of human life, contradictions exists at all levels of the society – intra – psychic/personal, interpersonal, intra – groups, inter – group, institution, intra – national and international. Conflict is not necessarily negative in itself. It is often a by – product of social change and may lead to constructive transformation.

Many scholars have come up with different definitions, concepts, views or school of thoughts of conflicts from a more intellectual platform all over the world.

Quicy Wright (1990:19) defines conflict as opposition among social entities directed against one another, it distinguished competition and defined it as opposition among social entities independently striving for something of which the resources are inadequate to satisfy all. Competitors may not be aware of one another, while they are parties to a conflict.

Two points which are directly related to conflict analysis and management can be deduced from this definition. One is that contrary to the old perspective which regards conflict as national, it is not inevitable, only competition can be so regarded.

Secondly, conflict and competition are two points of a continuum on which conflict represents aggravated competition. In order words conflict arises when disagreement emerging from competition cannot be resolved. It follows therefore that conflict management has to begin with

and include management of supposedly simple competition. The other point that can be inferred from Wright's definition is that conflicts are themselves processes that tend to degenerate from non-violent to violent and from crisis to full-scale war.

Conflict take on a wide variety of forms and have been classified based on the intensity or scale of violence, structural and character of parties in conflict (such as class, ethnic, groups, religious group, racial group, and so on) and manifesting a distinct spatial character (such as national, regional, inter-state or international). However, non-violent conflict has the potential to become violent if the regulatory mechanism is ineffective.

Wright also opines that war is a type of conflict, thus, by understanding conflict we may learn about the probable characteristics of war under different conditions and methods most suitable for regulating, preventing, and winning wars. Wright proceeds to give two senses in which war could be understood, that is, in the legal sense, war is considered a situation during which two or more political groups are equally entitled to settle conflict by armed force. Whereas in the sociological sense, which is of ordinary usage, war refers to conflicts among political groups carried on by armed forces of considerable magnitude.

Kriesberg (1973:17) simply defines conflict as “..... a relationship between two or more parties who..... believe they have incompatible goals.”

Stagner defines conflict as “...a situation in which two or more human beings desire goals which they perceived as being obtainable by one or the other, but not both... each party is mobilising energy to obtain a goal, a desired object or situation, and each party perceives the other as a barrier or treat to that goal.”

Ross (1993 6:xiv) notes that: “If disadvantaged groups and individuals refuse to consider open conflict, they deny themselves what sometimes is their most effective means for bringing about needed change”. Rose therefore saw nothing wrong in conflict, he saw it as a natural and inevitable human experience and as a critical mechanism by which goals and aspirations of individual and groups are articulated, it is a channel for the definition of creative solutions to human problems and a means to the development of a collective identity. What Ross is trying to infer is that without conflict we cannot have change.

Similarly, Laue (1990:256-7) tries to disabuse our minds about the dysfunctional perception of conflict. He notes that:

conflict is not deviant, pathological, or sick behaviour per-se. It is not the opposite of order..... There is orderliness in conflict, although conflict can become disorderly. And it can be a very helpful and useful part of society.

What to be feared is destructive conflicts (that is, conflict that have started producing negative results) rather than conflict itself.

Action Aid (1994) and Hoivik and Meijer (1994) see conflict as “incompatible behaviour between parties whose interests are or appear to be, incompatible or clashing.” Two things could be taken from these simple definitions. The first is that conflict emanates from (social) relationships. The conflicting group must groups must reside in close proximity whether physically or psychologically.

3.2 Causes of Conflict

As earlier mentioned, conflict is inevitable and it keeps occurring in every individual life, either at home, work, social outings or even when we sleep in our bedroom without interacting with anyone. Although, we are familiar with those inexhaustible things that cause conflicts, but in this context, they can be categorised into four namely:

- conflicts over resources
- conflicts over psychological needs
- conflicts involving values
- conflicts over inadequate information

Conflicts over Resources

These types of conflicts are usually easy to identify because they can be seen and are more potentially easy to resolve. This conflict occurs when two or more people are competing for inadequate (or perceived to be inadequate) resources over a period of time. The competition may assume negative or destructive dimension when the available resources are not evenly and judiciously distributed. The relatively deprived would always struggle to improve their lot. This view agrees with the Marxian theory of conflict, which posits that the more the rate of unequal distribution of scarce resources in the society, the greater is the basic conflict of interest between its dominant and subordinate segments. He also says that when practices of dominant segment create “alienation dispositions” the more the subordinate segments of a system become aware of their collective interests and question the distribution of scarce resources, the more likely they are to join in overt conflict against dominant segment of a system. Resources that cause conflict include

landed properties, money, vehicles, and company ownership/shares among others.

Conflict over Psychological Needs

Conflicts over psychological needs of groups and individuals are conflicts which cannot be seen but affect the psyche of the individual and group self-actualisation, need for individual and group respect, attempt to project one's group to be better than the others. With particular reference to Maslow's theory, he points out that when an individual psychological need is achieved or satisfied, such an individual becomes dominated by a drive for the other unsatisfied needs through a process he calls "Fulfillment Progression". Example includes structural factor, politics, personality clash, and ethnicity.

Conflict Involving Values

Contradicting value systems such as religious beliefs, ideological positions, and general worldview is another factor responsible for social conflict among the interacting parties. Conflict involving values are the most difficult to understand and resolve because most times people could die for what they believe in. According to Weaver, who likens culture to an iceberg, he says "internal culture", is implicitly learnt and difficult to change. That is part of culture that is below the waterline in the iceberg analogy. It includes some of our beliefs, our values and thought patterns, attitudes, non-verbal communication and perception. Beliefs are interrelated and form "belief system", which because they are learnt in life, are difficult to change. Examples of values laden conflicts include the Cold War, terrorism (suicide bombing), religious conflicts such as 1980 Maitatsine crisis, the 1991 Bonnke crisis in Kano, the 2002 Beauty Pageant crisis. Others include the September 30, 2005 Cartoon crisis over a Danish newspaper, Jyllands Posten, published cartoons caricaturing Prophet Mohammad, the most recent of all the religious crisis in Nigeria is the *Boko Haram* crisis that has killed an estimated 3,500 people.

Conflict over Information

The last but not the least of the factors causing conflict in any society is "manipulation of information". The pivotal role of information in societal conflict cannot be over-emphasised, they can either be manipulative or constructive. Especially in a widespread conflict situation, the role of information becomes more crucial, difficult and dangerous. When the information system in a society is tampered with, there is bound to be conflict. The information system can be tampered with in different ways. This can be either by feeding people with lies or

giving the right information at the wrong time. In our contemporary societies, the quantity and quality of information vary dramatically and are dependent on wide range of factors, from level of literacy to social cohesiveness and stability to available technology. Central to the availability and quality of public information is the media (print, audio and audio-visual).

Also, in deeply divided societies, the media can also shape opinion and decisions related to the nature and scope of conflicts, as well as the potential alternatives to conflict, where social, political and economic conflict have degenerated into widespread violence, the role of information in mitigating the effects of violence or in presenting alternatives can be crucial. Because communication is an integral part of conflict, it comes as no surprise that those participating in organised violence often use the media to attack opponents, and “spread disinformation or misinformation” and “rally external and internal support.”

Some of the communication barriers that are capable of distorting meanings are physical distance, language, and the listeners value judgement.

3.3 Types of Conflict

It is important that we know types of conflict we encounter in our day-to-day activities. There are numerous kinds of conflicts but we will limit ourselves to the following:.

- a. **Intra-Personal Conflict:** This type of conflict occurs within an individual. Examples of such are use of time, choice of partner, moral questions, goals and aspirations.
- b. **Inter-Personal Conflict :** This refers to conflict between two or more individuals over an issue.
- c. **Intra-Group Conflict:** This refers to conflict between individuals, or faction within a group.
- d. **Inter-Group Conflict:** This refers to conflict between groups such as club, class versus class, family versus family.
- e. **National Conflict:** This refers to conflicts within a nation, involving different groups within the nation. This could be interethnic, inter-religious, or competition for resources.

- f. **International Conflict:** This refers to conflicts between nations. This could be for ideological reasons, territorial claims, and political competition.

3.4 Classification of Conflict

Ted Robert Gurr, in his article “A Comparative of Civil Strife” and Quincy Wright in his paper “The Nature of Conflict” rightly argue that the level of violence rather than its absence or presence is a better criterion for classifying conflicts.

Wright for instance distinguishes between “ordinary” conflict which involves small-scale violence usually at the individual and group levels and war, which is carried out by armed forces and involves violence of considerable magnitude.

Similarly, Gurr distinguishes between “turmoil,” which includes both non-violent and small-scale violent conflict and rebellion or internal war. The point in this latter classification is that notwithstanding their peculiarities, conflicts differ largely in degree rather than kind and should therefore be analysed in terms of continuum which has non-violent conflict at one end and violent ones at the other. This enables us to pay close attention to the possible escalation or worsening of conflicts, sometimes a simple non-violent/violent classification appears to shape the other.

Another popular classification categorises conflict into structural and non-structural conflicts. Structural conflicts which tend to be endemic are those which are predisposed by the innate character of the polity. Typically, they result from “unjust repressive and oppressive sociopolitical structure”. Structural factors also include inequality among groups in obtaining access to socioeconomic and political privileges and benefits such as education, income distribution, unemployment, and control of political power, as well as low levels of national integration which encourage “zero-sum” context for state power.

Defined in such terms, Wherp, in his work “Conflict Resolution” opines that most conflicts in Africa are endemic by definition to the extent that the predisposing factors are not embedded in the political system. They result from specific policies or actions by the state or groups and do not generally last for too long.

The third classification of conflicts is based on the character of the parties in conflicts . Thus, ethnic and religious conflicts (which are most prevalent in Africa) tend to be the most important bases of identity for

most individuals and as such attract strong loyalties to the groups involved.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In the light of the above discussion on the concept of conflict, we can deduce that conflict is inevitable in human life, but the degree or intensity of conflicts is determined by the attitude or mode of approaches adopted by the parties involved.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, historical background and various definitions of conflicts postulated by different scholars were critically examined, which various causes and types of conflict were discussed to facilitate proper understanding of the concept.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Critically discuss the concept conflict from your own perspective.
2. Is conflict negative or positive to human existence? Discuss.
3. Can conflict be totally eradicated? Discuss.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Ball, C. & Dunn, L. (1996). *Non-Governmental Organizations: Guidelines for Good Policy and Practice*. London: The Commonwealth Foundation.
- Drukman, D. (1993). "An Analytical Research Agenda for Conflict and Conflict Resolution." In Dennis J. D. Samdole and Hugo Vander Marwe (Eds.), *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
- Folger, J. P. (1997). *Working Through Conflict: Strategies for Relationships*. New York.

UNIT 2 CONFLICT THEORIES

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
- 3.1 Conflict Theories from Sociological Perspective
 - 3.1.1 Karl Marx Theory
 - 3.1.2 Max Weber Theory
 - 3.1.3 Conflict-Theory Models of Dahrendorf
 - 3.1.4 Pluralist Perspective of Conflict
 - 3.1.5 Structural – Functional Theory
 - 3.1.6 The Theory of Structural Balance
 - 3.1.7 Assumption on Ethnicity and Conflict
 - 3.1.8 Assumption on Culture and Conflict
 - 3.1.9 The Role Theories of Turner
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

It is important for you to learn about the theories and empirical studies conducted by scholars or researchers in the area of social conflicts to have comprehensive understanding of the various school of thoughts and their diverse views and opinions in this unit. The rationale for the study of these theories is to enable you identify the strengths and weakness of the previous work done in the past in relation to the protracted contemporary issues of social conflicts coupled with arrays of various emerging conflicts at all levels of every society worldwide.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- categorise different conflict theories
- analyse the various conflict theories
- identify and relate one or more conflict theories to different conflicts facing the human race.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Conflict Theories from Sociological Perspective

3.1.1 Karl Marx Theory

Marx the great social philosopher opines that the degree of inequality in the distribution of resources generates inherent conflicts of interest. He explains that contradiction in capitalist modes of economic production and how these would lead to conflict processes that would usher in communism via a revolutionary action that would be carried out by the proletariat (the ruled). Although, his predictions were wrong, perhaps because of some fatal errors in his logic, but his analysis is still very much useful, applicable and relevant to most of the conflicts being experienced the world over.

Karl Marx views that the more the rate or degree of inequality in the distribution of the relatively available or the scarce resources in the society, the greater is the basic conflict of interest between its dominant and subordinate segments. The more the subordinate segments (proletariat) become aware of their true collective interests, the more likely they are to question the legitimacy of the existing pattern of distribution or allocation of scarce resources. Also the subordinates are more likely to become aware of their true collective interest when changes wrought by dominant segments disrupt existing relations among subordinates, practices of dominant segments create “alienative dispositions”, members of subordinate segments can communicate their grievances to one another, which, in turn, is facilitated by the ecological concentration among members of subordinate groups, and the expansion of educational opportunities for members of subordinate group.

Marx also asserts that the more the subordinate segments at a system become aware of their collective interests and question the legitimacy of the distribution of scarce resources, the more likely they are to join in overt conflict against dominant segments of a system. The greater is the ideological unification of members of subordinate segment of a system and the more developed is their political leadership structure, the more likely are the interests and relations between dominant and subjugated segments of a society to become polarised and irreconcilable. The more polarised are the dominant and subjugated, the more will the conflict be violent. The more violent is the conflict, the greater is the amount of structural change within a society and the greater is the redistribution of scarce resources.

3.1.2 Max Weber Theory

Weber sees conflict as highly contingent on the emergence of “charismatic leaders” who could mobilise subordinates. He opined that subordinates are more likely to pursue conflict with superordinates when they withdraw legitimacy from political authority when the correlation among members in class, status, group, and political hierarchies is high, the discontinuity or degrees of inequality in the resource distribution within social hierarchies is high, and when social mobility and social hierarchies of power, prestige, and wealth are low.

Conflict between superordinates and subordinates becomes more likely when charismatic leaders can mobilise resentment of subordinates. When charismatic leaders are successful in conflict, pressure mounts to routinise authority through new systems of rules and administration. As a system of rules and administrative authority is imposed, the more likely are new subordinates to withdraw legitimacy from political authority and to pursue conflict with the new superordinates, especially when new traditional and ascriptive forms of political domination are imposed by elites.

3.1.3 Conflict-Theory Model of Dahrendorf

Dahrendorf (1958) introduces to the theory of conflict the view of productive and constructive conflict. He sees conflict as necessary for achieving an end in the society or for realisation of social goals. He holds that social conflict produces change in the system which is necessary and good. Dahrendorf’s attempt was to determine a systematic locus and a specific framework for a theory of conflict in sociological analysis. He contends for two different kinds of struggles in an organisation. He calls them “exogenous” and “endogenous” conflicts.

The endogenous conflict is the conflict that is generated within an organisation, system or a society. In this, he agreed with Marx that internal conflict comes from the present social structure. He went beyond the internal dynamics of conflict to allow for external factors, which he called exogenous conflict. This also influences social change. In other words, exogenous conflict is brought upon or into a system from the outside. The theory asserts that certain conflicts are based on certain social structural arrangements and hence are bound to arise whenever such structural arrangements are given.

Furthermore, the dichotomy of social roles within imperatively coordinated groups, and the division into positive and negative dominance roles are fails of social structure. Here are the assumptions

for the structural arrangement which could lead to conflict as Dahrendorf presents in his conflict theory model.

- In every imperatively coordinated group, the carriers of positive (status quo) and the negative (change of status quo) dominant roles determined two quasi-groups with opposite latent interest.
- The bearers of positive and negative dominant roles organise themselves into groups with manifest interests unless certain empirically variable conditions intervene.
- Interest groups which originate in this manner are in constant conflict concerned with the preservation or change in the status quo.
- The conflict among interest groups in the sense of this model leads to changes in the structure of the social relations in question through changes in the dominant relations.

3.1.4 Pluralist Perspective of Conflict

The advocates of the pluralist school of thought such as Hugh Clegg *et al*, holds a different view about conflict. The school views conflict as having a constructive contribution towards what is defined as healthy industrial order. Thus, given the appropriate institutions of regulation, the overt and active manifestation of conflict resolves discontent, reduces tension, clarifies power relation and adjusts the industrial structure. Accordingly, it creates as many solidarity groups as it devices and re-embodies the principles of self-determination.

The pluralist school emerged as a criticism to the political doctrine of sovereignty, the notion that in an independent political system, there must be a final authority whose decision is supreme. Contrary to this assumption, the pluralists believed that within any political system, there are groups with their own interests and beliefs and the government itself depends on their consent, loyalty and cooperation to survive. Rather than existence of a definitive decision by final authorities, this theory contends that there are instead only continuous (conflicts, antagonisms) and compromises.

In essence, a plural social or industrial relation has to accommodate different and divergent pressure groups in order to ensure that the differing group interests are harmonised such that social and political changes take place peacefully. Thus, to the pluralists, same is achievable through continuous negotiation, concession and compromises within and among these pressure (interest) groups and between the authorities.

Given these backgrounds, and based on expositions of the functionalist and the pluralist schools, and their identification of the place of effective communication in the prevention and management of industrial conflicts, as evident on the need for clear communication, understanding, continuous dialogues, negotiation, concession and compromises within and among the differing groups in the work place, institution or society.

3.1.5 Structural – Functional Theory

Talcott Parson (1960) champions the course of this theory after the World War II. The structural functionalist asserted/projected that individuals will adjust to a given structure in an organisation institution or society. Any change in the structure of the organisation or institution causes conflict and it destabilises the organisation. Conflict should then be minimised in order to maintain stability with both the individual as well as the institutions. The theory reflects a system approach where each part has one or more functions to perform. The theory sees conflict as dysfunctional, abnormal, and a disease which can be endemic to a society. It focuses on things that will maintain the state of equilibrium and collaboration in the organisation.

3.1.6 The Theory of Structural Balance

Helder (1958) in this theory states that Ego tends to like whom his friend like, but dislike whom his enemy like. Also Ego tends to dislike whom he dislike, and likes whom his enemy dislikes. This non-rational approach to theory of conflict has the following assumptions according to Mazur (1968).

- For any three persons or groups, there are four trials: like – dislike, support – conflict, conformity – divergence, and positive identity – negative identity. All these tend to balance.
- Within any triad, an increase in magnitude of one sign leads to an increase in magnitude of all signs.
- Relationship of like, support, conformity, and positive identity tend to coincide. On the other hand, the relationship of dislike, conflict, divergence and negative identity tend to coincide. The tendency increases with increasing intensity of the signs, and consonant relationship increase together.

Assumption on Ethnicity and Conflict

According to Person, Novak, and Gleason (1982:1), the word “ethnic” was derived via Latin from the Greek *ethnos*, which means “nation or race”. Ethnicity has been viewed since the earliest times in terms of a group setting associated with the idea of nationhood. But in recent years, the instrumentalists’ view of ethnicity and ethnic conflicts in Africa and the rest of the world hold that “ethnicity is not a natural cultural residue but a consciously crafted ideological creation”, ethnic conflicts result from the manipulations of the (radical) elite who incite and distort ethnic/nationalist consciousness into an instrument to pursue their personal ambitions.

The problem with the theory despite the fact that it contains some validity is that, it almost ignores completely the core motives and elements in ethnic conflicts such as the roles of fear and group psychology and importance of symbolic controversies which are often less comprehensible to the “outsider”.

Thomson (2000:58) defines an ethnic group as “a community of people who have the conviction that they have a common identity and common fate based on issues of origin, kinship, ties, traditions, cultural uniqueness, a shared history and possibly a shared language.”

Toland (1993:3) basically agrees with Thomson in her conception of an ethnic group, but takes it one step further by adding a sense of longing on the individual level: “...(ethnicity is) the sense of people-hood held by members of a group sharing a common culture and history within a society.”

Bamass argues the assumption “ethnicity and nationalism are not ‘givens’, but are social and political constructions. They are the creations of elites, who draw upon distorted and sometimes fabricated materials from the cultures of the groups they wish to represent in order to protect their wellbeing or existence or to gain political and economic advantage for their groups as well as for themselves... this process invariably involves competition and conflict for political power, economic benefits, and social status between the political elite, class, and leadership groups both within and among different ethnic categories” (Kruger 1993: 11).

In the light of the discussion above, it is important to note that mere differences in values or regional development, or between ethnic groups for that matter, do not as such promote ethnicity and ethnic conflict, according to Kruger (1993:12). Quoting Brass, he states “... Ethnic self-consciousness, ethnically based demands, and ethnic conflict can occur

if there is some conflict either between indigenous and external elites and authorities or between indigenous elites.”

Nevertheless, the assumption on ethnicity and conflict therefore, states that, “ethnic identity has a symbolic dimension which makes conflict arising from it more intense than otherwise. Ethnicity has the symbolic capability of defining for individual the totality of his existence including his hopes, fears and sense of the future. Any action or thought that is perceived to undermine the ethnic group which include those that diminish its status in the eyes of the members evokes very hostile and some times violent response.” An aggressive and murderous ethnic militia man may even believe that his very existence is threatened by the perceived injury to his ethnic group. Similarly, a poor villager believes that a cabinet minister from his village represents his own interest and share of the national cake even though he may never receive any personal material reward as a result of the appointment.

3.1.7 Assumption on Culture and Conflict

Culture simply means the sum-total of all human existence which comprises norms, values, traditions, beliefs, customs, languages, patterns of behaviours, art music, food, mode of dressing and so on. Cultures have been delineated along a number of dimensions by various writers such as:

Glen Fisher, in an interesting book called *Mindsets* and in his chapter in Weaver’s book (1998:140) characterises two kinds of societies: those based on achievement and those on ascription. Those described as “achievement” emphasise doing, in contrast to being, which describes “ascriptive” societies. The former value change and action, whereas the latter value stability and harmony.

Weaver (1998:72-74) likens culture to an iceberg, in which only the tip is seen above the water line. The part that is obvious is the external culture, which is explicitly learned, is conscious and more easily changed. The external culture includes many of the elements that we normally think of as “culture”: music, literature, drama, foods, dress, customs, and verbal communications. These are all aspects of “behaviour”. External culture may also include some of our beliefs, such as religion and explicit ethnics.

These aspects of culture are all obvious to a newcomer. However, there is also an internal culture, which is implicitly learned and difficult to change. That is the part which is below the waterline in the iceberg analogy. It includes some of our beliefs, our values and thought patterns, attitudes, non-verbal communication, and perceptions. Beliefs are

interrelated and form “belief system”, which because they are learnt early in life, are difficult to change. It is also difficult to perceive and fully understand the internal culture of someone from a different group. Yet it is this part of culture that defines who we are and what really is important to us. Because we are often unaware of these elements it is difficult to articulate them to others, even to those whom we love. And we are most unlikely to expose our inner-selves to someone with whom we are in conflict.

Geert Hofstede in Weaver 1998:148-158 describes four dimensions by which he placed a number of societies on graphs. Two are particularly relevant to conflict transformation (p.149):

- Power distance – defines the extent to which the less powerful person in a society accepts inequality in power and considers it normal. All societies are unequal, but some are more unequal than others.
- Individualism – opposes collectivism (in the anthropological sense). Individualist cultures assume individuals look primarily after their own interest and those of their immediate family. Collectivist cultures assume that individuals – through birth and possibly later events – belong to one or more close “in-groups” from which they cannot detach themselves. A collectivist society is tightly integrated; an individualist society is loosely integrated.

Hofstede characterises American and Northern European societies as generally having low power distance and high individualism. Many African and Latin American societies have large power distance and low individualism. Some of the Southern European societies are in the middle with large power distance and medium individualism.

John Paul Lederach, probably one of the best known theorists and practitioners in the field of conflict transformation today, posits that “social conflict emerges and develops on the basis of the meaning and interpretation people involved attach to action and events. Social meaning is lodged in the accumulated knowledge, that is a person’s bank of knowledge” (1995:8). Conflict is related to meaning, meaning to knowledge, and knowledge is rooted in culture. People act on the basis of the meaning that things have for them. The symbolic interactionist, Herbert Blumer (1969) emphasises the importance of symbols and meanings attach to them. Therefore, Lederach’s assumptions (1995:9-10) can simply be liberally summarised as follows.

- Social conflict is a natural, common experience present in all relationships and cultures.

- Conflict is a socially constructed cultural event, people active participants in creating situations and interactions they experience as conflict.
- Conflict emerges through an interactive process based on the search for and creation of shared meaning.
- The interactive process is accomplished through and rooted in people's perceptions, interpretations, expressions, and intentions, each of which grows from the cycles back to their common sense knowledge.
- Meaning occurs as people locate themselves and social "things" such as situations, events, and actions in their accumulated knowledge. A person's common sense and accumulated experience and knowledge are the primary basis of how he creates, understands and responds to conflict.
- Culture is rooted in the shared knowledge and schemes created and used by a set of people for perceiving interpreting, expressing and responding to social realities around them.

However the term "culture" is often linked with ethnicity, as both the external and internal cultures are often determined by our ethnic groups, along with influences from the larger world through socialisation, education, the media and exposure to a different way of thinking and behaviour. We talk about "the culture of violence", "the culture peace", "the culture of poverty", "the culture of corruption", "corporate culture" and so on as they pervade different societies in various or different forms.

3.1.8 The Role Theories of Turner

Role is defined as that set of activities associated with any given position in an organisation, which include potential behaviours in that position, and not only those of the incumbent in question. Although Turner accepts a process orientation, he was committed to developing interactionism into "something akin to axiomatic theory". He recognised that role theory was segmented into a series of narrow propositions and hypotheses and that role theorist had been reluctant "to find unifying themes to link various role processes."

Turner's strategy was to use propositions from the numerous research studies to build more formal and abstract theoretical statements. He therefore, sought series of statements that highlight what tends to occur in the normal operation systems of interaction. To this end, Turner

provided a long list of main tendency propositions on (a) roles as they emerge, (b) roles as an interactive framework, (c) roles in relation to actors, (d) roles in societal settings, (e) roles in organisational settings, and (f) roles and the person. The most important of these propositions to this study are examined below.

Role as an Interactive Framework

- The establishment and persistence of interaction tend to depend on the emergence and identification of ego and alter roles.
- Each role tends to form as a comprehensive way of coping with one or more relevant alters roles.
- There is a tendency for stabilised roles to be assigned the character of legitimate expectations and to be seen as the appropriate way to behave in a situation. (Tendency for legitimate expectations).

In these three additional propositions, interaction is seen as depending on the identification of roles. Moreover, roles tend to be complements of others as in parent/child, boss/employee roles – and this operate to regularise interaction among complementary roles.

Role in Societal Settings

- Similar roles in different contexts tend to become merged, so they are identified as a single role recurring in different relationships. (Tendency for economy of roles).
- To the extent that roles refer to more general social contexts and situations differentiation tends to link roles to social values. (Tendency for value anchorage).
- The individual in the society tends to be assigned and to assume roles consistent with one another. (Tendency for allocation consistency).

Many roles are identified, assumed, and imputed in relation to a broader societal context. Turner first argued that people tend to group behaviour in different social context into as few unifying roles as is possible or practical. This people will identify a role as a way of making sense of disparate behaviour in different contexts. At the societal level, values are the equivalent of goals in organisational settings for identifying, differentiating, allocating, evaluating, and legitimating roles. Finally, people tend to assume multiple that are consistent with one another.

Role of Business in Conflict Situations

Widening communities of business actors around the world is moving to adopt new approaches to corporate social responsibilities, and a “triple bottom line” of profitability, social and environmental responsibilities. Under the right conditions, the private sector may be able to help prevent violent conflict. Like public and aid supported investments, the private sector needs to be guided by an informed commitment to guard against side effects of its investments which may have negative impacts on the “structural stability” of the local and national host society, and plan for ways in which it can ensure the maximum positive benefits.

Business – local, small and medium – sized enterprises, multinationals and large national companies – can play a useful role in conflict situations. Conflict implies higher risks and costs for businesses, and it is therefore, in the interest of most businesses to support efforts that prevent, resolve or avoid exacerbating conflicts. It thus becomes imperative for each and every business enterprises/organisations to support peace making and peace building activities. It is only under a peaceful atmosphere and environment that the “corporate culture” of any organisation could be accomplished. Challenges include how to:

- develop a sufficiently long – term perspective to promote sustainable development and help reduce conflict, and strike a balance between long–term thinking and short–term investment horizons, with the need for quick returns in unstable situations.
- understand the roles of some trade actors or networks in causing or exacerbating conflict – in particular in extractive industries (diamond, oil, forest products, and others) that are major sources of revenue for warring parties and arms sellers.
- encourage big business to stimulate local development, job creation and basic social infrastructure, especially in remote areas. This can contribute to long – term social stability and improved local livelihoods.
- link the social investment programmes that are sometime supported by companies, in particular in the health or education sectors, to wider development and conflict concerns.
- harness the potential role of companies as powerful players who could use their influence positively on political actors not only to negotiate immediate conditions for their investments but also to avert violent conflicts.

- ensure that the use by companies of public security agents and military personnel to secure installations and protect staff is not at the expense of the local population, and that illegitimate armed groups or the youth are not being inadvertently supported or financed by them.

4.0 CONCLUSION

However, the conflict theories from sociological perspective have exposed us to various views, opinions, ideologies and assertions propounded by different scholars about how conflicts emerge or arise among individuals during the course of social interaction at the individual, institution and societal levels.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has considered some of sociological theories of conflict. The first and second theories discussed were propounded by Karl Marx and Max Weber. Dahrendorf's conflict theory models, pluralist perspective of conflict and theory of structural balance were also examined. Assumption on ethnicity and conflict, culture and conflict and role theories of Turner were also explained in order to broaden your knowledge and to expose you to various multidimensional theories of conflict.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Justify the relevance of Karl Marx's theory to modern day conflicts.
2. Explain the relationship between culture and conflict.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Burton, J. (1990). *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention*. London: Macmillan.
- Cohen, P. S. (1968). *Modern Social Theory*. London: Heinemann.
- Coser, L. (n.d). *The Functions of Social Conflict*. New York: Free Press.
- Gurr, T. R. (1970). *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton University Press.
- Yates, A. (1962). *Frustration and Conflict*. London: Methuen.

UNIT 3 PHASES IN CONFLICT

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Stages of Conflict and Conflict Cycle
 - 3.1.1 Stages of Conflict
 - 3.1.2 Conflict Cycle
 - 3.2 Conflict Energy
 - 3.3 Conflict Handling Styles
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

A beginner in the field of peace studies and conflict resolution usually perceives or sees conflict as something negative that should be avoided like the plague. Although, due to individual differences, conflict is an inevitable and recurrent fact of life. We should therefore develop our understanding of conflict and its positive management.

The Chinese do not see conflict as negative in their language; rather, they see conflict as “an opportunity or chance for change as well as risk or danger.” Therefore, conflict is neither positive nor negative; however, how it turns out to be is determined by our response, which is a function of our perception, attitude, background and the environments. Knowing the root causes of conflicts does not automatically proffer solution or clue on how to prevent or resolve them, as the inherent dynamic of conflicts tend to give them a Life of their own. Conflict tends to emerge/evolve in a cyclical pattern, often with several vicious cycles that are closely entertained. Even a removal of the original problems may not guarantee an end to a conflict, as additional conflict is being generated by the conflict itself.

However, having a positive approach to conflict help one to manage it in a constructive manner with positive results while people with negative connotation of conflict tend to handle conflicts in a destructive way with negative effects.

Each conflict situation contains certain predictable elements and dynamics that are amendable to regulation and change. There are two

key propelling variables in conflict (escalation) cycle: opportunity and willingness.

Opportunity

This has to do with the available resources at the disposal of a person, group or a country such as money, people, arms, land, minerals, good organisation, external support and so on.

Willingness

This is desire or need to act. This is a situation whereby a group of people are determined and convinced to embark on an action aimed at changing their situation irrespective of the likely consequences.

Both the opportunity and willingness are complimentary in nature in the sense that one may have the means to act but may not be willing to do so or the willingness to act may be there but the means is lacking. In the light of the above, for conflict to move from one stage to the other, both must be present because they are dependent on each other.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- explain dynamism of conflict
- discuss stages of conflict or conflict cycle
- present two sides of conflict energy
- state various forms of conflict handling styles.

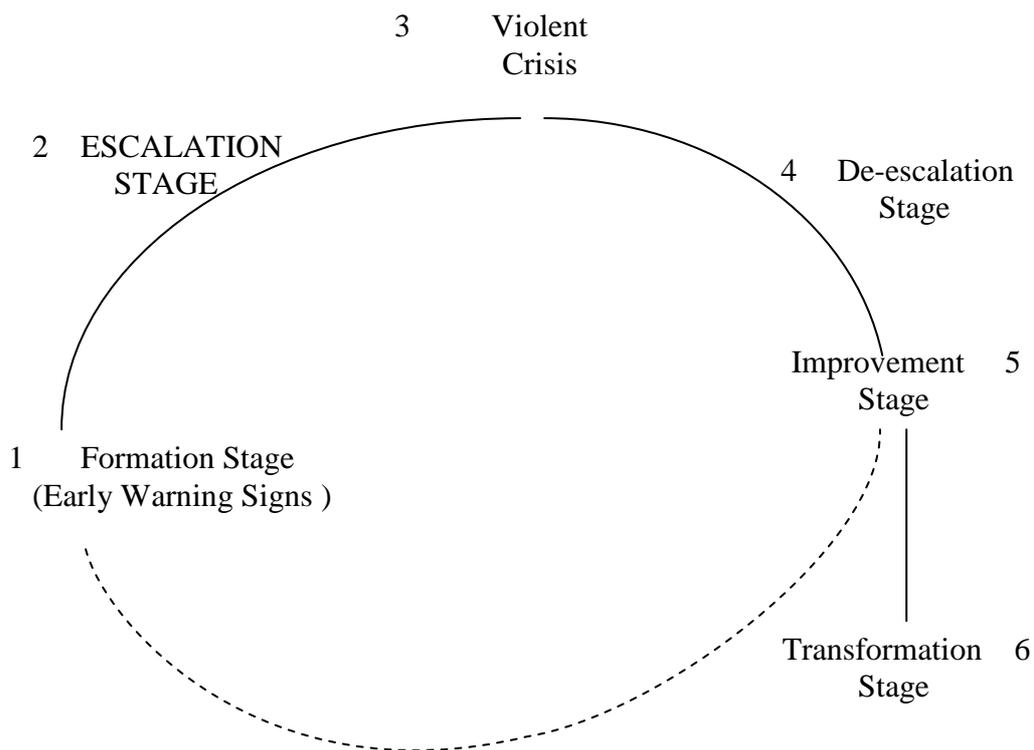
3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Conflict Cycle and Stages of Conflict

Conflict tend to progress from one place to another when the stakeholders (the oppressed and the oppressor) become more aware of a conflict of interest, means to act and then mobilise to alter the prevailing situation to each group advantage. In the course of altering the situation or addressing the injustice being faced by the oppressed, a sporadic violence can erupt if either parties should fail to adopt positive approach of conflict management.

3.1.1 Stages of Conflict

The following are the various stages of conflicts emerging in different parts of the world.



Source: Conflict Resolution Stakeholders' Network (CRESNET) Training Manual 2001.

STAGES

A. The Formation Stage

This is the first stage of conflict whereby a problem emerges and acts or things, or situations that were previously ignored or taken for granted now turn to serious issues. The obvious antagonistic shifts in attitude and a behaviour patterns is a clear indication of the early warning signs of conflict formation, which need to be addressed if further escalation is to be avoided.

B. The Escalation Stage

This stage is characterised by the formation of enemy images. People begin to take sides, positions harden, communication stops, perception becomes distorted and parties begin to commit resources to defend their position, leaders begin to make inflammatory public statements regarding their positions and street demonstrations intensity.

C. The Crisis Stage

At this stage, parties in conflict now begin to use physical barricades to demarcate their territories. Attempts to defend or expand territories or interests lead to direct confrontation and eruption of violence. Stockpiled weapons or arms are now freely used in an attempt to dominate or have upper hand leading to breakdown of law and order and essential services are virtually disrupted and people begin to experience discomfort due to lack of water, food, electricity and other essential goods and services.

D. De-escalation Stage

This is the stage in which parties in conflict begin to experience gradual cessation of hostility arising from conflict weariness, hunger, sanctions or external intervention.

E. Improvement Stage

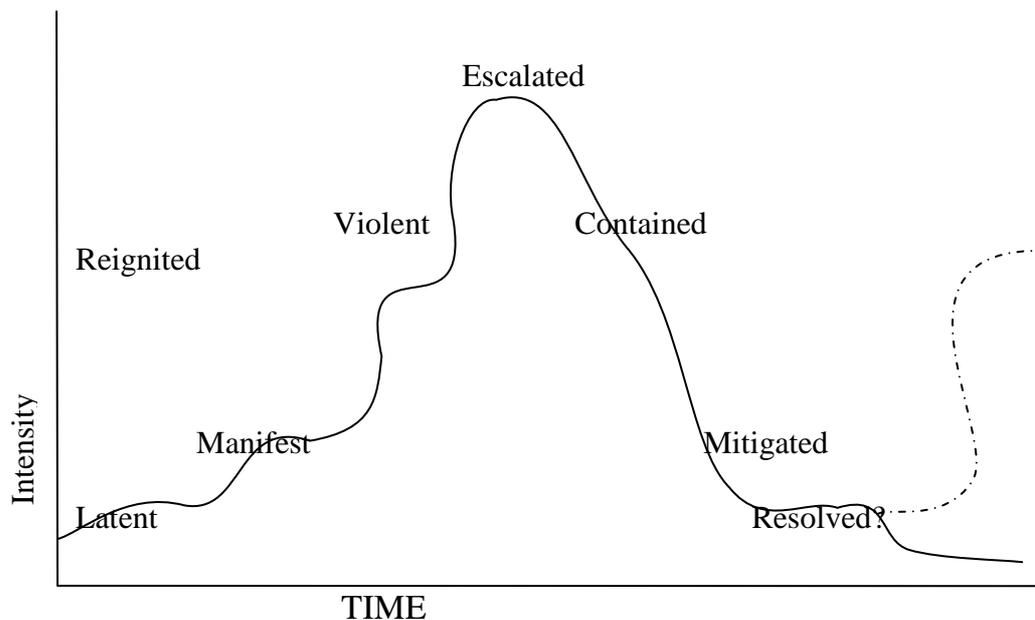
At this stage, stakeholders begin to have a rethink, shift ground and needs for dialogue are recognised and efforts are made towards attaining relative peace.

F. Transformation Stage

All causes of conflicts have been removed at this stage and reconciliation has occurred. This stage is the most difficult stage to attain in any conflict situation, though desirable, attainable and accomplishable.

3.1.2 Conflict Cycle

It is now generally believed that conflict most times evolve in a cyclical pattern that are closely related.



Source: Background Paper for the Danida Conference on Conflict Prevention and Peace Building in Africa 2001 Prepared by Bjorn Moller.

i. Latent Phase

This is the first phase of the conflict cycle where a conflict is dormant and barely expressed by the conflicting sides that may not even be conscious of their conflicting interests or values. At this phase, a conflict can easily be “nipped in the bud” through a preventive action on the basis of early warning in principle. Although, latent conflicts are difficult to detect with any degree of certainty – and their presence and absence may be hard to verify. Despite that, we can still identify various indicators of impending conflicts, such as inequality, growing poverty, frustrated expectation, unemployment, pollution and a growing tendency to view problems in “us versus them – terms,”.

ii. Manifest Phase

At this phase, conflicting parties express their demands and grievances openly, but only by legal means. It is easier to identify both problems and stakeholders, at this stage while preventive action can still be taken to prevent conflict escalation or degeneration into violent confrontation. Despite limited time available, exhibit conflict behaviour and regroup themselves in opposing camps. Mediation efforts geared towards compromise solutions still stand a reasonable chance of success provided violence has not occurred.

iii. Violent Phase

This phase is characterised by direct physical attacks and confrontations leading to spilling of blood and loss of life of both conflicting parties and innocent people and thereby produce additional motives for struggle elongation, if only to “get even” or escape retribution for atrocities committed. Moreover, people having their various private agendas and that are personally benefiting or profiting from the continuing crisis often usurped the initial/existing leadership structure in order to have influence and control over their groups.

iv. Escalation Phase

Under this phase, violence breeds further violence, producing an escalatory momentum. Moreover, the longer the struggle has lasted, and the more destructive it has been, the more do the warring parties (and especially their leaders) have to lose by laying down their arms. Only victory can justify the preceding bloodshed; hence, the proclivity to struggle on as long as there is even a slight hope of prevailing, thereby attaining the power to set the terms. Neither the violence nor the escalation phases therefore leave much scope for peaceful intervention, mediation or negotiations. On the other, embarking on military intervention at this stage could be regarded as a risky enterprise despite the fact that it might make a difference.

v. Contained Phase

Escalation comes to a halt in this stage. This could be because the conflicting parties have temporarily exhausted their supply of weaponry, leading to lower intensity. At this stage, there appears hope for negotiations and mediation efforts by the intervention of a third party aiming towards a truce. Most times, peacekeeping forces can be introduced to protect each side against the possible breaches of the truce by either of the conflicting parties. The truce agreed upon allows for the provision of humanitarian aid to the civilian victims without supporting either of the warring sides.

vi. Mitigated Phase

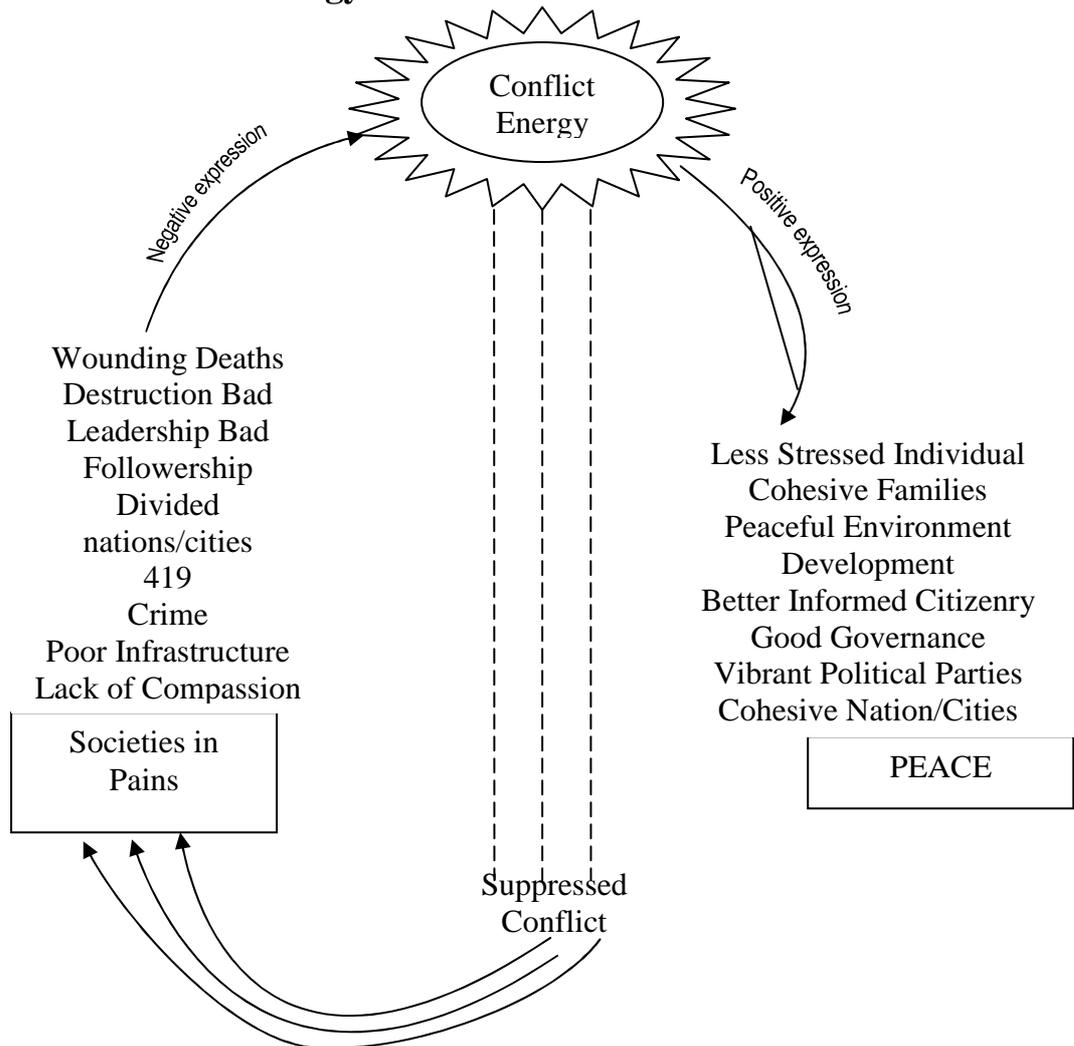
Mitigated stage of any conflict is the period during which the basic causes of conflict remain in place, but the conflict behaviour and attitude has been significantly changed with reduced or less violence and more political mobilisation and negotiation. At this stage, the ray of post-conflict recovery can easily be read and felt in the minds of political leaders on opposing sides, while external factors are at the advantage of

gaining new leverage, that is, serving as potential (but not unconditional) provider of aid.

vii. The Resolution Phase

This phase is the most perceived critical stage of all the phases, as success or failure of post-conflict peace-building will determine whether the conflict will flare up again. For a tangible and enduring or sustainable success to be accomplished, both the underlying causes of the conflict and its immediate consequences must be addressed. This include reordering of power relationships, bringing some of those responsible for the preceding blood shed to trial and facilitating reconciliation between the opposing sides as a precondition of future coexistence. At this stage, the importance of external actors is very crucial in the following areas such as provision of various forms of assistance and support to the emerging civil society after the resolution of the conflict, and to support programmes for disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants, including child soldiers.

3.2 Conflict Energy



Source: Conflict Resolution Stakeholders' Network (CRESNET) Training Manual 2001

3.4 Conflict Handling Styles

3.4.1 Conflict Handling Styles

These are various forms or ways by which individual, groups, societies or nations perceive and respond to conflicts arising from diverse/conflicting views, opinion, ideas, values and belief. The behaviours and attitudes of the parties concerned usually determined the success and failure of any conflict which can be described along these two basic dimensions namely:

a. Assertiveness

This describes the extent to which an individual attempts to satisfy his needs and concern.

b. Cooperativeness

This explains the extent to which a person attempts to satisfy his needs and concerns as well as the other person's needs. These two basic dimensions of behaviour can be applied to define or explain the following five conflict handling styles: dominating/competing; accommodating; avoiding; collaborating and compromising.

i. Dominating/Competing

This takes place when an individual is very assertive and not cooperative. Such a person pursues his own concerns at another person's expense. It is a power-oriented mode. It is a position that states: "I have to win." It can also mean: "I have to stand up for myself, for my rights." It entails defending a position by argument, by rank, or by economic advantage. This position connotes "you win, the other loses."

ii. Accommodating

You are unassertive and cooperative. It is the opposite of competing. When accommodating, you neglect your own concerns to satisfy the concerns of the other person; there is an element of self-sacrifice in this handling style. It can be selfless, generous; it can be yielding because of weakness or low self-esteem.

iii. Avoiding

You are unassertive and uncooperative. You do not (immediately) pursue your own concerns or those of other person. You do not address the conflict. It can be a diplomatic way of handling conflict, postponing for a better time. It can also be a withdrawal, that could lead to worsening of a relationship.

iv. Collaborating

Under this dimension, you are both assertive and cooperative. It is the opposite of avoiding. You are working with the other person to find a solution that fully satisfies the concerns of both parties. It means dialogue, it means good listening, it means understanding your and the other person's needs and concerns and creating solutions to meet those concerns. In this case, both sides win. A win-win situation for all.

v. Compromising

You are partially assertive and partially cooperative. When you compromise you attempt to find an expedient, mutually acceptable solution which partially satisfies both parties. When you compromise, you split the difference, you make concessions, you give up something, to gain something in return. You seek a middle – ground position. You win a little, and you lose a little.

3.4.2 Model Two

This second model grouped conflict handling styles into three major headings or classifications in as much as approaches to conflict vary from individual to individual. The classifications are thus:

1. Avoidance/Denial

This is a common way of handling or dealing with conflict. We may decide to avoid the other party/person or pretend that the conflict does not exist even though we are hurt or angry. We need to observe that this approach or style of handling conflict often leaves us feeling more hurt, frustrated, and annoyed. It can be likened to a housewife who keeps sweeping dirt under the carpet; the dirt will surely become a heap, which she will not be able to manage one day. This approach creates room for a win/lose option, an option where one person gets what he/she needs and the other person gets nothing. This style does not actually solve the problem but buries it for the time being.

However, this style is useful in some situations, for example, avoidance method can be a stop gap to reflect on what next line of action or step to be taken.

2. Confrontation/Fighting

In this approach, some people, group, nation or state might decide to slog it out with the other party in conflict situation. They threaten, attack, yell, insult and tenaciously hold on to their point of view and disagree with the other party's point of view. This approach often leads to violence and it creates lose/lose option, an option where both parties lose.

Neither party gets what he/she needs. In some cases, confrontation might also lead to win/lose where the stronger party with bigger power wins while the weaker party ends up being the loser.

3. Problem Solving

This is an approach whereby the parties in conflict listen with the intent to understand the underlying elements in the conflict and attack the issues. The parties adopting this style normally show respect for differences and look for ways to resolve the problem. Furthermore, people using this style or approach are less concerned about who is right or wrong. They view conflict as belonging to both parties which require their mutual collaboration to resolve. This approach creates room for a “win/win solution”- a situation where both parties come out satisfied with the solution. They are both happy and satisfied because their needs and desires have been met and their relationship has been restored.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Based on the above discussion, it is now crystal clear that it is important to know the stages or phases of conflict progression to enable you ascertain the step to be taken in the prevention of conflict escalation and management approaches to be adopted in managing conflicts that are at different stages or phases of conflict cycle.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, two key propelling variables in conflict escalation are discussed together with the stages of conflict, conflict cycle, and conflict energy while various conflict handling style were extensively discussed.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. With particular reference to the key propelling variables in conflict escalation, discuss five stages of conflict of any of the types of conflict..
2. Define conflict cycle and explain different phases of conflict known to you.
3. With reference to a case study of any past conflict, discuss the phase or stage of such conflict and the conflict handling style adopted in managing the conflict.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Jeong, H. (Ed.). (1999). *Conflict Resolution: Dynamics, Process and Structure*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Kriesberg, L. (1998). *Constructive Conflicts. From Escalation to Resolution*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

- Lipsey, R. K. (1997). *Breaking the Cycle. A Framework for Conflict Intervention*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Miall, H., Oliver R. & Tom, W.. (1999). *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflict*. Cambridge: Policy Press.
- Rupesinghe, K.(1998). *Civil Wars, Civil Peace. An Introduction to Conflict Resolution*. London: Pluto Press.
- Sandole, J. D. & Hugo, V. M. (Eds.). (1993). *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice. Integrated and Application*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Wallensteen, P. & Margareta, S. (2000). "Armed Conflict, 1989-99." *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 37, p. 5.

UNIT 4 CONFLICT ANALYSIS

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Meaning/Definition of Conflict Analysis
 - 3.2 Categories of Stakeholders
 - 3.2.1 Criteria for Determining Primary Stakeholders
 - 3.3 Pre-Intervention Conflict Analysis
 - 3.4 Definition of Conflict Mapping and Tracking
 - 3.4.1 Conventions for Mapping Relationship
 - 3.5 Conflict Analytical Tools
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

It is a clear known fact that conflict exist at all levels of human interaction either at interpersonal, intra-group, inter group or at communal, national and international levels. Therefore, it has become imperative for a conflict management practitioner, intervener or a peace studies and conflict resolution student to acquire necessary knowledge and skills required to enable such a person gain an insight into the hidden issues in conflict. The issues ranging from the causes of the conflict, stages/phases of conflict, the stakeholders (parties in conflict), and the conflict analytical tools and techniques necessary for proper understanding of conflict analysis in view of proffering sustainable solution to the conflict. Analysis is usually accompanied by “conflict mapping” and “tracking” both of which are very important at giving the conflict management practitioner a clear picture of what is happening, what is at stake and what could be done to manage the “difficult” situation.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- define the concept of conflict analysis
- explain the meaning of stakeholders, categorise stakeholders and itemise criteria for determining them
- state pre-intervention conflict analysis
- define conflict mapping and tracking.

- identify conventions used in mapping relationships
- enumerate different conflict analytical tools.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Meaning/Definition of Conflict Analysis

Conflict analysis is a critical review, interpretation and explanation of what is observed and recorded about the conflict situation. Alternatively, conflict can be defined as a process by which the root causes, dynamics, issues, and – other – fundamentals of conflict are examined, reviewed and unraveled through the use of various mechanisms for proper and better – understanding of the conflict from several perspectives.

Conflict analysis avails peace experts intervening in a conflict the opportunity of gathering necessary data or information that will facilitate bringing together of parties in dispute and reveal a dependable, reliable and effective direction on the choice of strategies and action to be adopted for a successful intervention and termination of conflict.

3.2 Categories of Stakeholders

A stakeholder is defined as those men and women, group or parties who are directly or indirectly involved in the conflict and have a significant stake in the outcome.

a. Primary Stakeholders

They are those whose goals are, or are perceived by them to be incompatible and who interact directly in pursuit of their respective goals. They are the direct investors in the conflict.

b. Secondary Stakeholders

These categories are affected directly by the outcome of the conflict but do not feel to be directly involved. As the conflict progresses, they may become primary and primary may become secondary.

c. Interested Stakeholders

These parties have an interest in the conflict. They stand to benefit from the outcomes whether peaceful or conflictual. The difference between interested and secondary stakeholders is that the interested stakeholders suffer no direct impact of the conflict in the short and medium term.

3.2.1 Criteria for Determining Primary Stakeholders

Determining where stakeholders should be put is both political and fluid. The following often determines the decisions of interveners in selecting the stakeholders to engage.

i. Functional

This suggests those who directly wage the conflict. Their legitimacy on the negotiating table is their capacity and ability to perpetuate the conflict. They are the embodiment of the conflict. Observers believe they have the power to end the conflict.

ii. Representativity

This is political aspect of stakeholders' categorisation. Stakeholders are primary because they represent a large number of people who are directly affected by the conflict. These people also have the means to wage conflict or build peace.

iii. Moral Authority

Primary stakeholders can also be determined because their moral authority carries the vision of post-conflict society. These include religious leaders, civil society organisations including women's organisations and traditional leaders among others. Earlier, this category was only confined to the secondary level.

Five Elements Required to Structure Analysis of Stakeholders

- i. **Relationship** -What is the interaction between the stakeholders?
- ii. **Agenda/Power** -What are the agendas of key stakeholders for conflict and for peace?
- iii. **Needs** - What are the needs of the different stakeholders? Which needs are opposing and overlapping?
- iv. **Action** -What actions are the different stakeholders undertaking to promote peace or conflict?
- v. What is the cumulative power of actions for peace or conflict?

3.3 Pre-Intervention Conflict Analysis

Entering into conflict situations by a researcher or conflict management practitioner is often an unpredictable task which requires a critical careful conflict analysis. It is not enough for him/her to just note the positions of the stakeholders (parties) in the conflict but s/he must have a thorough understanding of their interests, values and needs as well.

The following model suggests a way for the intervenor to gather data and increase the certainty that his/her entry will be constructive to the disputing parties. It is the responsibility of an intervenor to develop a comprehensive picture of the conflict by identifying its key element. The pre-intervention information gathered usually points the intervenor in a certain direction, suggesting ways to engage the parties to reduce tensions and work together to find solution to the problems that they face on one hand. Additional information or data collected during the course of intervention should also be incorporated into the conflict analysis. This may help you determine why an issue is so hard to resolve or it may suggest an alternative approach to conflict management.

1. History of the Conflict

It is important for a conflict analyst to understand the significant events that has happened in the past between the parties. It reveals the genesis of the conflict and whether they have had previous disputes. History also enables the intervenor to ask the following questions. What has been the pattern of their relationship? Was there a recent change in the relationship? Did the conflict abate at one time before re-escalating? What past efforts have been made to resolve it and why they failed? Proffering answers to these questions might require visiting local, state and native archives for documentary evidence. Oral interviews might also be used to gather necessary information.

2. Context of Conflict

It is also necessary to know how the parties are currently trying to resolve their differences. What is the physical environment of the conflict? That is the social, economics and political environment of the conflict, as well as the dimensions of the external situations (state, sub-regional and global). How do the parties communicate and make decisions?

3. Primary Parties

It is necessary to identify the parties involved in the conflict. In doing this, you should ask such question as: “what are the parties’ positions and underlying interest? What are their values and perceptions of the other parties? Do the parties have settlement authority? And what interest, goals, or needs do the parties share in common?

4. Power Relations

This has to do with the ability to influence or control other events, which could be in form of physical strength, status, control of resources, persuasive ability, support of allies, and so on. There are two major types of power that can be exercised by either of the parties in conflict. These are hard power, which is usually associated with violent conflict while the other is soft power that is identified with positive conflict. The following questions are usually being asked under power relation: Is there balance of power between the disputants? What is/are the source(s) of the parties' power? What resources are at the disposal of each party? How often do the parties use their power and what are the consequences of such power? Are there any untapped power bases of the parties? What method of peace process is suitable for the success of the intervention?

5. Other Parties/Stakeholders

Apart from the already mentioned primary parties, we also have secondary parties and shadow parties that must be considered. Their link or relationships with the primary parties ought to be carefully examined to understand the overall underlying problems associated with a conflict. Secondary parties can easily be identified compared to shadow parties because most times, shadow parties hide their identities but supply primary parties resources required for the prosecution of conflict.

The roles these parties play in the conflict must be ascertained. You should know whether they align with either of the primary parties or neutral. When and how these parties can be involved in the peace agencies or organisations availability and involvement in the process of conflict resolution cannot be underestimated.

6. Issues

- a. What are the primary issues as identified by the parties?
- b. Are there hidden or secondary issues not stated by the parties that are needed to be identified?
- c. What kind of intervention procedures are necessary for the types of issues are identified?
- d. Is the conflict genuine in its own right or is it merely a symptom of other unresolved conflict(s)?
- e. If the latter or former, how much time and efforts must be expended on the conflict in order to reach or arrive at a reasonable and sustainable resolution?

7. The Immediate Situation

This involves ascertaining the present situation by asking such questions as: “What is happening now? (Should the first step be efforts to move towards negotiations, or are short-term violence reduction strategies called for? It is the responsibility of the intervenor to determine the most effective and reliable conflict management strategy to adopt in accordance with the urgency and demand of the conflict situation. For example, if the conflict is at a violent stage, definitely, the intervenor may be compelled to adopt some violence reduction strategies to reduce the rate of likely casualty that may arise.

8. Stages of Conflict

- a. We have to ascertain whether the conflict is escalating or stabilising, and ask why?
- b. If the conflict is escalating, what is happening? Are issues moving from specific to general? Is there an increase in issues or resources used to wage the conflict? Has disagreement turned to antagonism? Is there an increase in the level of power being used by either parties? Are the parties polarised? Has extremist leadership arisen? Is communication affected or being distorted? Are parties engaged in propaganda campaigns?
- c. If the conflict is stabilising, what is happening? Are safety-value mechanisms put in place? Is there a fear of escalation? Are there agreements on norms and values? Are there social bonds, friendships, cross-cutting memberships among party members? Are there other third party intervenors or external interference or threat? Are there time constraints or other limitations on the further use of resources?

9. Timing

Timing is important in pre-intervention conflict analysis for the following reasons.

- To ascertain the actual and right time of intervention.
- Determine the most profitable and successful time of the intervention.
- To know the party that is likely to benefit from immediate intervention.

10. Possible Options of Intervention/Settlement

- The level of knowledge and understanding of the parties alternatives should be considered.
- Level of parties awareness of each other's alternatives or option should be considered.
- Examine the efforts made so far by the conflicting parties in the accomplishment of their options.
- Evaluate the realistic nature of the parties.

3.4 Definitions of Conflict Mapping and Tracking

Conflict Mapping

Wehr (1979:18) describes conflict mapping or the first step in intervening to manage a particular conflict. Conflict mapping can also be defined as graphical representation of the conflict in which the conflicting parties are placed in relation to the situation on ground.

Maps are used for a variety of purposes to understand conflict situation better, to ascertain where power lies, to examine conflict clearly from one viewpoint, to look for openings (way out) or new strategies, to know where our allies or potential allies are placed, to find our own niche, to evaluate what has been done and for many other reasons.

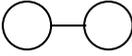
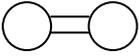
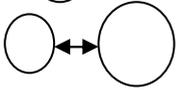
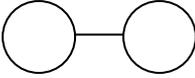
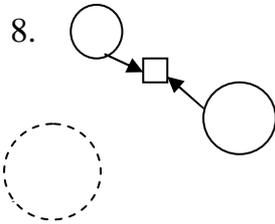
Conflict Tracking

Conflict tracking is the process, which involves monitoring, observing and recording the trend of change and continuity in the conflict process. What to keep track of could include:

- conflict parties include internal leadership struggles, varying prospect for military success and the reading of general population to express support for a settlement; possible ways of re-defining goals and finding alternative means of resolving differences including suggested step towards settlement and eventual transformation; likely constraints on these, and how these might be overcome.
- it is important for the person keeping track of the conflict to pay careful attention to the minutest details about the issue and circumstances around him.

3.4.1 Conventions for Mapping Relationship

The following are the particular conventions we use in mapping relationships existing between or among the stakeholders (parties) involved in a conflict situation.

1.  The circles indicate parties to the situation. The size of the circle indicates power relations of the parties.
2.  Straight lines indicate direct relationship between the parties when communication is at its best.
3.  Double connecting lines indicate an alliance
4.  Dotted lines indicate informal weak or intermittent relationship
1.  Arrows indicate the predominant direction of influence or activity.
6.  Lines like lightning indicate discord or conflict.
7.  A double line like a wall across lines indicates a broken relationship.
8.  A square or rectangle indicates an issue, topic or some thing other than people.
Shadows show external parties which have influence but are not directly involved.

Source: Conflict Resolution Stakeholders' Network (CRESNET) Training Manual 2001

3.5 Conflict Analytical Tools

Conflict mapping tracking and analysis processes are the essential ingredients required in pre-third party intervention for the collection of essential and comprehensive information/data by a mediator or conflict intervenor to discover purposeful tool(s) and techniques that can be used or adopted to suit their needs.

Through such data, Moore (1996:114) notes, that a mediator would:

- develop a mediation plan or conflict strategy that meets the requirements of the specific situation and the needs of all parties.
- avoid entering a dispute with a conflict resolution or management procedure that is appropriate for the stage of development or level of intensity that the dispute has reached.
- operate from an accurate information base that will prevent unnecessary conflicts due to mis-communication, mis-perception, or misleading data.
- clarify which issues and interests are most important.
- identify the key people involved and the dynamics of their relationships.

As mentioned above, some of the techniques or tools may look familiar or may be unfamiliar. However, all have been tried and used repeatedly and successfully by people from many different types of conflict situations. In many cases, groups have adapted them to suit the particular needs they have or based on the perceptions of the people who work on it.

some of the available tools/techniques are discussed below.

A. Timeline

Timeline is a graph that shows events plotted against a particular time-scale. It shows different views of history in a conflict: helps to clarify each side's perception of events and facilitate easy identification of events that are most important to each side. It lists date (year, month, or day, depending on the scale) and depicts events in chronological order.

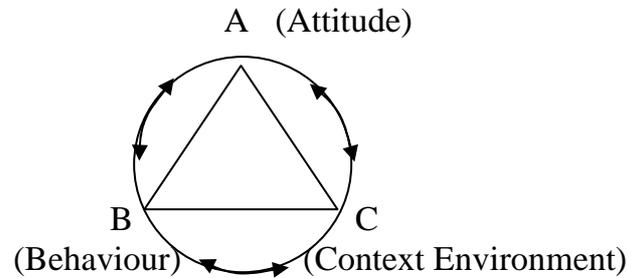
In a conflict situation, groups of people often have completely different experiences and perceptions: they see and understand the conflict in quite distinct ways. They often have different histories. People on opposing sides of the conflict may note or emphasise different events, describe them differently, and attach contrasting emotions to them.

Using the Timeline

Timeline is not a research tool per se as mentioned above, but a way to prompt discussion and learning. In conflict situation, it is usually used early in a process along with either analytical tools or later in the process to help in strategy building. It is also used when people disagree about events or do not know each other's history; and as a way of helping

people accept their own perspective as only part of the “truth,” variation is use: it is used by parties themselves and shared with each other; it is followed by a discussion about events that are highlighted by each side and adding a line for peace initiatives during the same time period.

ABC TRIANGLE METHODS OF ANALYSIS



Attitudes (willingness to change, fixed position)

Behaviour (agitation, demand, pleas, violence)

Context (the background)

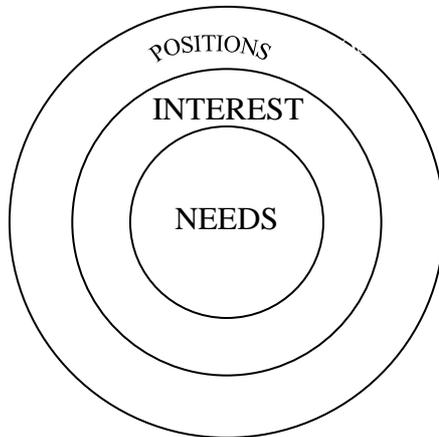
ABC analytical tool sees conflict having three above mentioned elements, which affect one another.

The third party intervenor or peacemaker in a conflict, uses this tool by drawing up a separate ABC Triangle for each of the major stakeholders in the conflict. He lists key issues relating to attitude, behaviour and context from the parties 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. You later compare and contrast the perception of the parties for detecting the major object of conflict and then pay attention on the majority. The causes and issues, which are the products of the parties differences, will be addressed, while intervenor will make the parties see reasons on why they should do away with negative perceptions and embrace peace in order to bring about positive and sustainable peace.

The Onion/Doughnut Method of Analysis

This is a graphic tool based upon the analogy of an onion and its layers. The outer layer contains the positions (parties' wants). Underlying these are the interests of the parties in conflict (what parties want to achieve from the situation concerned). The third layer is the core cause at the conflict situation, that is; the most important needs to be satisfied. It is important for intervenor to carry out or do this “onion” analysis for each of the parties involved.

When times are stable, relationships are good, and trust is high, our actions and strategies may stem from our most basic needs. We may be willing to disclose these needs to others, and discuss them openly, if we trust them, and they may be able, through analysis and empathy, to grasp our needs even before we disclose them.



In more volatile or dangerous situations, and when there is mistrust between people, we may want to keep our basic needs hidden. To let others know our needs would reveal our vulnerability, and perhaps give them extra power to hurt us. If all of us are hidden from each other, they are also less likely to grasp our needs through analysis or empathy because of lack of knowledge and because our mistrust changes our perceptions of each other.

In such a situation of conflict and instability, actions may no longer come directly from needs. People may look at more collective and abstract level of interests, and base their actions on these. When the interests are under attack, they may take up and defend a position, which is still further removed from their original needs.

This type of analysis enables intervenor to understand the dynamics of a conflict situation, and prepare dialogue facilitation between groups in a conflict. The analysis is most useful in a mediation or negotiation processes when parties involved in either of the processes which to clarify for themselves their own needs, interests and positions. As they plan their strategies for negotiation, they can decide how much of the interior “layers” – interests and needs – they want to reveal to the other parties involved.

Force – Field Analysis

This tool can be used to identify the different forces influencing a conflict. It is used to analyse both positive and negative forces in a conflict. Whenever action is being taken to bring about change, there

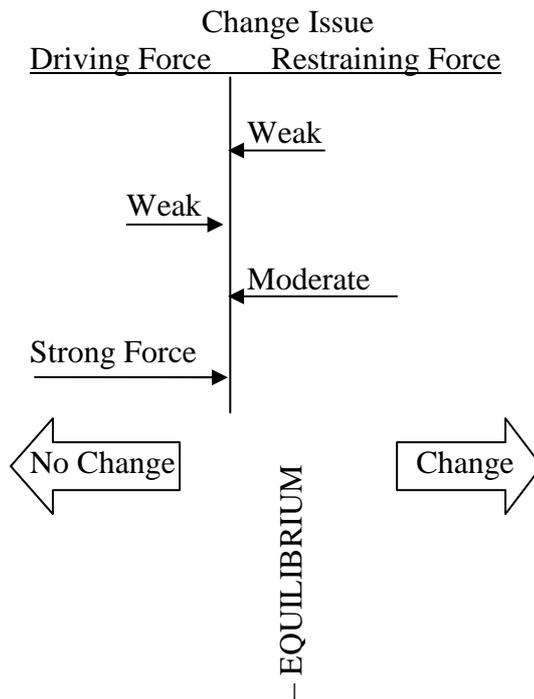
will be other forces that are either supporting or hindering what you are trying to achieve. This tool offers a way of identifying these positive and negative forces and trying to assess their strengths and weaknesses. It can also help you to see more clearly what is maintaining the status-quo.

How to use this tool

- First and foremost, you begin by naming your specific objective that is the action you intend to take or the change you desire to achieve. Write this objective at the top of the page and draw a line down the centre of the page.
- On one side of the line, list all the forces that seem to support and assist the action or change to happen. Next to each one draw an arrow towards the centre, varying the length and/or thickness of each arrow to indicate the relative strength of each force. These are pointing in the direction of the desired change.
- On the other side of the line, list all the forces that seem to retrain or hinder the desired action or to minimise in some way the negative force, in order to facilitate increase in the likelihood of the desired change happening.
- At this stage, you may want to examine your plan of action and make modifications in your strategy if necessary in order to build upon the strengths of the positive forces and then try to reduce or even remove the effects of the negative forces.

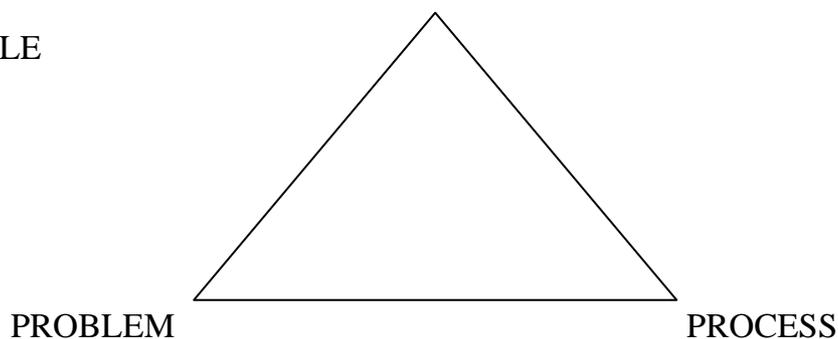
The Force Field Analysis was developed by an American Social Psychologist Kurt Lewin (1951) as a useful tool built on the premise that forces are often driven by human habits, customs, and attitudes that can affect the change process.

Force Field Diagram



PPP MODEL

PEOPLE



PEOPLE

- Who are the individuals and groups directly involved?
- Who will be affected by or can influence the outcome?
- What leadership and structure does each group have?
- How does each group view the situation?
- How is each group affected?
- What particular feelings, issues, and other variables characterise each?
- What are the main discrepancies in perception?
- What communication, connections links does each have with the others?

PROCESS

- What have been the sparking issues?
- Is there a historic pattern to their interaction?
- What is the process each would want to follow?
- As the conflict developed, what additional problems or issues emerged?
- What degree of polarisation is there between each party?
- What activities of each party have and are intensifying the conflict?
- What role do more moderate individuals and groups have?

PROBLEM

- What are the interests, needs and values of each party?
- What do they propose or pursue to meet them?
- What shared basic needs (security, self esteem, food, rights, land, etc) underlie the conflict?
- What are the minimal essential outcomes each party might be satisfied with?
- What are the basic areas of agreement and disagreement?
- What resources are there for dealing with this conflict?
- What stage has the conflict reached – is it ripe for resolution/transformation?

This tool can be used to analyse conflict by proffering answers to the several questions put forward above. If reasonable answers were proffered, then the conflict intervenor would be able know the stage of the conflict, the parties involved, their positions, basic needs, values perceptions and differences. Having known all these, you will then be able to decide on the method or process to be adopted in facilitating reconciliation (peace agreement) between the aggrieved parties, so as to bring about enduring/sustainable peace to the previously troubled spot.

DPT MODEL

- D – Diagnosis:** Investigating the history of sickness
P – Progress: Establish the present state of success and where it could be in future.
T – Therapy: The prescription or treatment.

This analytical tool is based on the premise that any individual or society that is in conflict is sick and therefore they need to see a doctor.

This means that there is a direct relationship between conflict and our physical, emotional and spiritual well being. Negative conflict expression reduces our overall capacity to build a healthy society.

Therefore, to build a healthy society, it is now the responsibilities of the conflict manager together with concerned authority or parties to bring about drastic reduction or removal of perceived sickness by proffering or prescribing lasting and sustainable treatment for sickness. Having carried out a proper diagnosis/examination of cause and trend at the conflict, appropriate measures/treatment can now be adopted for the removal or eradication of the sickness and its cause.

PILLARS

This is a graphic tool that is built on the premise that some situations are not really stable, but are being “held up” by a range of factors or forces, which are the “pillars”. If the pillars can be identified and then find ways of removing them or minimising them, effects on the situation we will be able to topple a negative situation and replace it with a positive one.

How to use this tool

The tool can be made use of by following these trends listed below:

- identify the unstable situation (conflict, problem or injustice) and show this as an inverted triangle standing on one point.
- identify the forces or factors that are likely to be maintaining this situation and show these as the “pillars” on either side of the triangle holding it up.
- put into consideration how each of these pillars might be weakened or removed from the situation. List your strategies briefly for each of the pillar.
- consider what stable situation could replace this unstable one.

Example of a Pillars Analysis



4.0 CONCLUSION

With all the above discussions, we can now see that before any conflict can be prevented or resolved amicably from degenerating into a violent one it is important for a conflict manager or intervenor to be well equipped and versatile in conflict analysis techniques or tools to afford him the opportunity of understanding the conflict situation, and knowing the stakeholders, causes of conflict, the parties views, perceptions, interests, values before embarking on conflict resolution/management process that will bring about positive and sustainable peace.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit explained and defined conflict analysis, stakeholders, categories of stakeholders, and criteria for determining primary stakeholders. The unit also defined “conflict mapping” and “tracking” and showed conventions used in mapping relationships. Different tools of conflict analysis that can facilitate proper and better understanding of conflict situation and types of relationship existing between/among stakeholders in relation to sustainable conflict resolution were extensively discussed.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. a. What is conflict analysis?
b. Discuss any four conflict analysis tools.
2. a. Define conflict mapping and tracking.
b. Draw or show different conventions used in mapping of relationships and indicate their meanings.
3. a. Who are stakeholders?
b. Explain different categories of stakeholders.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Azar, E. (1990). *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory and Cases*. Worcester: Dartmouth.
- Burton, J. (1990). *Human Needs Theory*. London: Macmillan.
- Fisher, S. *et al.* (2000). *Working With Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action*. London: Zed.
- Mitchell, C. (1988). *The Structure of International Conflict*. London: Macmillan.
- Otite, O. & Albert, I. A. (1999). *Community Conflict in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Spectrum Academic Associates Peace Works.

UNIT 5 CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 A Conceptual Overview of Conflict Transformation
 - 3.1.1 Conflict Transformation
 - 3.2 Types of Transformation
 - 3.2.1 Issue Transformation
 - 3.2.2 Rule Transformation
 - 3.2.3 Structural Transformation
 - 3.2.4 Actor Transformation
 - 3.2.5 Personal and Group Transformation
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The main purpose or objective of conflict transformation is to put in place positive peace that will be congenial to the non-violent handling of conflict. Conflict transformation also educate and enlighten parties in conflict to see conflict not as necessarily destructive or negative, but as a means of tapping into the opportunities embedded in conflict issues for the shared benefits. Conflict transformation involves the transformation of issues, actor, structures and rules.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- discuss the basic idea of conflict transformation and its' features
- describe the different complementary scopes of conflict transformation
- explain its' indispensability for engendering positive peace especially at the post – conflict phase.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 A Conceptual Overview of Conflict Transformation

If the right technical approach is not applied in handling the post-conflict situation, a relapse of conflict becomes inevitable. This is

because most efforts to achieve peace in the post-conflict situation often provide at best stability or conflict containment. This is usually the case when conflict transformation is not professionally undertaken. Therefore, what is conflict transformation?

3.1.1 Conflict Transformation

The fundamental objective of this latest concept is to transform unfair social interactions. The International Alert (1996: I:1-, II: 37) conceptualises conflict transformation as a:

..particular approach which aims to recognise the grievances, needs and issues of all the parties. It focuses on the processes by which conflict develops into violence, rather than focusing exclusively on how to bring a violent conflict quickly to a cease fire for settlement. It addresses the *structural reality* of inequality, rights and injustice in the society involved, and offers alternative ways of addressing those matters. This approach aims to transform a conflict from violence and destruction into a constructive force which reduces social change, progressively removing or at least reducing the conditions from which the conflict and violence have arisen. The peace, which develops, can then be well-founded and sustainable.

Conflict transformation is essentially integrative conflict resolution orientation that aims at positively altering those perceptions, communication and root factors that instigate conflicts. This laborious approach is preferred because it focuses on:

- producing transformation in the whole conflict environment
- producing transformation in the relationship of the conflicting parties, or
- producing empowerment-based transformation in parties to the conflict (Burgess and Burgess, 1972: 285-286).

Conflict transformation is the aggregate of all efforts that concentrate on the developmental stages or processes of a conflict, rather than simply on its end point. In addition, it pays attention to how conflict transforms relationships, communication, perceptions, issues and social organisation. Based on this, conflict transformation aims to transform the conflict from violent manifestation characterised by armed conflict and war to constructive and peaceful expression.

Conflict transformation also focuses on transformation and sometimes the removal of all structures that impede sustainable positive peace. It also seeks ways of involving all stakeholders including erstwhile

combatants, local individuals, communities and external third parties in a concerted way.

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

Conflict transformation has also been defined as a particular approach that takes into cognisance the grievances, needs and issues of all the parties. It pays due attention to the degeneration stages of conflict to violence rather than solely on how to bring a violent conflict to a cease-fire or settlement. It confronts the structural reality of inequality, rights and injustice in the locales concerned and proposes alternative ways of addressing those realities.

Conflict transformation aims to transform a conflict from violent and destructive stage into a constructive force, which will lay the foundation for social change. This can be achieved by systematically and progressively removing and playing down the conditions that gave rise to conflict and violence. The objective is to have a well-founded and sustainable peace. In achieving the foregoing, due attention is paid to the actors, the issues, the rules, and the structures.

In approaching conflict transformation, there are two broad approaches. These are non-violent conflict transformation associated with Gandhi otherwise known as the Gandhi theory. The second though seemingly unscrupulous approach is a combination of approaches that does not presuppose resolution of the incompatibilities, but tries to freeze the conflict, negate it, protect it, through all kinds of devices, including structural and direct violence.

The non-violence theory or Gandhi theory is vehemently intolerant of the use of either structural violence or direct violence because it will contradict the spirit and letter of the non-violence theory. In addition, non-violence is an admonition to struggle against both direct and structural violence, and an equally strong admonition not to use them in the struggle. Non-violence or Gandhi theory will also not condone the

fair protractive devices earlier mentioned because they are antithetical to the non-violence theory of conflict transformation. For Gandhi; “there is no way to peace; peace is the way; to be taken, now.”

One of the chief proponents of conflict transformation is John Lederach. In his analysis, Lederach distinguishes conflict transformation from conflict management and conflict resolution. Conflict transformation is desirable than the two because it emphasises a broader and deeper understanding of the conflict. “Conflict resolution” suggests that conflict is destructive like fire; therefore, it should be put out quickly. It also implies that conflict is a flash or spark that can be handled once and for all in a decisive manner through mediation or other intervention processes.

“Conflict management” correctly posits that conflicts could be protracted in span, which makes it difficult to be swiftly resolved, but “management” implies that people can be directly or remotely manipulated, as they were physical objects. Furthermore, the notion of management implies that its goal is the mitigation or control of volatility without dealing with the real source of the problem.

Conflict transformation transcends simply eliminating or controlling conflict, but stresses making on the dialectic or dynamic nature of conflicts. In the context of social conflict, Lederach argues that social conflict is ordinarily created by humans who have relationships that suffer immediately there is a conflict. Therefore, cause-and-effect relationship goes both ways from the people and the relationships to the conflict and back to the people and the relationships. Conflict changes relationships in predictable ways often negatively; it changes modes and contexts of communication processes of social organisation, altering images of the self and of the other.

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

aggressively or violently replaced by non-violent advocacy, conciliation or attempted cooperation.

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

- Multi-level participation involving elements from all social levels of the involved parties, from top decision makers through middle range opinion leaders to grass roots constituents, including those who would normally be excluded from the process and whose interests would not be represented in 'normal' negotiations.
- Efforts to empower the 'underdogs' in the struggle so that between parties that are more equal than they could otherwise be.
- Efforts to ensure that those directly involved in the conflict can control the transformation processes to their own satisfaction and thus make sure that any outcomes have the approval and support of those affected.
- Focus not merely on immediate issues but also on long standing traumas and on any deep-rooted sense of past injustices.
- Brokerage by appropriate intermediaries who understand the culture and social structures in which adversaries are embedded.
- Co-creation of a new understanding of the conflict, how it arose and what it needs to be changed in order both to resolve it and to ensure that other, similar dispute do not arise in future.
- An ability to create and put in place procedures that will maintain and continue the changes found necessary to resolve the current conflict and prevent others arising in future, or-when they arise – taking on a protracted and destructive form.
- The mutual, inter-active education of adversaries about the nature of the socio-political and economic systems from which the conflict arose and of the dynamics of that conflict; and their training in skills that will enable them deal with that conflict and other that may arise in future.

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

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

3.2 Types of Conflict Transformation

3.2.1 Issue Transformation

In many instances, issues are often shaped by perception and the fear of its effects on parties concerned. These are some of the factors that impinge on conflict transformation. Schmid (2000) defines issue transformation as a change in the political agenda of the conflict, downplaying the importance of original conflict issues and emphasising shared concern for new issues. However, for issue transformation to aid any conflict transformation process the particular types of conflict must be accurately understood and analysed. Therefore, a modification of Schmid definition becomes auspicious because other than political issues or conflicts there are other types of conflicts with vexed and salient issues that must necessarily be transformed. Issues of identity, security, religion, ecology and others also often need to be transformed. The main thrust of issue transformation is to make discordant tunes less salient while making concordant tunes better perceived and appreciated. Issue transformation also entails the dexterous handling or manipulating of issue structure and contents to enhance the possibility of conflict transformation. Issue transformation calls for the expansion of the agenda rather than restricting it to maintain social coalitions and the convergence of disparate interests.

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

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

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

A second fundamental difference is that needs are often inextricably linked together. While interests may be arranged or shared in such a way that only one side gets its objective, needs based issues can not be so shared because of their intangible nature. Insecurity or denigration of one party's ethnic identity or the desecration of one party's religious symbols would likely trigger violence or aggression. It is, however, theorised that, if one's identity or security is secured, then the likelihood of threatening that of others is greatly reduced.

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

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

3.2.2 Rule Transformation

As the popular saying goes, "rules are made for human being and not vice versa." Among the Yoruba of south-western Nigeria, it is also opined that there can be no violation of rules or norms where none hitherto existed. Rule transformation as part of conflict transformation processes usually occur during intense conflict or after. Vanynen (1991) describes rule transformation as one of the measures to restructure a conflict. Rule transformation tries to redefine the norms which actors in a conflict are expected to follow in their mutual interactions. According

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

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

1. Lebanon under civil war from 1975 until 1989

- **February 1976:** Arabisation of the Syrian initiative to provide incentives and modifications for the proposed Constitutional Document while the conflict was still in civilian hands;
- **July 1982:** Reagan initiative that focused on the Lebanese problem, brought in Syria, and worked deliberately on a peace agreement;
- **March 1984:** Saudi and US cooperation with Syria to provide incentives and guarantees and to include militia and parliamentary leaders to reinforce the Lausanne Agreement and
- **December 1985:** March 1986. Saudi, Egyptian and Western involvement alongside Syria to broaden and strengthen the Damascus Accord.

2. Somalia under civil war after 1988

- **October 1988:** UNSC, Organisation of African Unit (OAU) and Inter-Government Agency on Drought and Development (IGADD) condemnation of Hawgessia massacre, mediation of monitored ceasefire, and convocation of national reconciliation conference under US – USSR leadership;
- **May 1990 – January 1991:** US – IGADD mediation of Siad Barne's resignation (such as arranged by Mengistu in March 1991) and leadership transition through a sovereign national conference (as used elsewhere in Africa);
- **March – June 1991:** Earlier UNSC authorisation of United Nations Operation in Somalia UNOSOM 1, with anus embargo and a more inclusive Djibouti congress.
- **March 1992:** UNSC authorisation of humanitarian intervention, peacekeeping monitors, confidence – building measures and a reconciliation conference, with a broadened mandate for UN mediator Salumonu, as a follow-up to the Mogadishu ceasefire;
- **March 1993:** Seamless transition from the United State Force in Somalia (UNITAF) to UNOSOM II, with a continuation of UNITAF policies of grassroot institutionalisation, enforcement, and policing; and
- **October 1993:** Firm reaction by US Forces to deaths at the Aideded Cornal.

3. Liberian State collapse into civil war after 1990

- a. **October 1985:** US desertification of fraudulent electoral results and support for the true court to end Doe's regime while political forces were still intact and the army had not been cleansed of anti-Doe forces;
- b. **June 1990:** US evacuation of Samuel Doe to safety and retirement offered by Nigeria and Togo, thus offering an opportunity for influence with Taylor;
- c. **April – July 1992:** Inclusion of all factions and a stronger mediation role for the Carter Centre's International Negotiation Network (INN) to provide fuller implementing details and a monitored disarmament for the Yamouskrov IV agreement;
- d. **July 1993:** Stronger mediation rule by the Carter Centre's INN and the Special Representative to the UN Secretary-General to provide for realistic disarmament and interim governance at Cotonou and;

- e. **July 1998:** Follow up to the Taylor-Kabbah agreement through redeployment of an augmented ECOMOG force along the Liberian – Sierra Leonean border and in the diamond region.
- f. **August 4, 2003:** ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL) numbering 3,500 troops were deployed to Liberia. Nigeria contributed 1,500 troops to the vanguard. The mandate of ECOMIL included:
 - g. establishing zones of separation (205) between the parties to the conflict;
 - h. facilitating the functions of the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC), in accordance with the Accra Agreement on Ceasefire and Cessation of hostilities;
 - i. taking necessary steps to guarantee the security and freedom of movement of personnel of the force and of humanitarian agencies;
 - j. forming the nucleus of an International Stabilisation Force (ISF) and preparing the ground for its deployment. Sources: Zentman (2001) and Yoramus (2005).

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

3.2.3 Structural Transformation

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

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

structural imbalance in terms of who gets what in the highly centralised and seemingly unitary presidential systems of those countries.

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

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

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

Therefore, it can be deduced that a social structure or system that allows formation of consciousness, conscientisation, mobilisation and mass organisation of people from below cannot be described as fundamentally structurally violent. In order to deal with structural conflict, Galtung

offers four approaches based on the non-violence school of thought. These are *confrontation*, *struggle*, *de-coupling* and *re-coupling*.

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.4 Actor Transformation

Central to conflicts either at the inter-personal or community level is human being. The way human beings view and handles any conflict

determines whether it will be destructive or constructive conflicts. Based on the assertion of Galtung (1995:53) that:

“... conflicts are generally not solved... what survives after a conflict has disappeared from the agenda is conflict energy reproduced and produced by the conflict. Then energy does not die... it attaches itself to one or more conflicts, possibly also the old one”.

Therefore, the need for man, the chief agent in conflict to be empowered to transcend the conflict has informed the concept of actor transformation in conflict transformation.

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

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

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

Transformational mediation at the inter-personal level also helps actors to define problems and goals in their own terms, thus validating the importance of these goals and problems in the parties' lives. In addition, transformational mediation can help the actors in being able to personally decide how or even whether, to settle a dispute and it can

help the parties marshal their own resources to address problems and achieve their own objectives. In short, the aim of transformational mediation is that it helps parties in conflicts to perceive it as opportunities for growth and transformation, not as problems that is, inherently and pathologically destructive.

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

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

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

- Acknowledgement of the existence of past grievances, injuries and traumas plus willingness to examine these thoroughly and to search for means of healing the damage caused through a variety of means, including reconciliation and mutually acceptable process of restoration and if necessary – redistributive justice.
- Acceptance of the need for a durable, inclusive and acceptable solution to a mutual problem, which may involve major structural change.

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

Actors are principal factors in conflicts whether at the inter-personal or inter-group level. The attainment and sustainability of peace depends largely on the extent of the transformation that has taken place within and amongst actors in conflict. Therefore transforming actors irrespective of the intensity of the conflict has a strong bearing on the conflict and relationships. The indispensability of actor transformation in conflict transformation has been stressed. The effect on conflict and relationship has also been highlighted coupled with a description of processes involved in conflict transformation. Appleby (2001) based on Lederach's thought on transformation proposes that actor transformation should involve the grass – root and mid – level players. These comprise well – meaning and respected leaders drawn from the community especially in cases of communal conflicts. This must however be done carefully not to inadvertently worsen the conflict situation by bringing people with veiled unscrupulous interest in the conflict or shadow parties.

3.2.5 Personal and Group Transformation

This option considers the prospects that certain positive changes exist in the heart of every person that could be harnessed to positively transform conflicts. Basically, reciprocal respect for one another must be harnessed to correct misrepresentations, mistrust, extreme dislike, deliberately distorted perceptions etc. It advocates the need for individuals to be willing to reach settlement with others with whom they had conflicts in time past. That is, people should be open minded about the idea of reconciliation rather than being rigid and deliberately prejudiced. Or, to state this principle more clearly, community-wide reconciliation efforts cannot result into any meaningful achievement in situations where individuals are blocking efforts to their personal transformation. It thus emphasises the need for individuals to embrace the idea of forgiveness

and entertain the idea to start anew with their former adversaries or enemies. Therefore, it is significant for the community elites or opinion leaders to be persuaded by the personal transformation agenda in order for them to run with it to appropriately manage the conflict.

4.0 CONCLUSION

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

5.0 SUMMARY

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

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Discuss Gandhi's theory of conflict transformation.
2. Explain how an effective conflict transformation can be achieved.
3. Enumerate types of conflict and explain any two.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Adebanwi, W. (2004). "Democracy and Violence: *The Challenge of Communal Clashes*". In *Nigeria's Struggle for Democracy and Good Governance* (Eds.) Agbaje, A.B. et al. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.
- Barash, D.P. & Webel, C.P. (2002). *Peace and Conflict Studies*. London: Sage Publications.
- Burgess, H, & Burgess, G. M. (1972). *Encyclopedia of Conflict Resolution*, Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, pp. 285-286.

- Coser, L. (1956). *The Functions of Social Conflict*. New York: Free Press.
- Folger, J. P. (1997), *Working through Conflict: Strategies for Relationship*. New York.
- Galtung, I. (1996). *Peace by Peaceful Means Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilisation*. London: Sage Publications.
- International Alert (1996). *Resource Pack for Conflict Transformation, Parts I-V*. London: International Alert.
- Lederach, J.P. (1995). *Preparing for Peace Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*. Syracuse: University Press.
- Schmid, A. (2000). *Thesaurus and Glossary of Early Warning and Conflict Prevention Terms*. London: Forum on Early Warning and Early Response.
- Yoroma, G. (2005). "The Second Liberian Peace Process and the Problem of Post-conflict peace building in West Africa: Some contending issues and interests." In *Special Research Issues* Vol. 1. Ibadan, French Institute for Research in Africa.
- Zantman, I.W. (2001). "Preventing Deadly Conflict." In *Security Dialogue* Vol. 32. No. 2. June: Sage Publications.

MODULE 2 DYNAMICS OF CONFLICT

Unit 1	Relationship between Perception and Conflict
Unit 2	Language Barriers in Conflict and Resolution
Unit 3	Early Warning and Early Response Mechanism
Unit 4	Arms Control and Demilitarisation
Unit 5	Peace and Education

UNIT 1 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION AND CONFLICT

CONTENTS

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
3.1	Relationship between Perception and Conflict
3.1.1	Perception Characteristics Framework
3.1.2	Causes of Conflict Framework
3.4	Barriers to Social Perception
3.5	Managers and Perception
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will learn about the basic relationship between perception and conflict and how individual or group views and understand certain issues or how situations can promote cordial and proper relationship, harmony, love and peace or lead to discord, confrontation, mistrust, and even crisis that can lead to loss of lives and properties in the society.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- distinguish between perception and conflict
- discuss the perception characteristics framework
- describe the causes of conflict framework
- identify barriers to social perception and why managers study perception.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Relationship between Perception and Conflict

Basically, conflicts arise when individuals and people in communal and organisational settings perceive that others represent threats to the accomplishment of their goals regardless of whether these threats are real or imagined. In order to strategically approach this subject, we shall guide our discourses with two frameworks, namely 1) the perception characteristics framework, and 2) the causes of conflict framework.

3.1.1 Perception Characteristics Framework

Under this framework, we shall examine the relationship between the five characteristics of perception and conflict.

- i. **Perception and the Environment (People's actions, emotions, feelings and thought processes):** The way in which a person perceives the environment largely determines the way he/she will react to it. If an individual perceives that the environment is friendly, accommodating and appreciative of his/her personality he/she is less likely to be aggressive to the environmental actors. Conversely, where the perceiver concludes that the environment represent significant threats to him/her then he/she may resort to defence mechanisms that gain expression as aggressive behaviours, which are simply conflict-oriented behaviours.
- ii. **The perceptual process and meanings:** The relationship between perception and conflict also draw significantly from the degree of accuracy of the meanings obtained from an individual perceptual process. The framework of this process consists of receiving information (inputs) which is then selected/interpreted (organised) before the perceiver embarks on his actions/reactions (outputs). From this framework, it is evident that conflict can ensue if the perceiver does not receive complete inputs or is incapable of processing the received information correctly due to its huge volume. You will recall that stereotype is one factor that prevents a perceiver from acquiring detailed information about someone being perceived.
- iii. **Transition from Perception to Action:** The time lapse between perception and the perceiver's responses is another factor that links perception to conflict. When perceptions are built on stereotypes, such as the ethnic stereotypes that exist across Nigeria, the attendant actions are usually quick and not subject to deep consideration. This is one factor that is probably responsible

for the ethnic conflicts we frequently experience in Nigeria. But where there is sufficient time lapse to subject the information received by the perceiver to thorough scrutiny, it is less likely to result into an aggressive behaviour or conflict.

- iv. **Perception and Cognition:** The relationship between the information that a perceiver receives and the knowledge he acquires from processing it definitely has bearing on the manifestation of conflict. Basically, if the acquired knowledge is not thoroughly processed, the perceived group/individual will not be thoroughly understood, appreciated and treated with dignity. Under such circumstances, the perceived may react to his/her uncharitable treatment to precipitate crises. But the potentials for conflict can be drastically reduced if the perceived is carefully understudied and understood before appropriate reactions are targeted at him/her.
- v. **Perception and Needs Satisfaction:** Where the perceiver situates the perceived as a threat to the accomplishment / satisfaction of his/her needs, he is most likely to behave aggressively towards the perceived. On the other hand, where the perceiver does not envisage any iota of threats to attainment of his/her needs from the perceived, he/she will most surely behave responsibly towards the perceived.

3.1.2 Causes of Conflict Framework

Under this framework, the relationship between perception and conflict will be discussed using the following causes of conflict as guide.

- i. **Perception and Common Resources:** The relationship between perception, common resources and conflict appears to be one on the most direct to determine. This is particularly the case where the common resource is scarce or exhaustible by nature. Thus, when a certain group perceives that another group that is competing with it is likely to block its access to the resource in question the perceiver-group could become highly aggressive. In Nigeria, conflicts have occurred around such common resources as land, water, school and other infrastructural resources. In the mid-1980s the Umuleri-Aguleri conflict centred on a parcel of land bordering the two communities. There was also the Ekpan-Ubeji conflict that occurred around the ownership of the land on which the Nigeria National Petroleum Company Refinery is sited. The recurrent crises on the ownership of portions of Warri between the Urhobo and Itsekiris on the one hand, and between the Ijaws and Itsekiris on the other, were land resources-based

conflicts. You cannot also forget the Ife-Modakeke land-related conflict in a hurry. Outstanding conflicts in the middle-belt of Nigeria include the Tiv-Jukun conflict that occurred in Benue state; the indigene-settler conflict in Plateau state, not forgetting the Berom-Fulani pastoralist conflict over grazing lands. However, the armed youth resistance against the Federal Government over the exploitation of oil resources appears to be the most complicated conflict in Nigeria. A common feature of these conflicts is that they all seem to be informed by the wrong perception that one party is either obstructing the other's access to or enjoyment of the resources or deliberately having access to an unfair share of the resources in question. At the level of individuals, perceptions that another person constitutes threat to access to certain resources has also informed conflicts in Nigeria. Frequently, we read in the newspapers about how people struggle over the properties of a departed parent. Properties around which these individual conflicts occur include the immovable such as land, economic trees, buildings, and companies/business premises and movable such as cars, furniture, financial resources held as bank balances and investment in stocks/shares.

- ii. **Perception and Values:** Wrong perception of the values of other groups has also been a source of conflict in society and organisations in general. Conflicts at this level, are usually the most difficult to appreciate and settle. This is because the basis of any social group is the value to which they subscribe. These values are usually our system of beliefs that we are usually not ready to compromise no matter how "backward" they portray us to the outside world. When groups in negotiation talk about fairness, transparency, equality, honesty and commitment they are basically calling issues of values into existence. Conflicting parties usually stand up to defend their position with all their might when it concerns their values. Actions that are based on wrong perception of the values of any social group causes resistance by the wrongly perceived group. Similarly, individuals whose values are mis-perceived expectedly react aggressively. For example, if you perceive some as having an abrasive personality which he really does not have, any relationship with such a person based on this wrong diagnosis will be met with aggression.
- iii. **Perception and Psychological Needs:** To wrongly perceive the social psychological requirement of a group is a sure invitation to conflict. Many Nigerian societies still attach a lot of importance to large families that derive from one man having several wives and children. Individuals in certain societies still feel great about

the exploits about their past war heroes and ability to prepare potent charms. In some parts of Nigeria, a woman dare not open her mouth because where men are quarrelling; otherwise, she will be ridiculed. Also, women are celebrated for giving birth to a certain number of male children in parts of Nigeria. These are most psychological values that a perceiver may be criticising at the right of attracting aggressive behaviour to him/her. Perception is therefore a major determinant of conflict as we have clearly demonstrated.

3.3 Barriers To Perception

Barriers to Social Perception: In the course of studying this unit, you may have come across most of the barriers to social perception. These barriers will be treated in this sub-section. The barriers are as follows:.

- i. **Selective Perception:** This barrier derives from the perceiver's attempt to filter the huge amount of information that he/she receives to support his/her viewpoint. In doing this, the perceiver tend to leave out those pieces of information that are capable of threatening or bringing discomfort to them in one way or the other. Nelson and Quick (*ibid*: 87-88) illustrates this factor using the analogy of an employee who does not complete his monthly sales report promptly. But because this employee consistently brings in the highest number of new sales contracts his manager always gives him/her positive performance evaluation reports. Indicatively, the manager is applying selective perception leading him to overlook the negative information being generated from the employee's constant failure to complete his/her sales report promptly.
- ii. **Stereotyping:** This "is a generalisation about a group of people" (Nelson and Quick, *op cit*). Furthermore, these authors explain that working with stereotypes helps perceivers to decrease the "information about a people to a workable level, and they are efficient for compiling and using information." Sometimes stereotypes could become genuine perceptual frameworks when they turn out to be accurate. But, when stereotypes do not portray the correct picture, which is mostly the case, they harm the perceived. Attractiveness is also a stereotype to the extent that it projects the perceived as sensitive, warm, sociable and outgoing
- iii. **First Impression Error:** Forming long-lasting impression about the perceived "based on initial perception" is what this concept describes. One of the reasons for which we tend to maintain first impressions is because they tend to be easily kept in mind. The

fundamental error in first impression arises from observation of a little part of the perceived and generalising as a true characterisation of the perceived.

- iv. **Implicit Personality Theories:** This explains the usually inaccurate “mini-theories” that we harbour in our minds for determining the appearances and behaviours of the perceived. These theories basically help us structure our thoughts and map out short cuts to our perceptions. In other words, perceivers tend to “group traits and appearances into clusters that seem to go together” (Nelson and Quick, *op cit*). You should note that personality theories constitute barriers to admitting new information even when available.
- v. **Self-fulfilling Prophecies:** This category of barriers addresses how our expectations affect our interaction with people and the accomplishment of that which we desire. Nelson and Quick (*op cit*) illustrate that “self-fulfilling prophecy is also known as the pygmalion effect, named for the sculptor in Greek mythology who carved a statue of a woman that came to life when he prayed for his wish and it was granted.”

3.4 Managers And Perception

The management process is indeed complex. What makes it complex derives from the fact that it requires that judgement be made about the actions of people at work. Thus, whether managers are aware or not they are involve in the perceptual process on a daily basis. This is because whether as a manager you are undertaking a performance appraisal, conducting an employment or promotion interview, settling disputes between two employees that are equals or having a senior-junior relationship, handling an employees’ case of dwindling performance, an inter-departmental conflict, cases of perpetual lateness to work, rudeness or that of an excellent employee who feels too superior to relate appropriately with other staff members you inadvertently need to deal with the perception of people. In other words, the management process places you in a situation whereby you need to make decisions about the motives, values and actions of people within your organisation.

Therefore the manager ought to be able to distinguish between the ideal and the real world. The manager needs to be aware of the fact that just as he reacts to his perception of his employees, the employees in turn react to him perceptively. Thus, it is irrelevant whether the employees find their roles in the organisation sufficiently motivating or whether the manager’s roles is truly supportive to the process of employee’s task management. What are most important are the inter-personal perceptions

that occur between the manager and employees. But more importantly, the perception of the manager's actions by employees should interest the manager the most. According to Rao and Narayana (1998: 331) "a manager can improve his perceptual accuracy if he becomes aware of how perceptions are formed and distorted." But majority of managers appear to have been arriving at employee-related decisions through observations and trials and error approaches. These authors listed the following examples of some of the assumptions that guide manager's dealings with their employees:

- the notion that people are basically lazy and should be controlled
- the notion that organisations are basically successful because they are large
- the notion that leaders that have mastered the art of speaking are logically good leaders
- the notion that organisations that are insensitive to their employees are usually the large ones.
- the notion that people tend to be generally emotional
- the notion that a productive employee always turns act a satisfied worker.

However, a critical assessment of those statements reveal they are not axiomatic or always correct. In as much as managers may work with these kinds of perceptions, they are, nevertheless, encouraged to strive for perpetual precision or accuracy. Lawler and Rhode (in Rao and Narayana, *op cit*: 331) posit that:

Experiencing the environment is an active process in which people try to make sense out of their environment. In this active process, individuals selectively notice different aspects of the environment, appraise what they see in terms of their own experience, and evaluate what they experience in terms of their needs and values. Since people needs and past experience often suffer markedly, so do their perceptions of the environment.

From the foregoing, it is apparent that a manager's knowledge of the perceptual process is the most profound step towards achieving effectiveness as head of his department or unit or organisation.

SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE

With your understanding of concept in this unit, describe the relationship between perception and conflict.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Having discussed extensively in this unit the relationships between perception and conflict, you can now see or observe that perceptions can metamorphosis into the processes of conflict or vice-versa, that is, conflict can also influence perception in society.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have been led to make further distinctions between perception and conflict. To achieve this aim, your attention was drawn to two frameworks: the perception characteristics and the causes of conflict. Furthermore, we concluded with a consideration of the reasons for which the study of perception is important to managers.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. What are the similarities and differences between the concepts of perception and conflict?
2. Describe the essential features of the perception and the causes of conflict characteristics frameworks for distinguishing between perception and conflict.
3. Distinguish between perception and conflict using the barriers to perception as a guide.
4. What are the benefits of the study of perception to managers in organisations?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Godwin, O. U. (2010). *Perception and Conflict*. Lagos: National Open University of Nigeria Press.
- Nelson, D. L. & Quick, C. J. (1977). *Organisational Behaviour: Foundations, Realities, and Challenges*. New York: West Publishing Company.
- Lawler, E. & Rhode, J. G. (1976). *Information and Control in Organizations*. Pacific Palisades, Calif: Goodyear Publishing.
- Rao, V.S. & Narayan, P.S. (1998). *Organisational Theory*. Delhi: Konark Publishers PVT Limited.

UNIT 2 LANGUAGE BARRIERS IN CONFLICT AND RESOLUTION

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Language-Based Barriers to Communication
 - 3.1.1 Meaning Can be Misunderstood
 - 3.1.2 Language Can Shape Our Attitudes
 - 3.1.3 Language Can Cause Polarisation
 - 3.1.4 Language Can Be Sexist
 - 3.2 How to Use Language Effectively
 - 3.2.1 Use Accurate Language
 - 3.2.2 Use Vivid Language
 - 3.2.3 Use of Immediate Language
 - 3.2.4 Use Appropriate Language
 - 3.2.5 Use Metaphorical Language
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Although it takes little physical effort to say something to someone, it also takes mental effort to ensure that what is said conveys ones intended meaning. Even if you create what you think is the perfect message, the possibility always exists that the receiver of that message will misinterpret the message or find it ambiguous. Therefore, the receiver must also make an effort to receive the intended message.

Misunderstanding and barrier occur for numerous physical, mental and cultural reasons. Ineffective use of language and communication are chiefly some of this reasons.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- explain language based barriers to communication
- discuss effective use of language in communication.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Language–Based Barriers to Communication

There are over 450 different languages in use everyday in Nigeria. The number includes dialects spoken in various regions of the country. We must recognise that communication is a symbolic interaction rich in subtlety. It will never be strictly concrete or objective and always carry the potential for misunderstanding and conflict. Misunderstandings occur for numerous physical, mental and cultural reasons. Ineffective use of language is one reason. Among the most common language based barriers to communication are bypassing, indiscrimination and polarisation.

3.1.1 Meaning Can Be Misunderstood

What is said and what is heard and understood by the listener often differ. Such misunderstanding between a sender and a receiver is called bypassing. How many times have you said to someone “But that is not what I meant?”

Bypassing usually results from the false belief that each word has only one meaning and that words have meaning in themselves; but a glimpse at our everyday language quickly illustrates that most words have multiple uses and meanings. Words acquire many meanings because they change over time and are used and understood differently in various cultures and regions and often they reflect the knowledge and situation of the user. Therefore, it is crucial as communicator and peace professionals to stay alert to the fact that words can be interpreted differently by different people.

Some speakers deliberately introduce bypassing by using euphemisms or double speak to soften or distort meanings. It is important to be aware of this while you interact with people. Politicians and advertisers for instance sometimes will say one thing in order to get people to believe or accept something else. As a listener, you should critically examine what is being said. Both speaking and listening and conflict situation involve ethical considerations. Issues of conscience, that is what is right or wrong and what is beneficial or harmful are everyone’s responsibility.

How to Reduce Bypassing

- a. **Be Approachable.** Encourage open and free communication. The most frequent barrier to effective communication; and consequently dispute and conflict is the unwillingness to listen to others. Allow others to question and paraphrase your messages

and show respect for their enquiries; Being patient and receptive is not always easy but the effort will ensure a clear exchange of information

- b. **Be Person–Minded, not Word-Minded.** Think about words and their meanings, but you should also consider the persons using the words and the meanings they might give to them. Constantly question your own interpretation by asking such question as: “This is what the word mean to me, but what does it mean to others?”
- c. **Query and Paraphrase.** Ask questions and paraphrase your message or the meaning you have derived from others message whenever there is a possibility for misunderstanding. Differences in background, age, gender, perception may affect communication. If you are uncertain, ask others to explain and if it is in a peace workshop you may ask the mediator to paraphrase. Restating a message in your own words gives you and the other party or the sender a chance to check that you receive a similar message to what was sent. As the importance and complexity of a message in conflict resolution situation is, so is the need to ask questions and paraphrase.
- d. **Be Sensitive to Contexts.** Consider the verbal and situational contexts in which communication occurs. The meaning of a word can be more precisely interpreted by considering the words, sentences and paragraphs that precede and follow it and the setting in which communication takes place.

3.1.2 Language Can Shape Our Attitudes

Indiscrimination is the neglect of individual differences and the overemphasis of similarities. It is also a form of perceptual set in which a person chooses to ignore differences and changes in events, things and people. Language plays a significant role in our tendency to see similarities between things even when they do not exist. Nouns that categorise that is teenager, divorce, student, professor, facilitator, northerner, Niger Delta, government official, politician and so on, encourage us to focus on similarities. Statements such as “politicians are crooks and students cheat in exam” may be interpreted to include all politicians and all students, instead of some politicians and some students. They fail to distinguish between individuals. Such generalisation often results in stereotyping.

Stereotype is categorising events objects and people without regard to unique individual characteristics. Stereotypes are often negative but

they may be positive, for example, all teachers are dedicated professionals or all mediators are dedicated peace professionals or all environmentalists are concerned citizens. Whether the stereotyping is negative or positive, the problem is the same. Individual qualities are ignored. Stereotyping is quick and easy to do because it does not require analysis, investigation, or thought. By precluding distinctions, stereotypes give us neat, oversimplified categories that facilitate our evaluation of people, situations and events.

There are ways to reduce discrimination in our interaction. Indexing points out differences that distinguish various members of a group and thus reduces indiscrimination. Indexing identifies the specific person, idea, event or object to which a statement refers for instance, politicians are corrupt, athletes are dumb or any statement that lumps people ideas, events, or objects into a single category immediately ask, “which ones are you talking about?” No matter what people may think, not all politicians are corrupt. Politician A is different from politician B, and politician B is different from politician C. The same is true of athletes. They might belong to a class or group that has an identity and whose members have similarities, but the group is composed of individuals, each different from the other.

3.1.3 Language Can Cause Polarisation

Polarisation is the tendency to view things in terms of extremes – rich or poor, beautiful or ugly, large or small, high or low, good or bad, intelligent or stupid; though some things exist somewhere in between. This definitive way of thinking is aggravated by aspects of language. Polarisation can be destructive, escalating conflict to the point at which two parties simply cannot communicate. This escalation is referred to as the pendulum effect in peace studies. The pendulum represents a person’s perception of reality, which includes feelings attitude, opinions and value judgements about the world. When the pendulum is hanging in the centre, a person’s perception is considered to be realistic, virtuous, intelligent, sane, honest and honourable. Of course, most of us believe that our pendulums are at or near the centre most of the time. When two individuals disagree in their perception of reality, their pendulum begins to move in opposite directions. The distance the pendulum swings represents their differences in opinion or conviction. As the conversation intensifies, each remark provokes a stronger reaction from the party to whom it is directed until both parties are driven to positions at opposite extremes. For instance, when two roommates argue over whose turn it is to clean, one might begin by saying “it is your turn. I did it the last time.” The other is likely to respond: “No I did it the last time. Now its your turn.” If the disagreement continues and no solution is found, both will become more entrenched in their positions and their comments may

turn into personal attacks. The situation can degenerate to the point at which one of the other threatens to move out. Such an extreme outcome is typical of discussion driven by the pendulum effect. Emotions can eventually run so high that the differences between the parties seem insurmountable and a mutually agreeable settlement seems unattainable.

Speaker can avoid the danger of polarisation by recognising the potential for misunderstanding and by making statement that do not represent nuanced extreme

3.1.4 Language can be Sexist

There is a difference in how men and women may use language and converse with one another. Some communication and language theorists believe that men tend to use language to assert status whereas women use language to establish and maintain social relationships. They also believe that men use language to dominate or compete. The result, according to them is that the game of communication for men and women is the same but the rules are different. When men and women communicate with each other, there is the potential for class and conflict because of different language use. The problem is magnified when sexist language is used either consciously or unconsciously. Our goal should be to use gender- inclusive language. Language that does not discriminate against male or female.

Unfortunately, English language is structured with an inherent bias in favour of men. There are, for example, no singular gender – neutral pronouns in the English language. Therefore, traditionally, the masculine pronouns (he, him, and his) have been used to refer to people in general, even if the referent could be a male or female. User of the masculine pronoun is not incorrect grammatically, but its use in generic situations is a social issue. Language sets expectations that at times discriminate against the stereotype use of he and him and the general absence of she or her subtly, but powerfully give the impression that men hold important roles but women do not. Thus, our language creates the expectation that the female gender is inactive and does not hold important roles. Furthermore, sexist language can be misleading, we use only he or she when describing the symptoms, the effect ,the reasons, and the treatment; thus, the group that was not included in the discussion might believe that it is a “male disease” or a “female disease” and does not pertain to them. If that happens, half or more of the audience will not pay attention to the speech and this might not heed the precautions and expose them to greater danger.

Sexual stereotypes and the assumption that the male gender is superior to the female gender characterise sexist language. In most society, sexist language involves attitude as much as the use of specific words. Words with a positive connotation are used to describe males for example, independent, logical, strong, confident, aggressive. Females on the other hand, are associated with words having negative connotations for example dependent, illogical, weak. For instance, a sentence like this could be termed a sexist communication. “She is the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the company and she is a woman.” or “Chizoba got that position because she is a woman.” These sentences describe women who have risen to high authority positions or that the only reason Chizoba got the position was because she is a woman. In other words, they imply that women are less qualified or inferior to men.

Stereotypes do not occur in a social vacuum. On the contrary, they often exert powerful influence on the lives of those who are stereotyped. Gender stereotypes influence perceptions and behaviour of both men and women. Stereotypes of women affect both how they are treated in society and how they see themselves. Language and substituting gender – inclusive terms represent a positive step toward doing away with them.

Other stereotypes are reinforced in the use of homophobic language. When someone asks another to “tell me what to look for so I can recognise gays and lesbians and then avoid them.” The speaker is demonstrating both insensitivity to individuals and a general negative categorisation of a group of people, each of whom is unique.

Metaphors used in our culture to describe men and women are often sexist. A metaphor is a figure of speech that associated two things or ideas, not commonly linked, as a means of description. These stereotypical animal metaphors illustrate the use of sexist language. Men are likely to be described as aggressive wolf, and women as harmless pets that is, kitten or chick or as unattractive animals that is, cow, pig, dog. The effective communicator must avoid such negative metaphorical stereotyping. Find more positive metaphors related to men, and use inclusive language in general.

It is important that the language we use as peace students be inclusive and not demeaning to any group of individuals. Language influences how we see others around us. Inappropriate language causes perceptual and social problems that should not be tolerated in any society.

3.2 How to Use Language Effectively

The ability to use language efficiently and effectively as peace students will require not good education alone but, years of consistent practice.

Although many variables will influence the effectiveness of language use, five aspects of language according to Seiler (2005) merit special attention. They are accuracy, vividness, immediacy, appropriateness and metaphor.

3.2.1 Use Accurate Language

Using accurate language is critical to speaking. Choosing a wrong word can distant your intended message, misguide your receiver, and undermine your credibility. When you speak you need to ensure that your goal should be precision. Do not leave room for misinterpretation. You should constantly ask yourself “what do I want to say” and “what do I mean? And when necessary, consult a dictionary to be sure you have chosen the correct word to express your message.

The more words you can use accurately, the more likely it is that you will find the one you need to make your meaning clear. You must expand your vocabulary. Two of the best ways to do this are through listening to others and reading. Pay attention to words that you do not understand. Whenever, you come across an unfamiliar word, determine the context in which it is used, and consult a dictionary to find its meaning. Once you have acquired a new word, try to put it to use. Words that are not used are typically forgotten. Expanding your vocabulary takes effort and time, but with practice, it can become part of your daily routine.

A word of warning: As you develop your vocabulary, avoid the temptation to use long or little-known words when short or common words would serve the purpose. Also be sure you know the shades of meanings and connotations of new words.

Before you use them, remember that words may have different meanings for different people.

Sometimes a message is unclear because it is not structured effectively. Poor sentence and word usage can wreak havoc on a statement’s clarity.

3.2.2 Use Vivid Language

To communicate effectively, make your message animated and interesting. Direct fresh language given in the active voice can bring a sense of excitement, urgency and forcefulness to what you say. Such vividness tells your audience that they had better listen because what you have to say is important.

For example, suppose an NGO is trying to raise money for homeless Bakassi people, it could take one of two approaches in seeking a donation from you: (1) present statistics to illustrate the number of people who are believed to be homeless; and (2) present cases of actual individuals who are homeless, including children and their families.

The first approach is rational, informative, abstract, and emotionally distant. The second approach is emotional, urgent, concrete and forceful. The vividness of the second approach is likely at least to get your attention and perhaps influence you to contribute.

According to social psychologists, vivid language affects us in several ways. It is more persuasive than a flat, pallid presentation of information, because it is more memorable and has an emotional impact. Vivid messages are more likely to create readily retained and recalled mental images. People tend to listen more attentively to vivid messages than to mainstream or uninteresting messages.

3.2.3 Use of Immediate Language

Verbal immediacy identifies and projects the speaker's feelings and makes the message more relevant to the listener. Verbal immediacy draws listeners in and involves them in the subject at hand. The following statements illustrate different levels of verbal immediacy. The first sentence displays a high immediacy level and the last displays a low immediacy level:

- We certainly will enjoy the football game.
- You and I will enjoy the football game.
- I think you and I may enjoy football.
- People often enjoy football games.

The first statement is directly related to the speaker, the listener, and the situation. It is assertive, and the speaker makes a connection with the listener by using the word 'we'. In each successive statement, the speaker decreases the intensity of this association with the listener and the event. The language becomes less immediate, more distant in tone.

Verbal immediacy also makes the speaker appear relaxed, confident, competent and effective. Also receivers tend to view messages characterised by immediacy as similar to their own beliefs more readily than those cast in language related to the speaker, topic, or receiver.

3.2.4 Use Appropriate Language

Each time you speak, your listeners have specific expectations about the kind of language you will use. Different kinds of language are appropriate to different situations. For instance, the language you would use in addressing the student union president or leader in your school would be much more formal than the language you would use when chatting with friends. You are not likely to call the president by a nickname and would be equally unlikely to call a friend Dr or Mr. or Mrs. or Ms, except in jest.

Using language that is inappropriate for a given situation damages your credibility and your message might be misunderstood or misinterpreted or disregarded. It is therefore crucial to assess each speaking situation and adjust your language accordingly.

3.2.5 Use Metaphorical Language

According to some language scholars, our way of looking at the world around us is fundamentally metaphorical. Metaphors help us to structure what we think, how we perceived things, and what we do. Metaphorical language pervades our everyday language and our thoughts. A metaphor is a figure of speech in which a word or phrase relates one object or idea to another that is not commonly linked to it. A successful use of this figurative expression makes an object or idea more clear and vivid.

Metaphorically language is culture bound, and most metaphors have meanings only within a specific language community. If your receivers cannot identify with a particular metaphor you use, it will be meaningless to them.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Learning to use language is important for effective communication in any situation. The ability to use language determines our success, makes communication personal, and allows us to translate our thoughts, feelings, and experiences into meaningful message to our listener.

The misuse of language is more than simply a matter of misusing words. It also affects our ability to think. Since thoughts and language are inseparable when we cannot find the words to express a thought, perhaps our thinking is not clear. If our thoughts are not expressed clearly and accurately, misunderstanding is inevitable.

5.0 SUMMARY

The goal of communication is to exchange meaning and understanding in any conflict resolution situation. If language did not convey meaning, it would serve little or no purpose. We tend to associate specific words with specific meanings and to take that relationship for granted, but in reality, words have been arbitrarily paired with meaning. Words are not actual objects or ideas but symbols that represent objects or ideas. Meanings therefore are not in words but in people. As such, language can obscure, distance, or hide meaning and create barriers. The competent communicator must therefore ensure that he finds ways to understand and be understood.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Which of the language barriers discussed in this unit is most likely to occur in your interactions?
2. How can language be used or misused.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Aderibigbe, N. A. (2010). *Language and Information Management in Peace and Conflict Resolution*. Lagos: National Open University of Nigeria Press. Pp 21-30.
- Aina, S. (2002). *Anatomy of Communications*. Abeokuta: Julian Publishers.
- Gundersen D. F. (1988). *Communication and Law Enforcement*. New York: University Press of America.
- Gamble, T. K. & Gamble, M. (2002). *Communication Works*. New York: McGraw Hills Publishers.
- Thomas, K. (1972). *Resolving Conflict*. New Orlean: Ralple Publication Inc.

UNIT 3 EARLY WARNING AND EARLY RESPONSE MECHANISM

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 The Meaning of Early Warning (EW)
 - 3.2 The Meaning of Early Response (ER)
 - 3.3 Types of Early Warning
 - 3.4 Early Warning Indicators
 - 3.5 Types of Indicators
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The concept early warning has multiple definitions which have created confusion around it such that it means different things to different people in various disciplines. It is so because the concept is applicable in different fields of human endeavours such as: peace and conflict studies, medicine, engineering , education, natural and man-made disasters, environmental management, as well as economics, religious, political, family and social institutions and organisations. It basically tries to get persons, citizens, vulnerable groups or victims, states, national, regional and international organisations prepared for emergencies, conflict or crisis, and disasters, and so on. It anticipates and designs measures that will facilitate early identification of threats to lives, properties and the environment so that preventive actions or steps could be taken on time. It is also very important not to look at warning and response as separate actions but as two sides of a coin. Early response should be seen as the goal, while early warning is a tool required to achieve the desired goal. Therefore, the value of early warning lies in the response capacity.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- define early warning and early response
- identify the relationships and interdependence between early warning and early response
- list types of early warning

- explain early warning indicators.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 The Meaning of Early Warning

The concept of early warning will be viewed from multi-dimensional perspectives as thus:

A warning at an early stage of an event or a set of circumstances that will have negative consequence (Gounden, V. 1996, pp 53 – 69).

Early warning (EW) can also be defined as the collection, analysis and communication of the relevant evidence and conclusions to the policy-makers to enable them make choices. Early warning is the systematic collection and analysis of information coming from areas of crisis for the purpose of: (a) anticipating the escalation of violent conflict; (b) the development of strategic responses to these crises; and (c) the presentation of options to critical actors for purposes of decision-making and preventive action. It involves any initiative that focuses on systematic data collection, analysis and/or formulation of recommendations, including risk assessment and information sharing.

Early warning is a complex system of indicators to predict the probability that a crisis is likely to happen so that preventive action can be taken on time. In sum, its task is (1) to collect and share information on possible or impending humanitarian disasters or conflicts in other states; and (2) to sound an alarm. Early warning is a complex set of indicators, which could be used to predict, with some degree of probability, the type, turning and extent of disaster or conflict.

Early warning is also seen as a proactive process in which networks of various institutions undertake systematic information collection and analysis together in a collective effort to generate information to help prevent likely disaster or unfavourable events from occurring or to reduce their outcomes.

In addition, early warning system helps to provide the knowledge to identify impending risks, determine their levels and potential impacts, both in terms of people and locations, and guide actions to avoid, reduce or mitigate the effects of those risks when they occur.

3.1.2 Importance or Benefits of Early Warning

- It is a crisis and disaster protection mechanism
- It promotes public-private partnership

- It introduces and supports services at the local level that directly enhance development
- It promotes increased development and application of scientific knowledge, including improved science and technology information dissemination
- It advances community participation for its own sake
- It creates the potential for increased utilisation of indigenous knowledge and values
- Effective early warning promotes improved environmental management and sustainable livelihood that are harmonious with the environment
- It reveals the causes of conflict
- It gives room or enables us to monitor the development process of potentially violent conflict continuously.

Security of vulnerable populations and endangered environments, therefore, the purpose of early warning therefore is not to confidentially inform the concerned authority that a problem is developing, but to create a national, regional and international will and momentum to do something about the deteriorating situation. This implies that early warning should not only point to the problem but also suggest action. Early warning can be concerned with military conflicts, military coups, environmental, resources, political, economic, religious, family, conflicts, impending humanitarian disasters, such as famine/starvation, drought, flow of refugees, genocide and host of others.

It thus therefore become imperative for the government, agencies, organisations, or policy makers to show a disposition of one ready to act fast whenever such privileged information and patriotic campaigns by stakeholders of an impending early warning indicators in order to avert any form of disaster or destructive conflict.

3.2 The Meaning of Early Response (ER)

Early response refers to any initiative that occurs in the latent stages of a perceived potential armed conflict, man-made or natural disaster with the aim of reduction, resolution or transformation. It refers to the process of consultation, policy making, planning, and action to reduce or avoid armed conflict, or to guide against, reduce or mitigate the effects of natural or man-made disasters on people or the environment.

According to the United Nations General Assembly definition early response is the process of using information gathered from early warning systems to design action aimed at preventing violent conflict. This action could be the development of a policy or programmes. It

involves the developing of strategies to prevent conflict at different levels using specific entry points.

It is therefore become imperative for the government or policy makers and each and every concerned citizens (direct and indirect) to show a disposition of being ready to act fast whenever such privileged information and patriotic campaigns by stakeholders of an impending early warning indicators in order to avert any form of disaster or destructive conflict.

Also, for early warnings to be effective, there must be new, short and more focused delivery of the principal conclusions to decision makers, governments, intergovernmental bodies, the media, NGOs and the general public. This cannot be an afterthought, but must be given sustained attention by the responsible organisations, assisted by communication specialists.

3.3 Types of Early Warning

There are different types or aspects of early warning as earlier mentioned in the introduction section of this unit. Only few will be briefly discussed or explained in this unit as they will be discussed extensively one after the other later. They are as follows.

- (a) **Conflict early warning:** This is the type of early warning information or system aimed at preventing an impending conflict that could take any form if not quickly prevented.
- (b) **Disaster early warning:** This is geared towards preventing or minimising an impending natural disaster that is inevitable or cannot be prevented such as earthquake, hurricane, tsunami, climate change, and so on.
- (c) **Hazards assessment:** It has to do with collection, analysis, and communication of evidence discovered at the scene of an accident or calamity with the aim of advising the necessary or concerned authority on the rapid and effective steps to be taken to alleviate the suffering or the impact on the victims.

3.4 Early Warning Indicators

The dictionary definition refers to indicators as those things which are pointers to a given condition. They may also be referred to as devices for exhibiting condition for the being time. The synonyms of indicator include among others, display, index, gauge, synopsis, symbol, and so

on. (Chambers Dictionary, 1983:640; and The Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus 1988:511).

Among the things the analyst would cite to be indicators of conflict in Africa are armed forces and their deployment; the extent of tension within and between communities and groups, the absence of framework for resolving the conflict and/or where its existence is not recognised or respected by the parties in conflict etc.

3.5 Types of Indicators

The following are the various forms of early warning indicators.

1. **Economic indicators:** It reveals the need to provide information on potential shortages, production problems, the bastardisation of a nation's currency, fiscal and revenue policies, the private sector and other economic indices, the consequences of which may affect a larger proportion of the population of a nation.
2. **Environmental indicators:** This is a sensitive issue because of the health hazards and pillage of arable land in addition to ecological and marine problems such as gully erosions, environmental pollution (oil spillage), and excavation of solid mineral, and so on. All these have brought some untold health hazards to the indigenes, while those whose primary occupations are crops production (planting), animal rearing and fish farming have been greatly affected.
3. **Social indicators:** This provides data on the alarming state of unemployment and underemployment in several African countries. "A hungry man and an idle hand, is a devil's workshop," so goes the maxim. Jobless youths in the society have posed a great threat to the country and peace in most societies. The jobless youth could be used to perpetrate some social vices by the disgruntled elements in the society.
4. **Political indicator:** A regular assessment of the domestic political arena in various African countries have revealed a lot of infringement on fundamental human rights of citizens by the ruling political class ranging from political exclusion, unlawful arrest and detention of perceived political enemies, killing of political rivals, election rigging and a host of others.
5. **Security indicators:** The capacity of gathering information on development within the armed forces, the proliferation of arms and ammunition into official and non-official sectors of the

society, the politicisation of the military and the militarisation of the civilian popular (ethnic militias), the relationship between the military and the civil society.

6. **Individual security/safety:** An assessment of the role of crime, urban and rural violence, the causes of insurrection and the militarisation of the rural areas. The incessant killing, maiming of innocent citizens by armed robbers, ritual killing, unnecessary killing of innocent citizens by policemen at road blocks/checkpoints in the course of trying to collect bribe. All these have engendered hatred, frustration, intimidation, molestation and protest from aggrieved citizens, thereby taking laws into their hands because of the inability of the state to protect and guarantee their safety and protection.
7. **Rural indicators:** Effective information gathering at the grassroots level helps to douse inter and intra communal strife. The morass of conflict at border towns, villages, and in one country and the other, demands that a constant watch must be kept on the rural areas using media channels to maintain tranquility and peace.
8. **Educational indicators:** A continuous decline in the quality of education despite increase in the standard is posing a great threat to the growth and development of our nation (Nigeria) and several other African countries. As has been established, education is the bedrock or backbone of science and technological advancement of any nation. And the higher the level of technology of a nation the greater and faster is her human (labour) and economic growth and development. Poor educational funding and low salary compared to what is obtainable in other African countries, talkless of western nations, have forced most Nigerian academics to the western nations in search of greener pastures. This ugly development still persists to the detriment of the present younger generation as well the future generations.
9. **Demographic indicators:** This involves sudden demographic changes and displacement of people and increasing territoriality of groups/peoples.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The purpose of early warning is not only to have access to information about the deteriorating situation but to do something about it. This implies that early warning should not only point to the problems but also

suggest actions to tackle the deleterious effects or to guide against any form of dangerous or disastrous consequence.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, the meaning of early warning and early response were discussed coupled with the relationships and interdependence between early warning and early response. Different types of early warnings were briefly explained while various forms of early warning indicators were also discussed for students consumption.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. What do you understand by the concepts of early warning and early response?
2. Is there any relationship between early warning and early response? Discuss.
3. State the importance of early warning and early response to the society.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Alkire, S. (2003). "A Conceptual Framework for Human Security." *Oxford Center for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, CRISE*. Working Paper N0 : 2.
- Davies, J. L. (2000). "Early Warning of Humanitarian Crises: Sequential Models and the Role of Accelerators." In: *Preventive Measures: Building Risk Assessment and Crisis Early Warning Systems*,
- John, L. D. & Ted, R.G. (Eds.). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Fusato, M. (2003). "Preventive Diplomacy and International Violence Prevention." Retrieved 16-8-09, from www.beyondintractability.org.
- Gurr, T. R. (1994). "Conceptual, Research, and Policy Issues in Early Warning Research: An Overview." *The Journal of Ethno-Development*, 4:1.

UNIT 4 ARMS CONTROL AND DEMILITARISATION

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Definition of Small Arms/ Light Weapons
 - 3.1.1 Types of Small Arms and Light Weapons
 - 3.2 Characteristics of Small Arms and Light Weapons
 - 3.3 Arms Race
 - 3.4 Arms Proliferation
 - 3.4.1 Causes of Arms Proliferation
 - 3.4.2 Effects of Arms Proliferation
 - 3.5 Arms Control
 - 3.5.1 Aims of Arms Control
 - 3.6 History of Arms Control
 - 3.7 Demilitarisation
 - 3.7.1 Types of Demilitarisation Methods
 - 3.7.2 Objectives of DDR
 - 3.7.3 Prerequisites for DDR
 - 3.7.4 Requirements for Successful DDR Implementation
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the former Soviet Union brought about easy access to highly lethal weaponry ranging from assault rifles to rocket launchers, facilitated by the opening of borders and the rapid expansion of free trade. Such weapons are increasingly falling into wrong hands and all categories of fighters, including children who eventually turn them against those whom humanitarian law is designed to protect.

Research findings have revealed that death toll from small arms and light weapons exceed the toll of the atomic bombs that devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki during the Second World War. Small arms can now be referred to as “weapons of mass destruction” because of carnage they cause in the “trouble spots” all over the world.

One of the major efforts to preserve international peace and security in the 21st century has been to control or limit the number of weapons and ways in which weapons can be used.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- define small arms and mention types of small arms known
- define arms proliferation and state sources of arms proliferation
- discuss arms control and different types of arms control mechanisms
- highlight the importance of arms control
- explain some demilitarisation processes.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Definition of Small Arms/Light Weapons

There are various definitions of what constitute small arms and light weapons, but we will only give one here.

Small Arms: These are weapons or instruments that can easily be operated by an individual meant to cause harm.

Light Weapons: Are weapons (with anticipated lethal effect) that are operated with a combined support of a crew of two or three.

3.1.1 Types of Small Arms/Light Weapons

Small arms and light weapons conveniently fall into the categories below.

a. Types of Small Arms

- Revolvers and self-loading pistols
- Rifles and carbines
- Sub-machine gun
- Assault rifles
- Light machine guns

b. Categories of Light Weapons

- Heavy machine-guns
- Hand-held under-barrel and mounted grenade launchers
- Portable anti-aircraft guns
- Portable launchers of anti-tank missile and rocket systems
- Portable anti-tank guns and recoilless rifles

- Portable launchers of anti-aircraft missile system
- Mortars of calibers of less than 100mm

c. Ammunition and Explosives

- Cartridges (rounds) for small arms
- Shells and missiles for light weapons
- Anti-personnel and anti-tank grenades
- Landmines
- Mobile containers with missile of shells for single action and anti-tank systems
- Explosives

3.2 Characteristic of Small Arms and Light Weapons

- Simplicity and durability:** Compared to major weapons systems which requires regular upkeep and maintenance due to their complicated electronics, vionics and propulsion subsystems, small arms and light weapons have few movable parts, are extremely durable and require little upkeep or logistical support.
- Portability and concealebility:** Individuals or light vehicles can carry small arms and light weapons; they can easily be transported or smuggled into areas of conflict; and they can be concealed in shipments of legitimate cargo.
- Military/police and civilian uses:** Small arms and light weapons often have legitimate uses for both military and police force. They may also be held legally or otherwise by individuals who are afraid of their own personal security. However, in the case of major conventional wepons, only the military force generally procures them.
- Low cost and wide availability:** These weapons are usually supplied in large quantity or abundantly for military, police, and civilian use.
- Lethality:** The increase in sophistication of rapid-fire assault rifles, pistols and machine guns, and their widespread circulation among sub-state groups and civilians promotes or encourages availaibility of firepower that matches or exceeds that of national police or even the military of a state or country.

3.3 Arms Race

An arms race is a situation in which two countries or group of countries are continually trying to get more and better weapons than each other. It is the continuing competitive attempt by two or more nations to have available to it more and more powerful weapons than other(s).

It refers to competition between nations to have the most powerful armaments.

It is a race between hostile nations to accumulate or develop weapons; broadly: an ever escalating race or competition. Examples: Nuclear, chemical, biological weapons and several other forms of weapons.

3.4 Arms Proliferation

This refers to the easy availability or influx of illicit small arms and light weapons into wrong hands or unauthorised groups of people for use against the individuals or groups meant to be protected. It is a rapid increase or growth in number of deadly weapons.

3.4.1 Causes of Arms Proliferation

- Undemocratic governance
- Undemocratic electoral process
- Weak economic base of most countries engulfed with crisis
- Uneven distribution of basic infrastructure
- Military coups
- Ethnicity
- Weak stockpile and management of national arms and armunitions
- Post-colonial or Cold War remnants
- Movement of refugees/dominant of refugees camps by armed groups
- Failed state

3.4.2 Effects of Arms Proliferation

- Arms proliferation sustains and exacerbates arm conflicts
- It endangers peacekeepers and humanitarian workers
- It undermines respect for international humanitarian law
- It threatens legitimate but weak government
- It benefits terrorists as well as the perpetrators of organised crime
- It endangers the lives of defenceless individuals or citizens
- It threatens unity and peaceful co-existence of plural states

3.5 Arms Control

Arms control is an umbrella term for restrictions upon the development, production, stockpiling, proliferation, and usage of weapons especially weapons of mass destruction. Arms control is typically exercised through the use of diplomacy which seeks to impose such limitations upon consenting participants through international treaties and agreements, although it may also comprise efforts by a nation or group of nations to enforce limitations upon a non-consenting country.

On a national or community level, arms control can amount to programs to control the access of private citizens to weapons. This is often referred to as gun politics, as firearms are the primary focus of such efforts in most places

3.5.1 Aims of Arms Control

- i. Arms control is meant to break the security dilemma.
- ii. It aims at mutual security between partners and overall stability (be it in a crisis situation, a grand-strategy, or stability to put an end to an arms race).
- iii. Other than stability, arms control comes with cost reduction and damage limitation.

3.6 History of Arms Control

Arms control developed both in theory and in practice during the Cold War, a period between the late 1940s and 1991 when the two military superpowers, the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), dealt with one another from a position of mutual mistrust. Arms control was devised consciously during the postwar period as an alternative to disarmament, which for many had fallen into discredit as a means of reducing the likelihood of war. Germany had been forced to disarm following World War I but became belligerent again during the 1930s, resulting in World War II. Although Germany's weapons had been largely eliminated, the underlying causes of conflict had not. Germany's experience thus illustrated that no simple cause-and-effect relationship existed between the possession of weapons and a tendency to create war.

Following World War II, advocates of arms control as a new approach to limiting hostility between nations emphasised that military weapons and power would continue to remain a part of modern life. It was unrealistic and even dangerous, they felt, for a country to seek complete elimination of weapons, and it would not necessarily reduce the likelihood of war. Whereas disarmament had formerly been seen as an alternative to military strength, arms control was now viewed as an

integral part of it. Arms control proponents sought to create a stable balance of power in which the forces that cause states to go to war could be controlled and regulated. The emphasis in arms control is thus upon *overall stability* rather than *elimination* of arms, and proponents recognise that an increase in weaponry is sometimes required to preserve a balance of power.

The development of arms control owes a great deal to the existence of Nuclear Weapons as well. By the 1950s, when both the United States and the Soviet Union possessed nuclear weapons, the superpowers became convinced that they could not safely disarm themselves of those weapons. In the absence of guaranteed verification—the process whereby participants in a treaty monitor each other's adherence to the agreement—neither side could disarm without making itself vulnerable to cheating by the other side. The goal of the superpowers and other nations possessing nuclear weapons therefore became not total elimination of those weapons, but control of them so that a stable nuclear deterrent might be maintained. According to the idea of nuclear deterrence, a state possessing nuclear weapons is deterred, or prevented, from using them against another nuclear power because of the threat of retaliation. No state is willing to attempt a first strike because it cannot prevent the other side from striking back. Nuclear deterrence is therefore predicated upon a mutual abhorrence of the destructive power of nuclear weapons. This idea has come to be called mutual assured destruction (MAD). Many experts see deterrence as the ultimate goal of nuclear arms control.

Because many civilians generally assume that arms control and disarmament is the same thing, there has often been public disappointment when treaties have resulted in an increase in the number or power of weapons. An advantage of arms control over disarmament, however, is that even states with a high degree of suspicion or hostility toward each other can still negotiate agreements. Disarmament agreements, on the other hand, require a high degree of trust, and their formation is unlikely between hostile nations.

Arms control is often used as a means to avoid an arms race—a competitive buildup of weapons between two or more powers. Such a race can be costly for both sides, and arms control treaties serve the useful purpose of limiting weapons stockpiles to a level that preserves deterrence while conserving the economic and social resources of a state for other uses.

3.7 Demilitarisation

It is an applied strategy for executing successful peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding operations, in a conflict zone or in a state or country that is emerging from crisis or war and is generally the strategy employed by all UN Peacekeeping Operations and state, continental, and regional organisations.

3.7.1 Types of Demilitarisation Methods

- i. **Disarmament:** Entails the physical removal of the means of combat from ex-belligerents (weapons, ammunition, and so on.)
-Is the collection, documentation, control and disposal of small arms, ammunition, explosives and light and heavy weapons of combatant and often also of the civilian population. Disarmament also includes the development of responsible arms management programmes.
- ii. **Demobilisation:** It entails the disbanding of armed groups; or is the formal and controlled discharge of active combatants from armed forces and other armed groups.
- iii. **Reinsertion:** Is the assistance offered to ex-combatants during demobilisation but prior to the longer-term process of reintegration.
- iv. **Reintegration:** It is described as the process of reintegrating former combatants into civil society, ensuring against the possibility of a resurgence of armed conflict. Alternatively, it can be described as the process by which ex-combatants acquire civilian status and gain sustainable employment and income. Reintegration is essentially a social and economic process with an open time frame, primarily taking place at communities at the local level.

A typical example of the above concepts is the Amnesty and Post-Amnesty operational activities extended to the Niger –Delta militant groups by the Nigerian government.

3.7.2 Objectives of DDR

The overall objective of the disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR) are listed below.

DDR policy and programme is to reduce the size of the armed forces and the other organised services, and assist the ex-combatants in returning to civilian life and creating sustainable livelihoods.

Specific objectives of the DDR programme are to:

- to reduce the size of the armed forces and the other national organised forces
- to assist ex-combatants to socially reintegrate into their communities of return
- to increase livelihood opportunities for ex-combatants in communities of return
- to facilitate the release, return and reintegration of children associated with armed forces and groups into their families and communities of return
- to support social and economic reintegration of women associated with armed forces and group through community based programme in their communities of return
- to strengthen the capacities of RSSDDRC, line ministries. In South Sudan for instance, South Sudanese civil society and private sector to effectively support services delivery to the people of South Sudan.

3.7.3 Prerequisites for DDR

Disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR) is somewhat different from the blanket term “peacekeeping,” in that DDR requires certain conditions to be effectively implemented. They include, but are not necessarily limited to:

- **Security** - conflict in the targeted area must be completely or at least nearly halted, and a significant deterrent force must be in place to ensure no renewal of conflict. Without this guarantee of security, DDR cannot be effectively implemented, as trust between former belligerents - an integral part of the DDR process - cannot develop.
- **Inclusion of all ex-belligerents** - without cooperation between all armed groups, DDR cannot succeed. Unless all combatants and factions are disarmed, the potential for a resurgence of conflict is too great.
- **Sufficient funding** - without enough funding to be completed, DDR operations cannot succeed, as incomplete reintegration of ex-combatants leaves the possibility of a renewal of conflict.

3.7.4 Requirements for Successful DDR Implementation

There are six aspects to a successful DDR conversion:

1. Reduction of military expenditure
2. Reorientation of military research and development
3. Conversion of the arms industry
4. Demobilisation and reintegration
5. Redevelopment of troops
6. Safe disposal and management of “surplus weapons”

4.0 CONCLUSION

Enforcement of arms control agreements has proven difficult over time. Most agreements rely on the continued desire of the participants to abide by the terms to remain effective. Usually, when a nation no longer desires to abide by the terms, they usually will seek to either covertly circumvent the terms or to simply end their participation in the treaty.

More recent arms control treaties have included more stringent terms on enforcement of violations as well as verification. This last has been a major obstacle to effective enforcement, as violators often attempt to covertly circumvent the terms of the agreements.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we defined small arms and light weapons and as well enumerated different types of both concepts. We also discussed the meaning of arms proliferations, the causes and its effects coupled with brief explanation of arms control, the aims and importance of arms control. In addition, we also learnt about demilitarisation and types or methods of demilitarisation such as disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration. Objectives, prerequisite, and requirements for successful DDR were also discussed.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Briefly define the following concepts: small arms, light weapons, arms control, arms proliferation and demilitarisation.
2. What factors are responsible for small arms and light weapons proliferation?
3. Of what importance is DDR to sustainable peace of a state?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Dunn, L.A. & Sharon, A. S. (1993). *Arms Control: What Next?* Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Laird, M. R. (2001). "Why Scrap the ABM Treaty?" *Washington Post*, A25.
- Mufson, S. (2001). "ABM Treaty May Be History, But Deterrence Doctrine Lives." *Washington Post*, A37.
- Sheehan, M. (1988). *Arms Control: Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Weisman, S. R. (2003). "A Nation at War: A New Doctrine, Pre-emption, Idea with a Lineage whose Time Has Come." *New York Times*, 1B.
- Randall, F. (Ed.). (2004). *Arms Control Reporter 1995-2005*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

UNIT 5 PEACE AND EDUCATION

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Peace
 - 3.2 Education and Peace
 - 3.3 Peace Education
 - 3.4 The Role of Peace Educators
 - 3.5 Methods of Achieving Post-Conflict Sustainable Peacebuilding
 - 3.5.1 Understanding Peace Building
 - 3.5.2 The Structural Dimension of Peace Building
 - 3.5.3 The Relational Dimension of Peace Building
 - 3.5.4 The Personal Dimension of Peace Building
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

There are several ways to look at peace and this is shown in the various ways. In this course, it has been defined within the field of peace studies. As we will find out shortly, each definition appears to fit particular world views or orientations of the scholars who provided these definitions. However, this is not to say that there are no similarities between the definitions. What would be more correct is to see them as complementing each other to the extent that they identify and highlight very salient issues that are germane to peace. Education serves the purpose of teaching, understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilisations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations; and for increasing awareness of global interdependence between peoples and nations.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- discuss the connection between education and peace
- define peace education
- identify the key issues in peace education
- articulate the role of peace educators
- explain methods of achieving lasting peace.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Peace

The word “peace” is derived from the Latin word *pax* which literally means a pact, a contract, an agreement to end war or any dispute and conflict between two people, nations or antagonistic groups of people. A situation or a period of time in which there is no war or violence in a country or an area is often described as peaceful. Peace can be a state of harmony or the absence of hostility. “Peace” can also be a nonviolent way of life. “Peace” often depicts cessation of violent conflict, a state of quiet or tranquility or an absence of disturbance or agitation. Peace can also describe a relationship between any people characterised by respect, justice and goodwill.

Conception of peace as tranquility can also pertain to an individual’s sense of himself or herself, as being “at peace” with one’s own mind. This is why Saint Augustine argued that peace and health go hand-in-hand. As he puts it:

The peace of the body then consists in the duly proportioned arrangement of its parts. The peace of the irrational soul is the harmonious repose of the appetites, and that of the rational soul the harmony of knowledge and action. The peace of body and soul is the well-ordered and harmonious life and health of the living creature.

Following from the above, peace can pertain to an individual relative to his or her environment, because the use of the word peaceful could be to describe calm, serenity, and silence. This latter understanding of peace can also pertain to an individual’s sense of self, as to be “at peace” with oneself would indicate the same serenity, calm, and equilibrium within oneself—that is, a life devoid of worries, bitterness or pain. This probably explains why some people refer to death as a state of peace with one’s creator.

In most cases, when people mouth the word “peace”, they refer to an absence of hostility. However, the term also represents a situation where there is, among others, a healthy or newly healed interpersonal or international relationship; safety in matters related to social or economic welfare; the acknowledgment of equality and fairness in political relationships and, in world matters. Thus, peacetime represents a state where any war or conflict is absent. Whenever we reflect on the nature of peace, it is usually in relation to considerations of the factors that bring about its absence or loss including such critical issues like insecurity, social injustice, economic inequality, political and religious radicalism, and acute nationalism.

Words that signify peace such as the Hebrew word *shalom*, the Arabic word *salaam*, the Yoruba word *alaafia* and the Igbo word *udo* all signify many things that human beings desire such as safety, welfare, prosperity, security, fortune, friendliness. The personalised meaning is reflected in a nonviolent lifestyle, which also describes a relationship between any people characterised by respect, justice and goodwill. This understanding of peace can also pertain to an individual's sense of herself or himself such as being "at peace" with one's own self and having "rest of mind". The term is also used in the sense of "quiet", reflecting a calm, serene, and meditative approach to family or group relationships that is devoid of quarrels among individuals and social groups.

3.2 Education and Peace

In view of mankind's experience with war and violence, a global movement has emerged which recommends discussion of issues of peace in education at all levels and in all its forms. According to this movement, education could be used to teach understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilisations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations; and increase awareness of the increasing global interdependence between peoples and nations.

They also argue that education is capable of improving the abilities of people to communicate with others; lead to an awareness not only of rights but also of the duties incumbent upon individuals, social groups and nations towards each other; foster an understanding of the necessity for international solidarity and co-operation; and that education could be used to measure the readiness on the part of individuals to participate in solving the problems of their communities, their country and the world at large.

They also believe that education could remove the ignorance that is often associated with violence in human societies, which many people believe is an inherent part of human nature. Those who have disagreed with the notion that violence is part of human nature argue instead that although it is widespread and universal in occurrence, violence is a phenomenon that emerged as late as the last 10,000 years.

Those who advocate pursuing a culture of peace through education also believe that the institution of warfare and its associated culture of violence are cultural phenomena and not biological phenomena inherited from our ancestors, and that war is a social invention rather than a fatality determined by genes, violent brains, human nature or instincts. For this reason, it is essential to understand how and why the culture of

war developed and has been sustained over time. To ask these questions, we then need to create understanding through education. The use of education for the pursuit of peace will thus involve:

- training and practice of conflict resolution and mediation in school systems, among staff and students, and extension of such knowledge through community involvement to the rest of society;
- linkage of school activities to ongoing activities in communities that promote participation by all in culture and development;
- incorporation of discussions on social movements, peace and non-violence, democracy and good governance into school curricula;
- extension of the sense of community to all peoples with the aim of preserving both the world's cultural diversity and its ecology for future generations;
- systematic review of school curricula to ensure an approach to ethnic, racial and cultural differences that emphasises their equality and unique contributions to the enrichment of the common good;
- systematic review and renovation of the teaching of history, to lay more emphasis on non-violent social change as opposed to military aspects of history; and
- teaching of science as a tool which can be used for war or for peace, for exploitation or for co-operative development.

On the basis of the above, use of education to promote peace (peace education) entails inculcating the need for positive response to diversity and conflicts with tolerance, imagination, flexibility into the minds of individuals, and fully exercising one's responsibilities to ensure that the rights of others and the freedom to exercise such rights are fully protected.

3.3 Peace Education

Peace education is a process of imparting specific skills, attitude and knowledge on people, thereby helping them to solve problems by building consensus, creating cultural awareness and showing empathy which is expected to build positive attitude about justice and respect for democracy. He further emphasises that through peace education, individuals would understand the dynamics of social conflicts, warfare, conflicts resolution and peace.

Briefly put, the aim of peace education is to help you understand the nature and origins of violence and its effects on both victim and perpetrator; to create frameworks for achieving peaceful creative

societies; to sharpen awareness about the existence of unpeaceful relationships between people and within and between nations; to investigate the causes of conflicts and violence embedded within perceptions, values and attitudes of individuals as well as within social and political structures of society; to encourage the search for alternative or possible nonviolent skills; and to equip children and adults with personal conflict resolution skills.

According to the peace education Working Group of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2004) peace education is "the process of promoting knowledge, skills and values that will bring about behavioural changes that will enable children, youths and adults to prevent conflict and overt and structural violence; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive for peace, whether at intrapersonal, interpersonal, inter-group, national or international level." Peace education therefore covers such topics as anti-racism, conflict resolution, multiculturalism, cross-cultural training and the cultivation of a generally peaceful outlook (Salmon, 2002:7).

At the core of peace education is the consciousness and conscience of the human being. It seeks to develop persons with rational, ethical minds whose vision of the world and its inhabitants is that of unity. The values that animate this unity can be expressed in different cultural connotations according to varying modes of life, but the unity does not imply that there is one conceptual vision of this unity. Diversity and differences are a natural expression of this consciousness; however, peace remains the underlying value and the instrument by which this unity is achieved through interdependence.

Peace education is about empowering people with the skills, attitudes, and knowledge to build, maintain, and restore relationships at all levels of human interaction; to develop positive approaches towards dealing with conflicts from the personal to the international; to create safe environments, both physically and emotionally, that nurture each individual; to create a safe world based on justice and human rights; and to build a sustainable environment and protect it from exploitation and war. Peace education is based on a philosophy that teaches nonviolence, love, compassion, trust, fairness, cooperation and reverence for the human family and all life on planet earth.

3.4 The Role of Peace Educators

Peace education is often described as a series of "teaching encounters" that draw from people their desire for peace, nonviolent alternatives for managing conflict, and skills for critical analysis of structural arrangements that produce and legalise injustice and inequality. Page

(2008) therefore suggested that peace education be thought of as involving a number of tasks such as:

- encouraging a commitment to peace as a settled disposition and enhancing the confidence of the individual as an individual agent of peace;
- informing the student on the consequences of war and social injustice;
- informing the student on the value of peaceful and just social structures and working to uphold or develop such social structures;
- encouraging the student to leave the world and to imagine a peaceful future; and
- caring for the student and encouraging the student to care for others.

Traditional distinctions in peace education are couched in terms of negative and positive peace. These distinctions can be seen in peace through strength which uses peacekeeping strategies to deter violence, peacemaking which helps disputants resolve their conflicts, and peacebuilding which tries to motivate students to want to be peaceful.

Negative peace education tries to put out fires while positive peace education tries to stop fires (conflicts) from breaking out in the first place. Generally, people want immediate solutions to the problems of violence that they fear. Because peace education provides a long term solution, is not seen as necessary and is not grabbing the kind of support that conflict resolution which helps put out fires is getting.

Further distinctions in peace education come from the content of courses taught, the teachers style, and the skills that students learn in order to become peaceful people. Peace education content started out by discussing the causes of war and the attempts of international systems to avoid war. In Japan, peace education was originally defined narrowly as 'anti-atomic bomb' education in line with their experience with the atomic bombs that were dropped on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. More recently, Third World perspectives on the variability of war and its causes has led to a broadening of the notion of peace education to include the study of the origins of Japanese militarism. Peace educators around the world are dealing with other issues, such as structural violence, cultural violence, personal violence, racism, and environmental degradation.

Recent studies in the field that relate to the study of war places an emphasis upon developing a questioning attitude towards the violence of the status quo and a teaching style that relies upon a dialogue between teacher and pupil where both of them jointly seek alternatives to

violence. Peace educators produce critical thinkers who question the emphasis upon the various forms of militarism found all around the world.

Peace educators seek to establish democratic classrooms that teach cooperation and promote positive self esteem among their students. Teachers serve as peaceful role models to help to counteract images of violent behaviour young people receive through popular culture (video, internet, games, music, and so on) and in their homes. Their teaching style will normally adjust to the developmental needs of their pupils, respecting the various identities and concerns about violence that students bring to the classroom.

Educators contribute to making a peaceful person by building in their students a certain orientation towards peaceful values, beliefs, and behaviours. A peaceful person should display a certain “groundedness” that implies not being in a constant state of anger and frustration. It is also the teacher’s work to build the student’s capacity in social skills and democratic participation.

The skills that peace educators often focus on teaching include verbal and non-verbal communication, active listening, understanding and management of different perspectives, cooperation, joint problem solving, critical thinking, decision making, conflict resolution, and social responsibility.

3.5 Methods of Achieving Post-Conflict Sustainable Peacebuilding

3.5.1 Understanding Peace Building

It should be noted at the outset that there are two distinct ways to understand peace building. According to the United Nations (UN) document “An Agenda for Peace,” peace building consists of a wide range of activities associated with capacity building, reconciliation, and societal transformation. Peace building is a long-term process that occurs after violent conflict has slowed down or come to a halt. Thus, it is the phases of the peace process that takes place after peacemaking and peacekeeping.

Many non-governmental organisations (NGOs), on the other hand, understand peace building as an umbrella concept that encompasses not only long-term transformative efforts, but also peacemaking and peacekeeping. In this view, peace building includes early warning and response efforts, violence prevention, advocacy work, civilian and

military peacekeeping, military intervention, humanitarian assistance, ceasefire agreements, and the establishment of peace zones.

In its narrower sense, peace building is a process that facilitates the establishment of durable peace and tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing root causes and effects of conflict through reconciliation, institution building, and political as well as economic transformation. This consists of a set of physical, social and structural initiatives that are often an integral part of post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation.

It is generally agreed that the central task of peace building is to create positive peace, a “stable social equilibrium in which the surfacing of new disputes does not escalate into violence and war.” Sustainable peace is characterised by the absence of physical and structural violence, the elimination of discrimination, and self-sustainability. Moving towards this sort of environment goes beyond problem solving or conflict management. Peace building initiatives try to fix the core problems that underlie the conflict and change the patterns of interaction of the involved parties. They aim to move a given population from a condition of extreme vulnerability and dependency to one of self-sufficiency and wellbeing.

To further understand the notion of peace building, many contrast it with the more traditional strategies of peacemaking and peacekeeping. Peacemaking is the diplomatic effort to end the violence between the conflicting parties, move them towards nonviolent dialogue, and eventually reach a peace agreement. Peacekeeping, on the other hand, is a third-party intervention (often, but not always done by military forces) to assist parties in transitioning from violent conflict to peace by separating the fighting parties and keeping them apart. These peacekeeping operations not only provide security, but also facilitate other non-military initiatives.

Some draw a distinction between post-conflict peace building and long-term peace building. Post-conflict peace building is connected to peacekeeping, and often involves demobilisation and reintegration programmes, as well as immediate reconstruction needs. Meeting immediate needs and, handling crises is no doubt crucial. But while peacemaking and peacekeeping processes are an important part of peace transitions, they are not enough in and of themselves to meet longer-term needs and build a lasting peace.

Long-term peace building techniques are designed to fill this gap; and to address the underlying substantive issues that brought about conflict. Various transformation techniques aim to move parties away from

confrontation and violence, and towards political and economic participation, peaceful relationships, and social harmony.

This longer-term perspective is crucial to future violence prevention and the promotion of a more peaceful future. Thinking about the future involves articulating desirable structural, systemic, and relationship goals. These might include sustainable economic development, self-sufficiency, equitable social structures that meet human needs, and building positive relationships.

Peace building measures also aim to prevent conflict from reemerging. Through the creation of mechanisms that enhance cooperation and dialogue among different identity groups, these measures can help parties manage their conflict of interests through peaceful means. This might include building institutions that provide procedures and mechanisms for effectively handling and resolving conflict. For example, societies can build fair courts, capacities for labour negotiation, systems of civil society reconciliation, and a stable electoral process. Such designing of new dispute resolution systems is an important part of creating a lasting peace.

In short, parties must replace the spiral of violence and destruction with a spiral of peace and development, and create an environment conducive to self-sustaining and durable peace. The creation of such an environment has three central dimensions: addressing the underlying causes of conflict, repairing damaged relationships and dealing with psychological trauma at the individual level. Each of these dimensions relies on different strategies and techniques.

3.5.2 The Structural Dimension of Peace Building

The structural dimension of peace building focuses on the social conditions that foster violent conflict. Many note that stable peace must be built on social, economic, and political foundations that serve the needs of the populace. In many cases, crises arise out of systemic roots. These root causes are typically complex, but include skewed land distribution, environmental degradation, and unequal political representation. If these social problems are not addressed, there can be no lasting peace.

Thus, in order to establish durable peace, parties must analyse the structural causes of the conflict and initiate social structural change. The promotion of substantive and procedural justice through structural means typically involves institution building and the strengthening of civil society.

Avenues of political and economic transformation include social structural change to remedy political or economic injustice, reconstruction programmes designed to help communities ravaged by conflict revitalise their economies, and the institution of effective and legitimate restorative justice systems. Peace building initiatives aim to promote nonviolent mechanisms that eliminate violence, foster structures that meet basic human needs, and maximise public participation.

To provide fundamental services to its citizens, a state needs strong executive, legislative, and judicial institutions. Many point to democratisation as a key way to create these sorts of peace-enhancing structures. Democratisation seeks to establish legitimate and stable political institutions and civil liberties that allow for meaningful competition for political power and broad participation in the selection of leaders and policies. It is important for governments to adhere to principles of transparency and predictability, and for laws to be adopted through an open and public process. For the purpose of post-conflict peace building, the democratisation process should be part of a comprehensive project to rebuild society's institutions.

Political structural changes focus on political development, state building, and the establishment of effective government institutions. This often involves election reform, judicial reform, power sharing initiatives, and constitutional reform. It also includes building political parties, creating institutions that provide procedures and mechanisms for effectively handling and resolving conflict, and establishing mechanisms to monitor and protect human rights. Such institution building and infrastructure development typically requires the dismantling, strengthening, or reformation of old institutions in order to make them more effective.

It is crucial to establish and maintain rule of law, and to implement rules and procedures that constrain the powers of all parties and hold them accountable for their actions. This can help to ease tension, create stability, and lessen the likelihood of further conflict. For example, an independent judiciary can serve as a forum for the peaceful resolution of disputes and post-war grievances.

In addition, societies need a system of criminal justice that deters and punishes banditry and acts of violence. Fair police mechanisms must be established and government officials and members of the police force must be trained to observe basic rights in the execution of their duties. In addition, legislation protecting minorities and laws securing gender equality should be advanced. Courts and police forces must be free of corruption and discrimination.

But structural change can also be economic. Many note that economic development is integral to preventing future conflict and avoiding a relapse into violence. Economic factors that put societies at risk include lack of employment opportunities, food scarcity, and lack of access to natural resources or land. A variety of social structural changes aim to eliminate the structural violence that arises out of a society's economic system. These economic and social reforms include economic development programs, health care assistance, land reform, social safety nets, and programs to promote agricultural productivity.

Economic peace building targets both the micro and macro-level and aims to create economic opportunities and ensure that the basic needs of the population are met. On the microeconomic level, societies should establish micro-credit institutions to increase economic activity and investment at the local level, promote inter-communal trade and an equitable distribution of land, and expand school enrollment and job training. On the macroeconomic level, the post-conflict government should be assisted in the efforts to secure the economic foundations and infrastructure necessary for a transition to peace.

3.5.3 The Relational Dimension of Peace Building

A second integral part of building peace is reducing the effects of war-related hostility through the repair and transformation of damaged relationships. The relational dimension of peace building focuses on reconciliation, forgiveness, trust building, and future imagining. It seeks to minimise poorly functioning communication and maximise mutual understanding.

Many believe that reconciliation is one of most effective and durable ways to transform relationships and prevent destructive conflicts. The essence of reconciliation is the voluntary initiative of the conflicting parties to acknowledge their responsibility and guilt. Parties reflect upon their own role and behaviour in the conflict, and acknowledge and accept responsibility for the part they have played. As parties share their experiences, they learn new perspectives and change their perception of their "enemies." There is recognition of the difficulties faced by the opposing side and of their legitimate grievances, and a sense of empathy begins to develop.

Each side expresses sincere regret and remorse, and is prepared to apologise for what has transpired. The parties make a commitment to let go of anger, and to refrain from repeating the injury. Finally, there is a sincere effort to redress past grievances and compensate for the damage

done. This process often relies on interactive negotiation and allows the parties to enter into a new mutually enriching relationship.

One of the essential requirements for the transformation of conflicts is effective communication and negotiation at both the elite and grassroots levels. Through both high and community-level dialogues, parties can increase their awareness of their own role in the conflict and develop a more accurate perception of both their own and the other group's identity. As each group shares its unique history, traditions, and culture, the parties may come to understand each other better. International exchange programs and problem-solving workshops are two techniques that can help to change perceptions, build trust, open communication, and increase empathy. For example, over the course of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the main antagonists have sometimes been able to build trust through meeting outside their areas, not for formal negotiations, but simply to better understand each other.

If these sorts of bridge-building communication systems are in place, relations between the parties can improve and any peace agreements they reach will more likely be self-sustaining. (The Israeli-Palestinian situation illustrates that there are no guarantees, however.) Various mass communication and education measures, such as peace radio and TV, peace-education projects, and conflict-resolution training can help parties to reach such agreements. And dialogue between people of various ethnicities or opposing groups can lead to deepened understanding and help to change the demonic image of the enemy group. It can also help parties to overcome grief, fear, and mistrust and enhance their sense of security.

A crucial component of such dialogue is future imaging, whereby parties form a vision of the commonly shared future they are trying to build. Conflicting parties often have more in common in terms of their visions of the future than they do in terms of their shared and violent past. The thought is that if they know where they are trying to go, it will be easier to get there.

Another way for the parties to build a future together is to pursue joint projects that are unrelated to the conflict's core issues and center on shared interests. This can benefit the parties' relationship. Leaders who project a clear and hopeful vision of the future and the ways and means to get there can play a crucial role here.

However, in addition to looking towards the future, parties must deal with their painful past. Reconciliation not only envisions a common, connected future, but also recognises the need to redress past wrongdoing. If the parties are to renew their relationship and build an

interdependent future, what has happened must be exposed and then be forgiven.

Indeed, a crucial part of peace building is addressing past wrongdoing while at the same time promoting healing and rule of law. Part of repairing damaged relationships is responding to past human rights, violations and genocide through the establishment of truth commissions, fact-finding missions, and war crimes tribunals. These processes attempt to deal with the complex legal and emotional issues associated with human rights abuses and ensure that justice is served. It is commonly thought that past injustice must be recognised, and the perpetrators punished if parties wish to achieve reconciliation.

However, many note that the retributive justice advanced by Western legal systems often ignores the needs of victims and exacerbates wounds. Many note that to advance healing between the conflicting parties. Justice must be more reparative in focus. Central to restorative justice is its future-orientation and its emphasis on the relationship between victims and offenders. It seeks to engage both victims and offenders in dialogue and make things right by identifying their needs and obligations. Having community-based restorative justice processes in place can help to build a sustainable peace.

3.5.4 The Personal Dimension of Peace Building

The personal dimension of peace building centers on desired changes at the individual level. If individuals are not able to undergo a process of healing, there will be broader social political and economic repercussions. The destructive effects of social conflict must be minimised, and its potential for personal growth must be maximised. Reconstruction and peace building efforts must prioritise treating mental health problems and integrate these efforts into peace plans and rehabilitation efforts.

In traumatic situations, a person is rendered powerless and faces the threat of death and injury. Traumatic events might include a serious threat or harm to one's family or friends, sudden destruction of one's home or community, and a threat to one's own physical being. Such events overwhelm an individual's coping resources, making it difficult for the individual to function effectively in society. Typical emotional effects include depression and post-traumatic stress disorder. After prolonged and extensive trauma, a person is often left with intense feelings that negatively influence his/her psychological wellbeing. After an experience of violence, an individual is likely to feel vulnerable, helpless, and out of control in a world that is unpredictable.

Building peace requires attention to these psychological and emotional layers of the conflict. The social fabric that has been destroyed by war must be repaired, and trauma must be dealt with on the national, community, and individual levels. At the national level, parties can accomplish widespread personal healing through truth and reconciliation commission that seek to uncover the truth and deal with perpetrators. At the community level, parties can pay tribute to the suffering of the past through various rituals or ceremonies, or build memorials to commemorate the pain and suffering that has been endured. Strong family units that can rebuild community structures and moral environments are also crucial.

At the individual level, one-on-one counseling has obvious limitations when large numbers of people have been traumatised and there are insufficient resources to address their needs. Peace building initiatives must therefore provide support for mental health infrastructure and ensure that mental health professionals receive adequate training. Mental health programmes should be adapted to suit the local context, and draw from traditional and communal practice and customs wherever possible. Participating in counselling and dialogue can help individuals to develop coping mechanism and to rebuild their trust in others.

If it is taken that psychology drives individuals' attitudes and behaviours, then new emphasis must be placed on understanding the social psychology of conflict and its consequences. If ignored, certain victims of past violence are at risk of becoming perpetrators of future violence. Victim empowerment and support can help to break this cycle.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Peace can be built outside of classrooms and formal education settings. Whenever we reflect on the nature of peace, it is usually in relation to considerations of the factors that bring about its absence or loss including such critical issues like insecurity, social injustice, economic inequality, political and religious radicalism, and acute nationalism. Education can assist mankind to overcome the attitudes and practices in our culture that threaten peace and also explains how lasting peace could be accomplished in our society.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have examined the history of education in terms of how it developed over the ages, the various ways in which humans educate their members in culture and survival skills, the meaning of peace and its connection to education, and how formal, non-formal and informal education could effectively serve the purpose of peace in human

societies. We also discussed methods of achieving post-conflict sustainable peacebuilding

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Why is education important to the development of human culture?
2. Identify the various stages in the emergence of education.
3. What is peace and how does education promote it?
4. What activities become necessary if we are serious about using education to promote peace?

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Aronson, E. (1995). *The Social Animal*. (7th ed.). New York: Freeman.

Assefa, H. (1996). "Peace and Reconciliation as a Paradigm: A philosophy of peace and its implications for conflict, governance and economic growth in Africa." In: Assefa &

Boutros-Boutros G. (1992). "An Agenda for Peace, Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping." Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Publishing Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992.

Broodryk, J. (2006). "Ubuntu African Life Coping Skills: Theory and Practice". Conference Paper delivered at the Recreation Linkages between Theory and Praxis in Educational Leadership Conference, South Africa organized by the Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration and Management (CCEAM)

Burton, J.W. (1990). *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Christie, D. J., Wagner, R. V., & Winter, D. A. (Eds.). (2001). *Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21st Century*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Coser, L.A. (1956). *The Functions of Social Conflict*. London : Free Press, New York and Collier-Macmillan.

Deutsch, M. (1973). *The Resolution of Conflict: Constructive and Destructive Processes*. New Haven (Connecticut): Yale University Press.

- Egan, E.(1999). *Peace Be with You: Justified Warfare or the Way of Nonviolence*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.
- Faleti, A. S. (2010). *Education for Peace II*: Lagos: National Open University of Nigeria Press. pp 30-31.
- Gluckman, H.M. (1955). *Custom and Conflict in Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Lund, M. S. (1997). *Preventing and Mitigating Violent Conflicts: A Revised Guide for Practitioners*. Washington DC: Creative Associates Intl.
- Mahoney, M. J. (1990). *Human Change Processes*. New York: Basic Books.
- Monga, C. (1998). *The Anthropology of Anger: The Civil Society and Democracy in Africa*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Wachira, (Eds.). *Peacemaking and Democratisation in Africa: Theoretical Perspectives and Church Initiatives*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.

MODULE 3 TRENDS IN GLOBAL ISSUES

Unit 1	International, Continental and Regional Organisations in the Pursuance of World Peace
Unit 2	Peaceful Methods of Conflict Resolution I
Unit 3	Peaceful Methods of Conflict Resolution II
Unit 4	Coercive Means of Conflict Resolution
Unit 5	Gender Issues and Humanitarian Intervention

UNIT 1 INTERNATIONAL, CONTINENTAL, AND REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE PURSUANCE OF WORLD PEACE

CONTENTS

1.0	Introduction
2.0	Objectives
3.0	Main Content
3.1	International Organisation
3.1.1	General Assembly
3.1.2	The Security Council
3.1.3	The Secretariat
3.1.4	The European Union (EU)
3.1.5	African Union (Formerly Organisation of African Unity)
3.1.6	Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS)
3.1.7	Commonwealth of Nations
4.0	Conclusion
5.0	Summary
6.0	Tutor-Marked Assignment
7.0	References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

It is important to discuss briefly the core reason for establishing international organisations, continental organisations, and regional organisations in the maintenance of world peace, through economic, social, and political collaboration. The need for being each other's keeper; rejoice with a rejoicing state and mourn with a mourning state had been established as breeding homogeneity and deep-rooted co-existence.

Towards that end, the establishment of specific organs to carry out those functions became expedient while the main international organisations

would be the peak umbrella that would shelter the various organs and sub-organs.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- state the organs of the United Nations
- identify those agencies established to augment the services of the United Nations
- demonstrate an understanding of the working activities of those agencies in line with peace building
- define the concepts of international, regional and continental organisations
- assess the adequacy or otherwise of peoples' role-expectations from those organisations.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 International Organisation

International organisation has various meanings. Ordinarily, it could be referred to as an organisation that embodies the world community, with its members drawn from independent sovereign states. It could be in form of religious organisations that cut across national boundaries. Similarly, international organisations could spring from economic and cultural collaborations, and many other spheres between states. One of the major characteristics an international organisation should possess is that it must be trans-border in outlook and must involve two or more sovereign states.

Akinboye and Ottoh (2005) opine that an international organisation is composed of sovereign independent states, voluntarily joining in a common pursuit of certain goals. In the opinion of Palmer and Perkins (1969), an international organisation is “any co-operative arrangement instituted among states usually by a basic agreement, to perform some mutually advantageous functions implemented through periodic meetings and staff activities.”

Equally worthy of mention is the definition given by Plano and Olton (1988) that “an international organisation is a formal arrangement transcending national boundaries that provides for the establishment of an institutional machinery to facilitate co-operation among members in security, economic, social, or related fields.” Succinctly put, it is perceived as a formal institution established by sovereign states through a consensus, and a solid structure, with a view to pursuing the common

interest of its members. With this, it could be adduced that an international organisation could be seen as a forum for the collaboration and propagation of the foreign policies of its sovereign member states, in the pursuit of international peace and security.

You need to bear in mind that international organisations do not have the status of a state and by implication, do not operate branches similar to that of a government anywhere but they could establish institutions that have legal or quasi legal powers to perform certain special functions. This status will be further discussed in subsequent units.

Further, it is customary that the headquarters of an international organisation must be such that it accommodates divergent nationalities - indigenes of the member states.

Summarily, though, not conclusively, international organisations must generate members from two or more sovereign states, must have formal structures that serve as the co-coordinating centres, and should be seen to have been established by a mutual consent, in form of treaty or an enforceable legal document.

3.1.1 General Assembly

The General Assembly meets once in a year usually in September, and each member state is represented in the meeting. Each member state has five representatives but has only one vote. Besides the normal once a year meeting, an extra ordinary meeting could be called by the Secretary General if directed by the Security Council or if the majority of member nations wish it, to discuss matters of world peace.

Decisions are normally reached by a two third majority of the members present, or by a simple majority. Other functions the General Assembly performs include discussing and voting on matters forwarded to it by the Security Council, electing six non-permanent members of the Security Council, as well as the 18 members of the Social and Economic Council. Similarly, it is the responsibility of the Assembly to elect judges of the International Court of Justice in conjunction with the Security Council. Equally, the General Assembly performs the function of promotion of international co-operation in economic, social, cultural, educational and medical fields. The assembly is also responsible for the vetting and passing of the financial obligations of the organisation as well as serving as a check on the administrative arm of the United Nations made up of the Secretary General and his international civil servants.

3.1.2 Security Council

The Security Council is the permanent decision-making organ of the UN and all the members are bound to carry out its resolutions. At its inception in 1945, it had 11 members – five permanent (United States of America, Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and China) and six elected for a term of two years. By 1963, the number of the Council increased to 15 due to the increase in the number of membership of the UN. Any of the permanent members could veto any bill found detrimental to its welfare.

The Security Council performs a number of functions. It is charged with the responsibility of maintaining peace and security among the nations of the world. It can also investigate any situation that may bring about danger and recommend measures for restoring peace. An example was the 12 resolutions the Security Council passed to ensure that Iraq pulled out of Kuwait in 1991. When persuasion to settle any dispute fails, the Council, through Article 7, may order military action to which every member nation is expected to send troops.

3.1.3 The Secretariat

The foremost officer of the United Nations is the Secretary-General who, in combination with his international staff, is responsible for the day-to-day running of the Headquarters and ensures the implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. In addition, he is responsible for bringing before the Council any problem identified as being capable of disrupting world peace. He is, by international law, regarded as the number one world civil servant. His election is by the General Assembly through the recommendation of the Security Council.

Interestingly, the former occupiers of this exalted office from its inception to date were: Trygavie Lie of Norway, Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden, U Thant of Burma, Boutros Boutros – Ghali of Egypt, Kofi Anan of Ghana. Ban ki Mon of South Korea is the current occupier of this office.

Since peace building is the chief task of the United Nations, some other agencies were also established to augment the services of the United Nations. These include The International Labour Organisation (ILO) with its headquarters in Geneva, concerned with labour conditions; the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) based in Rome and concerned with world food supplies and agricultural development, especially in the third world; the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in Paris, which coordinates

educational research and promotes international scientific and cultural co-operation; and the International Court of Justice, based in the Hague, which sees to the judicial settlement of conflicts referred to it by conflict-states. Others include the United Nations International Children's Educational Fund (UNICEF) set up in 1946, and the World Health Organisation (WHO) set up to see to the health needs of the world. This list is by no means conclusive, so you are enjoined to seek for more information on the United Nations and its agencies from various authorities to enhance your knowledge

3.1.4 The European Union (EU)

The evolution of European Economic Community later known as the European Union (EU) has its roots in the post World War II politics of Western Europe. The fall-out of the war brought unimaginable economic depression to Western Europe and as a way of ameliorating the economic depression, a process of regional integration was seen as the alternative. Thus, the European Economic Community was formed initially for the regulation of specific sectors of the economy in areas such as coal, steel, and agriculture. With its acceding to the economic needs of the community, it was entrusted with further responsibilities in areas such as monetary policy, military defence, as well as the protection of human rights which is an aspect of international and universal law and tacitly cuts across sovereignty of states.

The European Union was again empowered to negotiate external trade agreements on behalf of member states which necessitated the establishment a customs union. In addition, as the ultimate intention of the regional integration is the economic and social survival of the community, the union was again mandated to operate a common foreign and security policy, courtesy of the Maastrich treaty of 1992. It is instructive to add that the emergence of the Euro as a world currency in 1999 was equally a fall-out of that treaty. As a way of marshalling the wherewithal necessary for a complete regional integration in the economic, social and political survival of Western Europe, institutions were set up, with specific roles.

3.1.5 The European Commission

It has its operating bases at both Brussels and Luxemburg and it is saddled with the task of initiating, administering and overseeing the implementation of European Union policies and legislation. The commission is not just the secretariat of the European Union; its involvement in the politics of Europe is such that makes it an enforcer of European laws. Its most daunting role is in proposing new legislations for the union and often has the monopoly of initiating legislative

process. The importance of the roles expected of the commission is underscored by its staffing which includes former top government functionaries and headed mostly by senior politicians – 20 commissioners – who are usually former ministers or prime ministers and appointed by national governments. The administrative staff strength of its headquarters is about 17,000, together with the employees of other European institutions form a European civil service and is expected to be free from interference from member states.

It is a civil service force recruited from member states and naturally, from different orientations. The service is multinational, multilingual and multicultural together with the expectations of attendant opportunities and problems that such recruitment entails. The spirit of homogeneity, in a heterogeneous region which formed the basis of a regional integration, is being pursued.

3.1.6 African Union (Formerly Organisation of African Unity)

The need for an umbrella under which African nations could stand to discuss their problems and proffer solutions to them had been at the forefront before nationhood was achieved. Basically, reference, though, in a passing form, should be ascribe to Du Bouis and James Kwaggy Aggrey of the blessed memories.

Do you recollect that memorable verse? “I am proud of my colour; whoever is not proud of his colour is not fit to live.”

The activities of these people and others were rekindled long after their exit from this mortal world with the formation of three blocks in the early 60s : Casablanca group whose charter was signed on January 7th, 1961, consisted of Ghana, Mali, Guinea, Libya, Morocco, Algeria and Egypt; the Monrovia group, with charter signed in Lagos on December 20th, 1962 consisted of Tunisia, Nigeria, Liberia, Togo, Sierra-Leone, Somalia, and Ethiopia, while the third group called the Union of Africa and Malagasy States consisted of the French speaking African States. That was the confused state of African affairs but the patriotic zeal of some African Heads of State then, championed by the late Emperor Haile Selassie initiated the move towards the unification of these three groups. Thus, at a well attended meeting of African Heads of State and Governments in Addis Ababa, on 25th May, 1963, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was born.

The initial disunity amongst African nations was due to their colonial past as the partitioning of Africa by foreign interests only made Africans to be inclined to the colonisers and not to themselves any longer. When it became glaring that they would be in perpetual slavery unless they

came under a single umbrella, the colonial masters employed all tactics to prevent the efforts from becoming a reality but to no avail.

Having come together as OAU, the first obstacle was cleared. The next step was the mapping out of the aims and objectives of the organisation. These included:

- promotion of unity and solidarity amongst African States
- coordinating and intensifying efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa
- defending their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence
- eradication of all forms of colonialism from Africa
- promoting international co-operation, having due regard to the charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

These aims and objectives were always resorted to as pre-conflict peace-building mechanisms because African States were just evolving and struggling to shake off the dust of colonialism. The implementation of these aims rested square on the shoulders of some institutions including the following.

- The Assembly of Heads of State and Governments
- The Council of Ministers
- The General Secretariat and
- The Commission of Mediation, Arbitration and Conciliation.

The above preamble gives an insight into the basis for the formation of the OAU – the challenges of colonialism, imperialism, exploitation and other vices.

With the decolonisation of Namibia in 1990, it appeared that the OAU, set out originally to deal with basically African issues, could not be indifferent to international politics. The metamorphosis of European Economic Community into European Union compelled African Heads of State to rethink and cast their minds back to the old injunctions of the late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Sekou-Toure of Guinea and others.

On the 3rd day of June 1991, a treaty signed in Abuja, Nigeria, recommended the creation of an African Union and a Pan-African Parliament. After series of efforts by well-meaning African leaders, it was finally resolved that OAU should metamorphose into the African Union. Thus, in July, 2002, at the summit of the African Heads of State and Government in South Africa, the OAU ceased to exist and in its place came the African Union (AU).

You need to know whether the change from OAU to AU was just in its nomenclature or it has any element of pragmatic dynamism. Before going into this, it is instructive to know the organs of the AU. The organs of the African Union are:

- The Assembly of Heads of State which is the supreme organ;
- The Executive Council;
- Specialised Special Committees;
- Pan-African Parliament;
- Court of Justices;
- Economic and Social Council, Financial Institutions, and other organs which the Assembly may deem fit to establish.

The objectives of the AU according to Article 3 of its charter are as follows.

1. To achieve greater unity and solidarity between African countries and the peoples of Africa;
2. To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its member-states;
3. To accelerate rapid political and socio-economic integration of the continent;
4. To promote and defend common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples;
5. To encourage international co-operation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human rights;
6. To promote peace, security and stability on the continent.
7. To promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance;
8. To promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African charter on human and peoples' rights and other relevant human rights instruments;
9. To establish the conditions, which will enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations;
10. To promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies;
11. To promote co-operation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples;
12. To coordinate and harmonise the policies between the existing and future regions' economic communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union;
13. To advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, particularly in science and technology;

14. To work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.

The above objectives define the role expectations of the AU. Analysing the impact of that continental body will be carried out after concluding the role expectations of at least two other regional organisations, the Economic Community of West African States and the Commonwealth of Nations.

3.1.7 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

Going by the definition of a modern day regional organisation, it will be realised that the Economic Community of West African States, though sub-regional in global politics, has satisfied the requirements of a regional organisation.

What is its origin? You need to ask. The West African sub-region had variously been colonised by several foreign powers in the past and each country of the sub-region consolidated on her inherited colonial past which prevented the much needed unity in the sub-region. There was political instability and economic deprivation. Despite the richness of the sub region in raw materials, lack of unity made the sub-region a mere supplier of raw materials and cheap labour to their imperial lords. Each time the foreign masters realised that their cronies were dialoguing on ways to untie their bondage; seeds of discord would be ignited. The West African sub-region thus, became a theatre of civil strife and economic woes.

In spite of the vicissitude of the sub-region, a bold attempt was made in October, 1966 in Niamey, Niger Republic where representatives of 14 West African countries met to consider draft articles of association for the proposed organisation. The Niamey meeting was followed in quick succession by the Dakar and Accra meetings.

It was not until 14th May, 1967, at Accra-Ghana that the articles of association for the formal establishment of an Economic Community of West Africa were signed by representatives of 12 states. Among the provisions contained in the Article of Association is the establishment of an interim council of ministers, charged with the responsibility of drafting a comprehensive treaty to provide a framework for collaboration of all West African States for the economic wellbeing for the region. This interim council was entitled "Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States;" It was not to come into force until signed by the Heads of State and Government of the sub-region. Thus,

the treaty establishing the Economic Community of West African States was signed in Lagos on May 28th, 1975 by 15 states and the number swelled by one in 1976. Both Togo and Nigeria, the major brains behind the organisation's formation, did a lot of peace-building activities in order to provide a more conducive ground for the unimpeded practical take off of the organisation. Towards this end, the drafted protocols, with the input of the states in the sub-region, though, spearheaded by Nigeria and Togo, were approved in 1976 and the much awaited take off of the body came into being early in 1977.

Before assessing the success or failure of any organisation, the purpose for which it is set up, together with its accompanying machinery, must be looked into. Consequently, and in line with an established academic norm, the aims, to be followed by organs to accomplish them, are as follows.

According to Article 2 of the Lagos Treaty, the general aim of the community shall be to promote co-operation and development in all the fields of economic activities, which include:

- (a) Harmonising the economic and industrial policies of member states and removal of hiccups in the developmental efforts of member states.
- (b) Removal of custom duties and any other restrictive duty within the sub-region in respect of import or export of goods.
- (c) Invocation of identical custom tariffs and trade policy towards third world countries.
- (d) Removal of any restrictions to the free movement of persons, services and capital within the member states.
- (e) Collaboration between member states towards the promotion of common projects in the interest of the sub-region as well as working towards identical agricultural policies.
- (f) The enactment of a common policy as well as the invocation of schemes in such fields as transport, communication, energy and other infrastructural facilities for the purpose of enhancing the living standard of the sub-region.
- (g) Coordination and harmonisation of needed logistics for the proper functioning of the community in respect of monetary policies of the member states.
- (h) Adoption of a fund for cooperation, compensation and development.
- (i) Fostering closer relationship among member-states and contributing positively towards the progress and development of the African continent.
- (j) All other activities geared towards the enhancement of the aims of the ECOWAS as the member-states may deem fit.

In order to achieve these aims, necessary organs were set up in line with Article 4 of ECOWAS Treaty. The organs are:

- (a) The Authority of the Heads of State and Government.
 - (b) The Council of Ministers
 - (c) The Secretariat
 - (d) The Tribunal (later called Court of Justice)
- The Authority of the Heads of States and Government represents the supreme organ of the ECOWAS. Simply referred to as “The Authority,” it meets once a year and at a rotational venue. It is solely responsible for the executive functions of the organisation.
 - The Council of Ministers is directly responsible to The Authority and meets twice a year. It is composed of two representatives from each member state.
 - The Executive Secretariat is headed by an Executive Secretary and has a four-year term, which is renewable for a similar term.
 - A Court of Justice is basically to ensure that law and justice is observed. It also interprets ECOWAS Treaty and settles any dispute referred to it by any member state.

ECOWAS also established some institutions in the pursuit of its aims such as the trade, customs, immigration, monetary and payment commission; the industry, agriculture and national resources commission; the transport, telecommunications and energy commission, and the social and cultural affairs commission.

3.1.8 Commonwealth of Nations

The Commonwealth of Nations which falls under a regional organisation is a voluntary association of former British colonies. Its origin dates back to the 20th century. Its antecedence could be traced back to the 19th century when most of the British colonies had obtained a status of semi-independence. This means, a colony, having a popularly elected legislative assembly but a British governor, representing the king or queen in the colony. Also, this British governor took directives from the British Secretary of State, for the colonies. The above indicates a practice where, the colonial legislative houses met only to discuss issues for presentation to the colonial secretary who could veto any bill as he deemed fit. Those colonies could not discuss issues of foreign affairs which was the exclusive preserve of the British government. Interestingly, the colonies gained a new promotional nomenclature of Dominion in the 1920s because the British had delegated power in the area of managing foreign affairs as well as making laws, to the Dominions. By 1931, the self-styled dominions were granted independence.

The earliest members of the Commonwealth were Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland and South Africa. In 1949, Ireland, due to racial problem ceased to be a member as well as South Africa in 1961 as a result of her apartheid policy.

The 20th century witnessed the granting of independence to several British-African colonies and these countries, for reasons of mutual advantage, later joined the association. Membership of the body grows from the source of a common historical and political background. The aims of the Commonwealth of Nations, as the name suggests, are in being each other's keeper in every sphere of life, taking cognisance of their historical antecedence and these include, but not limited to the following, as identified by Adde (1995):

Trade Advantage; Commonwealth countries carry on trading activities amongst themselves under a preferential agreement. This means that lower tariffs are levied on goods or items of trade from one commonwealth country to the other, resulting in cheaper deals than those from non-commonwealth country. However, the entry of Britain into the club of E.E.C. has hampered this mutual agreement as Britain must take permission from other E.E.C. countries before giving any preferential treatment to other commonwealth countries.

Military Assistance – Member Countries could ask for military help from another commonwealth country and this could be in form of military training for her officers or seek for supply of needed military hardware.

Commonwealth countries could request for technical and monetary assistance from one another and this could be in form of experts in various fields of human endeavour such as education, sports, communication, engineering, and so on. Member countries could, as well give loans to another commonwealth country for development purposes.

Through active participation in commonwealth games, member countries could marshal their ingenuity to become world class sportsmen and women. Gainful employment could be facilitated by citizens of the commonwealth through the adoption of a common language which is English Language.

Through educational and scientific cooperation, students of one commonwealth country could secure opportunity to study in another commonwealth country. As the world is nose-diving towards a global village, commonwealth countries encourage scientific co-operation and

any scientific discovery in any commonwealth country is instantly beamed to other commonwealth countries.

In other not to be lost in proffering the aims of the commonwealth which are almost endless. In addition, Britain had imbibed the culture of fundamental liberty of every citizen of her colonies into the day to day administration of the colonies. Therefore, it was no surprise that the constitutions of the countries of the commonwealth contain elements of the principles of fundamental human rights and accompanied by emphasis on the 'rule of law.'

4.0 CONCLUSION

This unit has emphasised the importance of the United Nations Organisation, continental organisations, and regional organisations in their determination to put in place structures that would galvanise the world towards greater global peace, without being unmindful of the existing spots of conflict. In short, the very existence of these organs makes the United Nations to become the instrumentality for measuring global conscience.

5.0 SUMMARY

This unit has dealt with the United Nations organs and agencies, continental organisations, and regional organisations and their concerted efforts towards peace-building as the universe is fast becoming a global village.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Name and discuss the organs of the United Nations.
2. Briefly discuss the roles being played by any continental organisations or regional organisations in the maintenance of peace within their geographical locations.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Akinboye, S.O. & Ottoh, F.O. (2005). *A Systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications.

Albert, I.O. (2001). *Building Peace, Advancing Democracy: Experience with Third-Party Intervention in Nigeria's Conflicts*. Ibadan: John Archers.

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

Salawu, M.L. (2010). *International Organisations and Peace Building*. National Open University of Nigeria Press. Pp 109-122.

John, B. & Steve, S. (2001). *The Globalisation of World Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

UNIT 2 PEACEFUL METHODS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION I

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Conflict Resolution
 - 3.2 Conflict Management
 - 3.3 Conflict Transformation
 - 3.4 Conflict Suppression
 - 3.5 Negotiation
 - 3.5.1 Types of Negotiation Strategies
 - 3.6 Enquiry
 - 3.7 Good Office
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Legal Method and International Dispute Resolution

The United Nations places considerable emphasis upon the need for nations to exist for the pursuit of global peace and to avoid conflict and to settle disputes through peaceful means. Article 1(1) states that it is a purpose or duty of the United Nations to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations, which might lead to breach of the peace

In line with above desire, Article 1 of the United Nations charter provides the following purposes of the United Nations.

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end; to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situation which might lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self –determination of peoples,

and to take over appropriate measure to strengthen universal peace;

- 3 To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
- 4 To be a center for harmonising the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

While Article 2(2) places an obligation upon members to: settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

Every member of the United Nations is of course a party to this charter and is bound by it. Other Articles dealing with maintenance of peace include Articles 11, 12 and chapter VI and VII of the UN charter.

It therefore, become necessary to refer to Article 33 of the UN charter for a better appraisal of the issues relating to peaceful or amicable methods of settlement of disputes

Article 33 of the UN charter provides thus:

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, arbitration, judicial settlement, and resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.
2. The security council shall when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means". "negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their choice".

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- discuss the importance placed by the international community upon the amicable or peaceful settlement of disputes
- explain the means enumerated in Article 33 of the UN Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes

- mention the advantages and disadvantages of peaceful means of dispute settlement
- explain some dispute settlement concepts.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Conflict Resolution

Miller (2003:8) views conflict resolution as “a variety of approaches aimed at terminating conflicts through the constructive solving of problems, distinct from management or transformation of conflict”. Miall et al (2001:21) indicates that by conflict resolution, it is expected that the deep rooted sources of conflict are addressed and resolved, and behaviour is no longer violent, nor are attitudes hostile any longer, while the structure of the conflict has been changed. Mitchell and Banks (1996) see conflict resolution as:

- i. an outcome in which the issues in an existing conflict are satisfactorily dealt with through a solution that is mutually acceptable to the parties, self-sustaining in the long run and productive of a new, positive relationship between parties that were previously hostile adversaries; and
- ii. any process or procedure by which such an outcome is achieved.

Conflict or dispute is resolved when the basic needs of parties involved in conflict have been met with required or desired satisfiers, and their fears have been allayed. Some conflicts, especially those over resources, psychological needs and inadequate information are permanently resolvable while others like those over values, may be non-resolvable and can at best be transformed, regulated or managed for the sake of peace.

3.2 Conflict Management

This refers to the process or an act geared towards reducing the negative and destructive capacity of conflict through various means or measures and by working with and through the stakeholder (parties) involved in a conflict. It entails the entire areas of handling conflicts positively at different stages, such as those proactive efforts made to prevent conflicts, including conflict limitation, containment and litigation. This term is sometimes used synonymously with “conflict regulation”. John Burton (1990) refers to it as “conflict prevention,” which he sees as containment of conflict through steps introduced to promote conditions in which collaborative and valued relationships control the behaviour of conflict parties. The concept “conflict management” agrees to the fact

that conflict is inevitable, but that not all conflicts can always be resolved; therefore, what can be done in this type of situation is to manage and regulate the conflict.

3.3 Conflict Transformation

John Paul Lederach (1995) postulated this term. He sees conflict transformation as change. Conflict transformation can be seen descriptively in the changes created by social conflict, and prescriptively in the deliberate intervention by third parties to create change. Conflict transformation takes place at different levels and has a number of dimensions. At the personal levels involves emotional, perceptual and spiritual aspects of change desired for the individual.

It also affects relationships touching on communication between parties that needs to change to positively affect poorly functioning communication change also needs to affect structures that generate conflict through deprivation, exclusion and other forms of injustice. It also seeks to understand cultural patterns and values of parties. In summary, conflict transformation recognises the dialectical element of conflict about the inevitability of change. Secondly, it recognises the neutrality of conflict as such, and that conflict can be either negative or positive, but can transform it into positive to maximise opportunities.

Finally, there is the continuity element, meaning that parties and interveners continue to work on problem areas to achieve continuous change.

3.4 Conflict Suppression

This is a conflict situation, which portray the unwillingness or lukewarm attitude of more power parties, or stronger interveners who has the ability to transform or manage a conflict situation, to take necessary measures leading to the management or resolution of the conflict. Instead, they use instruments of power or force to push away the issues under the carpet or to impose a solution that is not sustainable and with which the parties are not satisfied. This usually takes place in unequal relationships. A typical example is a situation whereby the state or government uses its coercive apparatus to suppress opponents or conflicts which cannot be sustained because conflict can still resurface at any time or with little provocation.

3.5 Negotiation

The term “negotiation” consists of several definitions depending on the angles or perspectives at which different scholars view it. Therefore, negotiation can be defined as a peaceful way of ending a conflict or a situation that may lead to conflict. It is also an exercise geared towards influencing somebody or something.

Fisher et al (2000:115) defines negotiation as “... a structured process of dialogue between conflicting parties about issues in which their opinions differ”. The University for Peace sees negotiation as: “communication, usually governed by pre-established procedures, between representatives of parties involved in a conflict or dispute (Miller, 2003:25). Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (1999:21) define it as “the process whereby the parties within the conflict seek to settle or resolve their conflicts.” Jeong (2000:168) opines that the goal of negotiation is “...to reach agreement through joint decision making between parties”.

It can be deduced from the above definitions that communication is critical to negotiation process. It can therefore take place in a situation where there is communication between parties. Negotiation can only be achieved when there is communication between parties either before the escalation or at the de-escalation point when communication has been restored.

When negotiating, we are trying to persuade each other to see things/issues our own way. The main goal of negotiation is to meet certain interests or needs in a collaborative or peaceful manner.

3.5.1 Types of Negotiation Strategies

There are two types of negotiation namely:

1. Positional Negotiation/Bargaining

This is the type of negotiation in which parties assert a “claim” or “right” to the object of contention, or the type based on the aggressive pursuit of interest by parties which is usually adversarial and competitive in nature. Demands that do not consider the interests and needs of others are typically being pursued parties involved in conflict and this makes it difficult for these interests to be met and needs to be gotten.

Positional bargaining can produce unwise agreement; it can be inefficient, endanger on-going relationships, entangle people’s egos with the positions, and is least successful. These are so because instead of

pursuing a mutually beneficial outcome, parties therefore desire to win at the detriment of the others. Positional bargaining relies on positions that often mask the (hidden) interests, with one side seems to dominate the negotiation by adhering stubbornly to their positions which eventually break down the negotiation easily.

2. Principled/Collaborative or Constructive Negotiation

This is a method of negotiation based on interests and needs. It is designed to produce wise agreement in an efficient, effective and mutually amicable manner. Alternatively, it can be seen a process where parties try to educate each other about their needs and concerns, and both search for the best ways to solve their problems in ways that the interests and fears of both or all parties are met. It is a process aimed at building a sustainable relationship, which is anchored on a collaborative principle geared towards a mutual understanding and feeling of parties. Principled negotiation relies on the following four basic elements:

People

Separate the people from the problem before working on the substantive problem, the people should be disentangled and addressed separately.

Interests

Focus on interests (needs, desires, and expectations), not position. This is designed to overcome the drawback of focusing on stated positions when the objective is to satisfy underlying interests.

Options

Generate a variety of possible solutions before making a decision. Set aside time for joint brainstorming, to invent options for mutual gain.

Criteria/Legitimacy

Insist that the result or process be based on some objective standard; e.g. custom, law, practice.... as kind of criteria measures.

Negotiation seems to have universal or global application as a principle of conflict management based on dialogue. A good agreement is reached if at the end of the negotiation the following conditions are met:

- a. it meets the legitimate interests of the parties to the extent possible;
- b. it resolves conflicting interests fairly;
- c. it is durable and preserves ongoing relationships.

3.6 Enquiry

An enquiry as the name suggests is an examination of issues in order to establish facts that may be in dispute. In a situation where the facts are properly ascertained and laid down, it would not be difficult to arrive at a reasonable agreement or reach a settlement, which would be favourable and acceptable to both parties.

This may necessitate necessary adjustment in accordance with the negotiation between the parties. It requires give and take on the part of both parties. This method may be of significance with respect to issues that can easily be solved through a calm analysis and consideration of historical facts. This method may be utilised with respect to boundary dispute between states. For example, the United Nations General Assembly by a Resolution adopted on 18 December 1967 upheld the utility of the method of impartial fact finding as a method of peaceful settlement of issues. Member states were advised to adopt this method. The UN General Assembly further asked the Secretary – General to prepare a list of experts in this regard whose services could be used by agreement with respect to a dispute.

In pursuance of the above, a hortatory Resolution on Peaceful Settlement of International dispute was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 12 December 1974. The General Assembly Later approved the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes in 1982. It has the effect of superseding the Resolution made on 12 December 1974. The basic issues contained in the Manila Declaration as put by Starke are as follows.

- (a) That states should bear in mind that direct negotiations are a flexible and effective means of peaceful settlement of disputes, and if they choose to resort to direct negotiation, they should negotiate meaningfully;
- (b) That states are enjoined to consider making greater use of the fact-finding capacity of the Security Council in accordance with the United Nations Charter;
- (c) That recourse to judicial settlement of legal disputes, particularly by way of referral to the international court of Justice, should not be considered as an unfriendly act between states;
- (d) That the Secretary – General of the United Nations should make full use of the provisions of the Charter containing his special responsibilities, for example, bringing to the attention of the

Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

3.7 Good Office

This is a method by which an individual, a state or an international organ, acting as a third party, may assist in ensuring an amicable settlement of a dispute. The use of good offices has the effect of bringing the disputing parties together and also ensures settlement in general terms. It does not involve actual participation in the negotiation or the conduct of an inquiry that takes care of everything that is involved in the dispute. Thus, what is required in good offices is the possibility of working out a solution with respect to the dispute.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In as much as conflict is inevitable in the life of an individual, groups, nations or states, it therefore becomes imperative to adopt or adhere strictly to the dictates of Article 33 of the UN charter in resolving disputes or conflict through a peaceful or amicable means in order not endanger international peace and security.

5.0 SUMMARY

Arguably, the scope of international disputes resolution is unlimited and efforts must be geared towards resolving disputes through an internationally acceptable peaceful means of conflict resolution. This is because judicial resolution or use of force will seldom resolve especially political issues.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Discuss the means enumerated in Article 33 of the UN charter for the peaceful settlement of dispute.
2. Explain the term “negotiation.”

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Burton, J. (1990). *Conflict Resolution and Prevention*. London: Macmillan.

Cassese, (n.d). “Promoting Compliance with the Law and Preventing or Promoting Disputes,” pp 278 – 95.

Diamond, L. & McDonald, J. (1996). *Multi Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press.

Dixon, (n.d). "The Peaceful Settlement of Disputes." Pp 259 – 88.

Jeong, H.W.(2000). *Peace and Conflcit Studies. An Introduction.*
Aldershot: Ashgate.

Kaczorowska,(n.d). "Peaceful Settlement of Disputes between State," pp
366 – 49.

UNIT 3 PEACEFUL METHODS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION II

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Conciliation
 - 3.2 Mediation
 - 3.3 Arbitration
 - 3.4 Judicial Settlement or Legal Method of Dispute Resolution (Litigation)
 - 3.5 Regional Agencies Arrangement
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, other means of peaceful settlement of disputes recognised by international law, as stipulated in Article 33 of the UN Charter, which places considerable emphasis upon the obligation of member states to avoid conflict and to settle disputes through peaceful means will further be discussed.

It should also be noticed that the means suggested for resolving disputes, are all obviously lawful, but are not all, strictly speaking, legal means as explained in the previous unit.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- discuss other means of peaceful settlement of disputes
- explain why some means of settlement can be categorised as legal methods and some not
- analyse the possibilities and limitations of arbitration in international dispute resolution
- explain the role and scope of the International Court of Justice
- state the possibilities and limitations of regional agencies in dispute resolution.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Conciliation

The concept “conciliation” was defined by the International Law Institute in 1961 as:

A method for the settlement of international disputes of any nature according to which a commission set up by the parties, either on a permanent basis or an ad hoc basis to deal with a dispute, proceeds to the impartial examination of the dispute and attempts to define the terms of settlement susceptible of being accepted by them or of according to the parties, with a view to its settlement, such aid as they may have requested.

Judge Manly O. Hudson in 1944 defines ‘conciliation’ thus:

Conciliation...is a process of formulating proposals of settlement after an investigation of the facts and an effort to reconcile opposing contentions, the parties to the dispute being left free to accept or reject the proposals formulated.

The University of Peace sees conciliation this way:

The voluntary referral of a conflict to a neutral external party (in the form of an unofficial commission) which either suggests a non-binding settlement or conduct explorations to facilitate more structures or techniques of conflict resolution. The latter can include confidential discussions with the disputants or assistance during a pre-negotiation phase (Miller, 2003:6-7).

Although conciliation can be linked to arbitration, but close to mediation, results of conciliation are not binding on the parties as in arbitration. In conciliation, disputes are settled amicably with the use of other states or impartial bodies of enquiry/advisory committees or third party activity, which covers intermediary efforts aimed at persuading the parties to a conflict to work towards a peaceful solution.

With respect to conciliation between states, it is usual to appoint the third parties on the basis of their official function and not just on their own initiative. Heads of state or secretary general of the United Nations may be appointed. Essentially, the parties to the dispute normally nominate one or two of their nationals and agree on the number of impartial and independent nationals of other states in order to provide a neutral majority.

The conciliator, who is appointed by the agreement of the parties investigates the facts in dispute and suggests the way(s) out of it. The conciliator's terms of settlement are usually referred to as recommendations, which are not binding on the parties unlike the case of arbitration where awards are made.

3.2 Mediation

Mediation involves the use of or bringing a third party to intervene with respect to a conflict. It can also be referred to as a facilitated negotiation.

Miller (2002:23) sees mediation as the voluntary, informal, non-binding process undertaken by an external party that fosters the settlement of differences or demands between directly invested parties.

Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (1999:22) define mediation as “the intervention of a third party: it is a voluntary process in which the parties retain control over the outcome (pure mediation), although it may include positive and negative inducements (mediation with muscle)”.

Beer and Stief (1997:3) define mediation as: “any process for resolving disputes in which another person helps the parties negotiate a settlement”.

Moore (1996:15) considers it to be the intervention in a negotiation or conflict of an acceptable third party who has limited or no authoritative decision-making power but who assists the involved parties in voluntarily reaching a mutually acceptable settlement of issues in dispute.

Mediation is an assistance rendered by a neutral third party (mediator) in helping the disputants or parties in conflict reach a negotiated settlement of their problems unrestrained by evidential rules and having admitted that they have a problem which they are both committed to solving, but in which the mediator manages a negotiation process, but does not impose a solution on the parties.

Professor Christopher Moore notes some primary responsibility of a mediator which are thus:

- helping to address the substantive issues in a conflict
- establishing or strengthening relationships of trust and respect between the parties, and
- terminating relationships in a manner that minimises costs and psychological harm.

The role of the mediator is to create the enabling environment for the parties to carry out dialogue sessions leading to the resolution of an existing or protracted conflict. The mediator facilitates effective communication between parties with the aim of working on common themes and drawing attention to neglected points and is a confidant to the parties, as well as a reconciler.

The mediator also helps parties to identify and arrive at common grounds with a view to overcoming their fears and satisfying their real needs. For a mediator to be able to enjoy the trust and confidence of the parties to any conflict, he or she must be objective, neutral, balanced, supportive, non-judgmental and astute in questioning, and try to drive the parties towards win-win as opposed to win-loose outcomes.

3.3 Arbitration

Arbitration is another type of third party intervention in the conflict management, which entails settlement of disputes through the use of arbitrators.

Arbitration can simply be defined as the use and assistance of a neutral third party in conflict, who listens to evidence, put forward by parties in conflict, and later takes a decision which is expected to be binding on the parties. The decision taken by an arbitrator is usually referred to as an award.

International arbitration is defined by the international law commission as a procedure for the settlement of disputes between states by a binding award on the basis of law and as a result of an undertaking voluntarily accepted; you will observe that definition of arbitration in international law is significantly narrower than the common meaning of arbitration. Arbitration is similar to mediation, and close to adjustment, but different from both. The crucial difference between judicial settlement and arbitration is that, arbitration allows the parties to select the tribunal, whereas parties have no control over the composition of a judicial body. In addition, in arbitration the parties may decide the law to be applied.

Historically, arbitration began with procedures established in 1794 under the Jay Treaty between the United States and United Kingdom for the settlement of bilateral disputes. It provided for the establishment of three joint mixed commissions to which each state nominated an equal number of members to settle some differences, which could not be settled in the course of negotiating the treaty. In 1871 in an innovatory move, arbitration took place concerned to determine breaches of neutrality by Britain during the American civil war.

The Hague Conference of 1899 on the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes led to the creation of an institution known as the Permanent Court of Arbitration. Arbitration has the advantages of speed, flexibility, confidentiality and better understanding than conventional adjudication.

3.4 Judicial Settlement or Legal Method of Dispute Resolution (Litigation)

Judicial or legal settlement of dispute is usually carried out by the court duly established and assigned in this manner both at the state (local) level and international level. At the international level, it is usually referred to as International Court of Justice (ICJ). It is also called “The World Court”. It sits at The Peace Palace, at The Hague.

- i. Local or Internal Judicial Settlement
- ii. International Legal Dispute Resolution

The International Court of Justice is the judicial organ of the six principal organs of the United Nations. It was first established and called Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ) after the first World War in 1921. The Court was dissolved with the League of Nations at the end of the Second World War in 1946.

The PCIJ, though not an organ of the League of Nations, its aim is to establish peace to preserve the status quo, the ICJ was an integral part of the United Nations with the framers of the UN Charter directing their efforts towards the establishment of an entirely new international society – a society consistently moving towards progress; a fair society, more egalitarian, more universal; a society all of whose members were to engage in an active and collective endeavour to usher in a full and lasting peace.

All members of the United Nations are parties to the statute of the International Court of Justice. Article 93(2) of the charter allows non-member parties to appear before it or join. The duties of this court are:

- i. To settle legal disputes which are submitted by states in line with international law and;
- ii. To give advisory opinions of legal questions referred to it by international organs or agencies, which are duly authorised to do so.

The court is usually made up to 15 judges (Article 3). Five of the judges are elected every three years to hold office for nine years (Article 13).

They are elected by majority votes of both the Security Council and the General Assembly sitting independently of each other. Usually, not more than one judge of any nationality sits in the court. Members of the bench represent the main forms of civilisation and the principal legal systems of the world. In practice, four judges of the court are usually from Western Europe, one from the USA, two from South America, two from Eastern Europe and six from Africa and Asia. The first permanent members of the Security Council are always represented by a judge in the court.

Qualification for appointment is based on the highest requirements for the highest judicial office in the relevant country. The judges are required to be knowledgeable or competent in international law and through appointment by their home governments, they are required to be independent.

In the event of a state appearing before the court without its national on the bench of the International Court, such a state (country) may appoint an ad hoc judge for the case as in the Nigeria / Cameroon Boundary dispute before the International Court of Justice. These ad hoc judges have the nature of arbitrators. It also lends credence to the idea that each of the judges of the court represents his country. Article 36 (8), Article 38 and Article 39 (3) of the statute of the ICJ also attest to these claims.

3.5 Regional Agencies Arrangement

Many scholars and analysts believe that regional mechanisms for dispute resolution may be more effective than broad global measures, which tend to be of a general and voluntary nature.

Article 52 of the UN Charter provides thus:

1. Nothing in the present charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purpose and principles of the United Nations.
2. The members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

3. The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements of by such regional agencies on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.
4. The Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

Article 55 of the charter further provides thus:

1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate utilise such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorisation of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state as defined in paragraph two of this article, provided for pursuant of Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the organisation may, on request of the governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility or preventing further aggression by such state.
2. The term “enemy state” as used in paragraph one of this article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present charter.

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangement or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Some regional organisations of agencies have put some measures in place or established mechanism for the prevention and management of conflict. For example, the African Union (AU) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have established some agencies vested with the responsibility of making, keeping or enforcing peace and monitoring and preventing outbreak of conflict in some countries like Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Sudan and so on. Also the 1948 American Treaty on Pacific Settlement (Bogota Pact), the 1957 European Convention for the peaceful settlement of Dispute, Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution provide general agreements on dispute settlement. Many bilateral and multilateral treaties are made in this regard.

Before this type of dispute settlement could work, states having regard to this arrangement, may play low their sovereignty and submit to such

regional arrangements. They are therefore, generally weak and have failed in practice, because the issue of sovereignty may work against this arrangement. Also, a considerable number of states in the region may not ratify many of the treaties while some may deliberately fail to contribute troops, financial and logistic support of or the arrangement.

4.0 CONCLUSION

In the light of the above discussions, it is observed that international law is a phenomenon without compulsory jurisdiction in the event of disagreement or dispute. There is an enormous amount of peaceful and non-violent settlement of disputes taking place at various levels and in many communities all over the world. They are all obviously lawful, but are not all, strictly speaking, legal means. The success of any non-legal means will be determine by the desire or willingness of the parties to end or resolve their differences amicably as the decision or agreement reached is not binding on either parties, while the legal means outcome is binding on both parties involved in the dispute.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, we discussed various types or means of peaceful settlement of disputes, which are in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. Both the strengths and weakness of each and every means were also examined in order to be able to ascertain the means suitable and applicable to different disputes.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Define and explain any three means contemplated for the peaceful settlement of disputes under Article 33.
2. Explain how judges for the International Court of Justice are chosen and discuss how you think they should be chosen.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Burton, John (1990). *Conflict Resolution and Prevention*. London: Macmillan.

Cassese,(n.d) “Promoting Compliance with the Law and Preventing or Promoting Disputes,” pp 278 – 95.

Diamond, L. & McDonald, J. (1996). *Multi – Track Diplomacy: A System Approach to Peace*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press.

Dixon, (n.d). “The Peaceful Settlement of Disputes,” Pp 285 – 88.

Kaczorowska, (n.d). "Peaceful Settlement of Dispute between States," pp 401 – 06.

Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington D C: United States Institute of Peace.

Legality of the Treat or Use of Nuclear Weapon (1996) ICJ Reports 66.

Mitchell, C. & Banks, M. (1998). *Handbook of Conflict Resolution: The Analytical Problem – Solving Approach*. London: Pinter.

UNIT 4 COERCIVE MEANS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 War and Non-War Armed Action
 - 3.2 Reprisals
 - 3.3 Retortion
 - 3.4 Economic Sanction/ Blockage
 - 3.5 Intervention
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In default of the resolution of dispute by peaceful means under Article 2, paragraph 4, of the UN charter which prohibits the use of force by states, Article 51 of the United Nations charter says that states reserved the right to use force when there is *periculum in mora*, that is when they believe their very lives and vital interests are endangered beyond the possibility of redress if immediate action is not taken, when there is necessity for action which is “ instant, overwhelming, and leaving no choice of means and no moment for deliberation,” as formulated by Webster’s in the Caroline case. States may well resort to force in the light of the above justification.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- recognise the exceptions to the proscription of the use of force in international law
- differentiate between war and Non-war Armed Actions
- discuss the meaning of reprisal and retortion
- explain pacific blockade
- discuss what intervention means.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 War

States usually wage war against each other for the purpose of achieving a desired goal or objective. It is normally resorted to when no peaceful method of resolving the dispute can be accomplished. It is usually a “show of strength” or “an act of violence” between two or more states through their armed forces, with the intention or purpose of compelling their opponents to dance to their tune or to impose conditions of peace as the victor pleases. Therefore, it is a case of the victor and the vanquished.

3.2 Reprisals

The word or concept “reprisals” was known as *andidepsia* among the Greeks; and was called *reprisaglia* among the Roman. Reprisals relate to coercive actions or measures taken by one state against another in the resolution of dispute between the states. The use of reprisals in medieval Greece and Rome hinged its justification on the principle of communal or collective responsibility between the citizenry and sovereigns, in which “all were deemed severely liable for the default of the individual;” a fact attributed to the oneness of interest deemed to have existed between a sovereign and his subjects. Thus, “an individual, who had suffered injustice abroad and had been unable to obtain redress in the state concerned, would obtain his own sovereign’s authority to take reprisals against the nationals of the foreign sovereign.”

Among the Greeks, for instance, “that custom permitted the relatives of an Athenian murdered by a foreigner, if satisfaction were refused, to seize three fellow countrymen of the murderer and hold them for judicial condemnation, as a compensation, or even to death penalty”.

Unlike retortion, which takes a legal form, a state has the right when she so desires to withdraw her presence in another country through the withdrawal of her ambassador. A reprisal is not legal. Reprisal therefore, is made up of acts relating to seizure of goods or persons. In this present day dispensation, it may take any form ranging from bombardment, placement of embargo on goods or boycott of the goods being produced by a particular state. A reprisal may also take the form of expulsion of citizens of the enemy country.

A typical example is the dispute between America and Libya in which the former justified her bombardment of Libya on violent activities directed at America for a considerable period of time. This was the basis

for the justification by the American government of the aerial bombing of targets around the borders of Libya on 15 April 1986.

A reprisal action may also be contemplated in the case of belligerent states. According to Kalshoven, belligerent reprisals consist in “an international infringement of the law of armed conflict, with a view to making the opposing party abandon an unlawful practice of warfare... using inhumanity as a means of enforcing the law of armed conflict..., in the interests of humanity”. Belligerent reprisals are not constrained by the considerations of humanity but are accepted with fatalism according to Kalshoven.

With regard to the objections of the UN, it is doubtful if a reprisal action can be justified without first exhausting all amicable methods of settling a conflict. For example, Article 2 in paragraphs 3 and 4 (earlier stated) of the UN Charter provides that: “All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.”

Despite the UN Charter’s proscription of the use of force in resolving dispute, the main exception is concerned with self-defence and can be found in Article 51.

Article 51 states that:

Nothing in the present charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.

Measures taken by members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

The most unfortunate thing is that Article 51 fails either to define “armed attack” or to specify whether the attack must be upon the territory of the state under attack or the nationals of a state who are being attacked beyond its borders.

There arose a situation in 1976 when an Air France aircraft with 251 passengers on board was hijacked by pro-Palestinian hijackers and taken to Entebbe Airport in Uganda. The hijackers released the majority of the passengers but continued to hold some 60, most of whom were Israeli

citizens. The Uganda government (under Idi Amin) did little to bring the hijack to an end and shortly before a deadline set by the hijackers an Israeli commando raid took place. The (Israeli) commandos arrived Entebbe unannounced and stormed the hijacked craft, released the passengers and eliminated the hijackers (and some 45 Ugandan soldiers) before returning with the passengers to Israel.

Although, it cannot be established whether international law permits such a rescue operation or frowns at it. But, Israel in defence of justification of her action claimed that Article 51 permitted her to use force in such a circumstance in order to protect its citizens abroad if the state in which they found themselves was either unable or unwilling to protect them. This act led to division in international opinion (less along the lines of international law than of individual states attitude of Israel) but ever since, it has become at least implicitly accepted that in such circumstances, if a state has sufficient power to rescue its citizens, then if the intervention does not exceed what is a proportionate response it will not be regarded as inconsistent with Article 51.

But it is very clear that the ability to exercise such a right belongs only to powerful states. It is equally clear that claims of such a right are obviously open to abuse (as for instance when the United States invaded Granada in 1983 supposedly to rescue its nationals, or when it intervened in Panama in 1989 – certainly in neither case was the primary objective of the US actions the rescue of nationals).

It is probably correct to conclude that intervention to rescue nationals will not be contrary to Article 2(4) provided the following conditions are met:

- the threat to nationals is real and imminent
- the state where they are being held is unwilling or unable to protect them
- the sole purpose of the intervention is rescue
- the response is proportionate in the sense that more lives may be expected to be saved than lost.

3.3 Retortion

Retortion is another coercive or forcible legal means of conflict resolution by which a nation may show its disapproval by way of retaliation for the discourteous act of another state. It relates to an unfriendly but legitimate act of the nation that has been slighted. Retortion in international law is a phrase used to describe retaliatory action taken by one foreign government against another for the stringent or harsh regulation or treatment of its citizens who are within the

geographical boundaries of the foreign country. It can also be described as rare retaliatory actions taken by a state whose citizens have been mistreated by a foreign power by treating the subjects of that power similarly. It can also be defined as mistreatment by one country of the citizens or subjects of another country in retaliation for similar mistreatment received.

Although, Article 2(3) of the UN Charter provides that: “All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered;” a state that has been slighted may decide to take a legitimate action that is within its power to register its protest or displeasure against another state. Such a state can take different actions for the purpose of pursuing this course. Such actions include termination or severing of diplomatic relations with the state that has thus offended the slighted state, withdrawal of commercial concession that might have been granted the state, the purpose being to show disapproval of such unfriendly conduct.

Case Study I

The Russia and United State of America case of Friday, March 23, 2001, in which Russia declared four (4) staff members from the U.S embassy in Moscow “*persona non grata*” and demanded they leave Russia in the next few days, as a retaliatory measure against Thursday, March 22, 2001 similar to US move against Russia. The US diplomats were expelled on the ground of embarking on “activities incompatible with their status”.

The US on the other hand a day preceding Russian expulsion of US diplomats, formally announced expulsion of Russian diplomats accused of direct involvement with a former FBI agent spying for Moscow, and said that additional 46 Russian embassy staffers will also have to leave by July, 2001.

Moscow in return strongly protested against Washington’s decision and said that it will take an adequate action in response. This “spymania scandal” marked the most serious spy row between Russia and United States since the end of Cold War.

Case Study II

Israel used this justification when invading the Lebanon in 1982, arguing that the invasion was an act of self-defence in response to terrorist attacks, and again when attacking PLO headquarters in Tunisia and Killing 60 people in 1985 after the murder of three Israeli citizens

on a yacht in Larnaca harbour in Cyprus supposedly by a Palestinian task force.

Case Study III

In 1986, a terrorist bomb exploded in a West Berlin nightclub frequented by US service men. Two Americans lost their lives and several sustained injuries. Ten days later the US bombed Tripoli in Libya, claiming to have information that Libya was the source of the Berlin terrorist act in which fifteen people were killed. The then US Secretary of State, George Shultz asserted that this action was within Article 51 but there was little international support for his argument. Both Israel and the US have insisted that this right of self-defence even covers attacks upon states not directly involved in the terror, as for instance Tunisia in 1985.

3.4 Economic Sanctions/ Blockade

Economic sanctions/blockade may be employed to deter military aggression or to force an aggressor to withdraw its armed forces from a disputed territory. Economic sanctions may also be used to curb weapons proliferation.

Article 42 of the UN Charter provides that:

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security, such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other separations by air, sea or land forces of members of the United Nations.

Article 41 to which Article 42 makes allusion provides thus:

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decision, and it may call upon the members of the United Nation to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication, and severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 39 of the United Nations Charter provides thus:

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any treat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance

with Article 41 and 42 to maintain or restore international peace and security.

It needs be emphasised that international law frowns at war but throws its weight behind self-defence. It states that in a situation of self-defence by an invaded state or by the UN in pursuit of global peace, Article 39, 41 and 42 apply to both situations of war and hostilities.

The tenor of the provisions of Article 39, 41 and 42 seems to be that complete or partial interruption either for economic or other reason. The articles therefore gives the Security Council the power to implement “partial interruption of economic relations” to counteract “threats to peace, breaches to the peace, and acts of aggression”. The charter implies that sanctions should only be used to enforce international peace and security.

As former Secretary General, Boutros Ghali said, “the purpose of sanctions is to modify the behaviour of a party that is threatening international peace and security and not to punish or otherwise exact retribution”. Additionally, the Security Council has the power to make economic sanctions mandatory for member states.

Studies have shown that both the pacific blockade and economic sanctions in practical terms are usually being used by the stronger countries against the weaker ones in order to protect their selfish interests.

Although, the stronger countries do hide under the pretence of trying to ensure compliance with some measures like prevention of war, execution of treaties and so on.

Example I

The 200 – mile Total Exclusion Zone declared by the United Kingdom government around the Falkland Islands which was further extended on 7 May 1982 to 12 miles from the coast of Argentina in pursuit of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter which deals with self-defence. It ran thus:

... the exclusion zone will apply not only to Argentina warships and naval auxiliaries, but also to any other ship, whether naval or merchant vessel, which is operating in support of the illegal occupation of the Falkland Island by Argentine forces. The Zone will also apply to any aircraft, whether military or civil, which is operating in support of the Argentine occupation. Any ship and any aircraft, whether military or civil, which is found within this zone without authority from the Ministry of Defence in London will be regarded as operating in support

of the Illegal occupation and will therefore be regarded as hostile and will be liable to be attacked by British Forces.

Example II

Although, both multilateral and unilateral sections are legal according to international law, but unilateral sanction can often cause problem because some countries tend to see unilateral sanctions passed by other states as commercial opportunities, a chance to grab markets from state passing the sanction. For example, while the US has maintained a weapons embargo against China, European and Japanese countries sold \$15 billion worth of nuclear power technology to China during the period EU and Japan lifted their embargo against China in 1990.

Example III

Economic sanctions was also imposed on Iraq at the conclusion of the Gulf War to prevent Iraq from using the revenue from its oil to re-arm and particularly to prevent Iraq from building weapons of mass destruction. The sanction was multilateral in nature because the United Nations Security Council with the US and Britain championing the course with other allied nations imposed the sanctions.

In addition, the civil wars in Yugoslavia sparked an outcry of international concern and the need for prompt response or action. The United Nations Security Council was forced to impose sanctions which prohibited any commercial activities with Yugoslavia.

There was to be no trade, transport, or reloading. The country was also excluded from international sporting events and denied scientific, technical, and cultural support. The US and European Union (EU) imposed similar sanction.

Although history has revealed that economic sanctions have a poor track record. Between 1914 and 1990, various countries imposed to achieve their stated objectives in 66 per cent of those cases and were only partially successful in most of the rest. The success ratio for economic sanctions is believed to have fallen to 24 per cent since 1973.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Despite all the forcible means of dispute resolution discussed above, we cannot simply say that they do not work, or do not achieve the desired objectives, and that we should not use them. We have to devise a way by which governments whose practices usually do not comply to international standards are attacked in such a way that the innocent

civilians or citizens are not made to suffer the consequences of coercive means applied to bring about a change in behaviour.

5.0 SUMMARY

Self-defence in international law either through a unilateral or multilateral approach in the above stated Articles 39, 41, 42 and 51 of the UN was intended to be a restricted justification for the use of force or was intended to legitimate forceful resistance to armed attack or any threat to the peace. Nevertheless, it remains arguable that any use of force, except for reasons of self-defence, remains unlawful unless sanctioned by the Security Council.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Should acts of aggression ever justify the use of force as defined in Article 51 of the UN Charter?
2. Explain why reprisals are often carried out without condemnation despite being clearly unlawful.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

Abu-Lughod, I. (1970). (Ed.). *The Arab-Israel Confrontation of June 1967: Arab Perspective*. Evanston, Northwest: University Press.

Akehurst, M. (1975). *A Modern Introduction to International Law*. (2nd ed.). London: Macdonald and Jones.

Blic, H. (1970). *Sovereignty, Aggression and Neutrality*. Almquist and Wksell Stockholm: The Daq Hammarskjold Foundation.

Brownlie, I. (1983). *International Law and Use of Force by States*. Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press.

Churchill, R. R. & Lowe, A. V. (1988). *The Law of the Sea*. Manchester: University Press.

Dixon, (n.d) . “The Use of Force,” pp. 301 – 04.

Kaczorowska, (n.d). “The Use of Force,” pp. 432 – 37.

Goevel,. J. (1971). *The Struggle for the Falkland Islands: A Study in Legal Diplomatic History*. London: Kennikat Press.

Henken, L. (1989). *Right V. Might: International Law and the Use of Force*. London: Council on Foreign Relations Press.

Kalshoven, F. (1971). *Belligerent Reprisals*. London, A. W. Sijthoff.

Lloyd, D. (1987). *The Idea of Law*. London: Penguin Books.

UNIT 5 GENDER ISSUES AND HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION

CONTENTS

- 1.0 Introduction
- 2.0 Objectives
- 3.0 Main Content
 - 3.1 Definitions of Gender-related Concepts
 - 3.1.1 Sex
 - 3.1.2 Gender
 - 3.1.3 Gender Mainstreaming
 - 3.1.5 Abuse
 - 3.1.4 Violence
 - 3.1.6 Coercion
 - 3.1.7 Consent
 - 3.1.8 Perpetrators
 - 3.2 Women and Armed Conflict
 - 3.2.1 Post-Conflict Situation with Women, Peace Agreements, and Constitution Making
 - 3.2.2 Post-Conflict: Rehabilitation and Reconstruction
 - 3.2.3 Women, Truth, Accountability and Reconstruction
 - 3.3 Humanitarian Intervention
 - 3.3.1 Historical Background of Humanitarian Intervention
 - 3.3.2 Types of Humanitarian Intervention
 - 3.4 Responsibility to Protect
 - 3.5 Protection of Children in Conflict
 - 3.5.1 Geneva Conventions and Protocols
 - 3.5.2 Older Persons in Armed Conflict
 - 3.6 Criticism about Humanitarian Intervention
- 4.0 Conclusion
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 Tutor-Marked Assignment
- 7.0 References/Further Reading

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we shall look at the connection or correlation between gender, conflict and peace processes. Gender mainstreaming provides us with one tool to ensure that the needs and experiences of women, and men, girls and boys are taken into account in all activities of the United Nations.

Several researches carried out by scholars in the field of peace and conflict resolution revealed that in conflict situations or during war

period, a number of atrocities were committed against women. It has also been proved that women remain the greatest victims of armed conflicts. They are subjected to servitude, perpetual fear, psychological imbalance, economic incapacitation, sexual slavery and gang rape.

Women are basically the ones at the receiving end in almost all the armed conflicts all over the world, such that they lose their husbands and children become widows and childless mothers overnight. They also lose their dignity and honour through sexual abuse; they lose their peace through disruption of the social system; they are deprived of their social destiny through family breakup and degradation of community system, resulting from armed conflicts.

Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security, adopted on 31 October 2000, also provides a mandate to incorporate gender perspective in all areas of peace support operations, including disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR).

2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- define some gender related concepts
- explain the relationship between women and conflict
- discuss humanitarianism and types
- describe responsibility to protect
- present a critique on humanitarian intervention.

3.0 MAIN CONTENT

3.1 Definitions of Gender-related Concepts

3.1.1 Sex

The term “sex” refers to the biological characteristics of male and female. These characteristics are congenital and their differences are limited to physiological reproductive functions.

3.1.2 Gender

This is the term used to denote the social characteristics assigned to men and women. These social characteristics are constructed based on different factors, such as age, religion, national, ethnic and social origin. They differ both within and between cultures and define identities, status, roles, responsibilities and power relations among the members of any society or culture.

Gender is neither static nor innate, but evolves to respond to changes in the social, political, and cultural environment. Gender is learnt through socialisation. Other definitions include the following.

- Gender refers to the differential social roles that define women and men in a cultural context- and to power relationships that perpetuate these roles.
- Gender refers to social attributes that are acquired or learnt during socialisation and define activities, responsibilities, and needs connected to being male or female and not to biological identity associated with masculinity and femininity.
- Gender is a socially constructed identity through which roles are assigned at different levels and which can differ according to culture and can be changed by circumstances such as conflict.

3.1.3 Gender Mainstreaming

This refers to a strategy to strengthen gender equality through policy and resource allocation that reflect the interests of both men and women.

3.1.4 Violence

This is a means of control and oppression that can include emotional, social or economic force, coercion or pressure, as well as physical harm. It can be overt, in the form of a physical assault or threatening someone with a weapon; it can also be covert, in the form of intimidation, threats, persecution, deception or other forms of psychological or social pressure.

3.1.5 Abuse

This is the misuse of power through which the perpetrator gains control or advantage of the abused, using and causing physical or psychological harm or inciting fear of the potential to harm. Abuse prevents persons from making free decisions and forces them to behave against their will.

3.1.6 Coercion

Is forcing, or attempting to force, another person to engage in behaviours against his/her will by using threats, verbal insistence, manipulation, deception, cultural expectations or economic power.

3.1.7 Consent

This is when a person makes an informed choice to agree freely and voluntarily to do something. The phrase against her/his will is used to indicate an absence of informed consent. There is no consent when agreement is obtained using threats, force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, or misrepresentation.

3.1.8 Perpetrator

A perpetrator is a person, group, or institution that directly inflicts, supports, and condones violence or other abuse against a person or a group of persons. Perpetrators are in a position of real or perceived power, decision-making and/or authority and can thus exert control over their victims.

3.2 Women and Armed Conflict

The Beijing Platform for Action recognised that peace was inextricably linked to equality between women and men and development, and emphasised that women's full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of armed conflicts was essential for the promotion and maintenance of peace and security.

The Platform for Action set out six strategic objectives.

- Increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels and protect women living in situations of armed and other conflicts or under foreign occupation;
- Reduce excessive military expenditures and control the availability of armaments;
- Promote non-violent forms of conflict resolution and reduce the incidence of human rights abuse in conflict situations;
- Promote women's contribution to fostering a culture of peace;
- Provide protection, assistance and training to refugee women, other displaced women in need of international protection and internally displaced women; and
- Provide assistance to the women of the colonies and non-self-governing territories.

Since the Fourth World Conference in 1995 there have been remarkable developments in terms of expansion of the international normative and policy framework on issues related to women and armed conflict, including in the United Nations Security Council. New issues, which were not specifically addressed in the Platform for Action, have

expanded the discourse and global implementation efforts have become centred around a broader agenda on women, peace and security.

The Commission on the Status of Women has considered the theme of women and armed conflict on a number of occasions. In 1998, the commission adopted agreed conclusions on women and armed conflict that called for action in a number of areas, including: ensuring gender-sensitive justice; meeting the specific needs of women affected by armed conflict; increasing the participation of women in peacekeeping, peacebuilding, pre- and post-conflict decision-making; and addressing disarmament, illicit arms trafficking, landmines and small arms.

In 2004, the commission adopted agreed conclusions on women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peace-building. These recognised that peace agreements provide a vehicle for the promotion of gender equality and that a gender-sensitive constitutional and legal framework was necessary to ensure that women fully participate in such processes. At its 52nd session in 2008, the Commission on the Status of Women reviewed implementation of its agreed conclusions on "women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peacebuilding" adopted in 2004. The review revealed a number of gaps and challenges, including terms of representation and participation of women in peace-processes and decision-making; prevention and response to sexual and gender-based violence, monitoring and accountability, and funding.

The 23rd special session of the General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the 21st Century" reaffirmed the Platform for Action and called for the full participation of women in decision-making at all levels in peace processes, peacekeeping and peacebuilding. It also called for the protection of girls in armed conflict, especially the prohibition of forced recruitment.

In 2000, the United Nations Security Council passed the landmark resolution 1325 on women and peace and security, the first resolution ever to address the impact of war on women, and women's contributions to conflict resolution and sustainable peace. The resolution calls for women's equal participation with men and their full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. It reaffirms the need to protect women and girls from human rights abuses, including gender-based violence. The resolution calls for action to mainstream gender perspectives in relation to conflict prevention, peace negotiations and the aftermath of conflicts.

Since its adoption in 2000, the Security Council has held annual open debates on progress in implementing resolution 1325. Eight Security Council Presidential Statements provide further guidance on ways and means to fully implement the resolution. The council has increasingly recognised the inter-relationship between gender equality, empowerment of women and country-specific situations and other thematic issues, such as protection of civilians, children in armed conflict, peace and security in Africa, maintenance of international peace and security and security sector reform.

The work on the situation of children in armed conflict has contributed to a deeper understanding and greater urgency on these issues, including through the development of a monitoring and reporting mechanism established by the Security Council through its resolution 1612 (2005).

In the 2005 World Summit Outcome, the world's leaders reaffirmed their commitment to the full and effective implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000). They stressed the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding and underlined the importance of integrating a gender perspective and of women having the opportunity for equal participation and full involvement in all efforts to maintain and promote peace and security, as well as the need to increase their role in decision-making at all levels. Governments strongly condemned all violations of the human rights of women and girls in situations of armed conflict and the use of sexual exploitation, violence and abuse and committed themselves to elaborating and implementing strategies to report on, prevent and punish gender-based violence.

As an outcome of the World Summit, the Peacebuilding Commission was established in June 2006 as an advisory body of the General Assembly and the Security Council with the goal to marshal resources at the disposal of the international community, and to advise and propose integrated strategies for post-conflict recovery with a special focus on reconstruction, institution-building and sustainable development in countries emerging from conflict. The founding resolutions of the Peacebuilding Commission provide a mandate to mainstream a gender perspective in all aspects of its work. Gender equality issues were identified as cross-cutting peace consolidation strategies in Burundi and Sierra Leone – the first two countries on the commission's agenda – and in relation to new countries under consideration, Guinea-Bissau and the Central African Republic.

In June 2008, the Security Council held an open thematic debate on “women, peace and security: sexual violence in situations of armed

conflict” which culminated in the adoption of resolution 1820 (2008). In this resolution, the Security Council reaffirmed its resolve to eliminate all forms of violence against women, including by ending impunity. The council recognised sexual violence as a security problem requiring a systematic security response. The resolution calls for a number of concrete actions and measures aimed at eliminating sexual violence and addressing its impacts by the Secretary-General, United Nations entities, Member States (including troop and police contributing countries), all parties to armed conflict, regional and sub-regional bodies, and financial institutions. It also calls on the Peacebuilding Commission to include strategies for addressing sexual violence in its work.

3.2.1 Post-Conflict Situation with Women, Peace Agreements, and Constitution Making

The bitter experiences of women in times of war often make them strong adherents of peacebuilding and constitution making for conflict resolution. However, women’s roles in and contributions to conflict resolution are underutilised or wholly ignored in mainstream peace building and constitution making processes. Nevertheless, women all over the world are devising creative and effective strategies to ending wars and building peace.

Throughout history, men have designed constitutions and women have been invisible, both in the process of constitutional reform and in the content of the constitutions. A survey of the constitutions of the world will reveal that most, if not all constitutions, view women as gendered subjects, that is as wives, mothers and other categorisations, It is now an accepted fact that the law and legal processes are now being viewed as based on male norms and experiences, and that women’s engagement with the law is vastly different than that of men.

We should therefore note the positive changes witnessed in the past decade, where women are now pushing at the envelope of constitutional law and striving to influence constitutional reform processes. Significant progress and achievements have been made in Somalia and East Timor, amongst others. Also, in Northern Ireland, women have successfully come together in forming their own political party and have effectively raised the profile of women in politics.

3.2.2 Post-Conflict: Rehabilitation and Reconstruction

Women often face severe obstacles and critical neglect to their needs in the rehabilitation and reconstruction process, as they struggle against discrimination at every level in trying to feed and house their families. Moreover, international donor reconstruction programmes and the

distribution of humanitarian aid often fail to take into account the new economic and social roles women must fulfill in the aftermath of war. Their essential needs are thereby inadequately factored in.

We therefore, need to explore the practical needs and strategic interests that are fundamental to women in post-conflict reconstruction. Special attention will also be paid to the new economic roles women carve out for themselves, most often as heads of households.

Conversely, we should note the new challenges faced by women in their new employment, land and property rights, and the needs of ex-combatant women. Striking examples in this area is reflected in the post-conflict experiences of personal accounts of female combatants during conflicts. Liberia and Sierra Leone are cases in point.

3.2.3 Women, Truth, Accountability and Reconstruction

Although rape and other gender-based forms of violence continue to be among the highest committed war crimes during times of armed conflict, they still remain the least condemned. This struggle against impunity must begin with the strengthening of the legal system and its responsibility in bringing perpetrators to justice. Furthermore, addressing the victims' needs and providing proper medical treatment, psychological care and financial compensation is crucial and must be guaranteed. Fundamentally, these crimes must be recognised for what they are - crimes against humanity.

We need therefore to be conversant with the various roles of women in the institutions and strategies for post-conflict truth and reconciliation. In addressing the specific needs of women in the aftermath of violent conflict, especially their need for accountability and justice, attention is called to the issue of comfort women and for example, the Japanese government's legal responsibility for crimes committed over 50 years ago, to the more recent tragedies such as Rwanda's genocide that is now answering to an established war crimes tribunal.

There is a recent report on "Women, War, and Peace," an independent experts' assessment by two remarkable women, Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen John Sirleaf. This report provided a wealth of information on the impact of conflict on women and gave the suffering a human face. Equally important, it not only provided "ground truth" from Sudan and Liberia to Afghanistan and East Timor on the impact of violence, displacement, trafficking, and other social ills, but also practical suggestions for avoiding the stigma of victimisation.

Indeed, what comes through most clearly from this report is the need to view women as much more than victims, and to empower them to make their full contributions at the peace table and in post-conflict reconstruction. This is not just a question of equity or fairness. We know that bringing women to the peace table improves the quality of agreements reached and increases the chance of success in implementing, just as involving women in post-conflict governance reduces the likelihood of returning to war. Reconstruction works best when it involves women as planners, implementers, and beneficiaries. The single most productive investment in revitalising agriculture, restoring health systems, reducing infant mortality, and improving other social indicators after conflict is in women's and girls' education. Further, insisting on full accountability for actions against women during conflict is essential for the re-establishment of rule of law.

We know these lessons well, but too frequently, in the press of responding to the latest crises, issues related to conflict prevention in general – much less the role of women in this process – get lost in the shuffle. And yet, it is precisely in the midst of crises that these issues should take center stage.

From 1995 to 1998, Angola was the site of the world's largest UN peacekeeping operation. The UN Special Representative of the Secretary General was sensitive to gender issues, and there was an active UN human rights program that forced attention to these issues as well.

Still, when conflict re-emerged in Angola in 1998 and millions of displaced persons were in need of emergency relief programs, the priority was the urgency of getting food to displaced people. This outweighed the focus on women's participation in the peace process. It was later realised during a meeting of the Joint Peace Commission that brought together the Angolan Government (UNITA), the United Nations, and the troika nations of Russia, Portugal, and the United States, that there was not a single woman at the peace table.

It was therefore recognised that a key component for post-conflict negotiation and reconstruction was missing by not bringing women to the table to plan for the emergency assistance. Using women's NGOs to distribute relief; assigning gender advisors to prevent domestic violence as ex-combatants returned to their homes; and ensuring women a seat at the table in the peace talks themselves were realised to be important. These lessons were particularly useful during the political, economic and security reconstruction of Afghanistan. Well-meaning experts – both Afghan and international – told us that the benefits of involving women in this process were outweighed by the risk of alienating anti-Taliban

forces and traditional Afghan leaders whose help was needed in the fight against terrorism.

Under President Bush of the US, women's issues were given a place at the top of the agenda in the efforts in Afghanistan as the full participation of women at the political conference in Bonn, the reconstruction conferences in Washington and Tokyo, and the Loya Jirga in Afghanistan was realised.

One area where we need to improve is insisting on full accountability for actions against women during conflict. Whilst the spirit of reconciliation and forgiveness after peace is welcome, but too often, amnesty means that men forgive men for atrocities committed against women. In Angola, for example, the government and the UNITA rebels provided 13 separate amnesties for each other. Whenever a mass grave was discovered, it was in large part the international community – including the UN Human Rights Commission and the embassies of foreign governments – that would go to the site to protect the evidence in anticipation of the day when the Angolan authorities could be persuaded into investigating the matter.

There is no one-size-fits-all approach to transitional justice: whether it is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, the *gacaca* community court system in Rwanda, a human rights commission in Afghanistan under the Bonn agreement, or international tribunals where local courts are inadequate, ensuring accountability is essential to convince men with guns that there is impunity in acting against women. But words alone cannot earn women a seat at the peace table, force financial institutions to provide capital to women entrepreneurs, or ensure adequate protection for women in refugee and displaced situations.

3.3 Humanitarian Intervention

Refers to a state using military force against another state when the chief publicly declared aim of that military action is ending human rights violations being perpetrated by the state against which it is directed.

Threat or use of force across state borders by a state (or group of states) aimed at preventing or ending widespread and grave violations of fundamental human rights of individuals other than its own citizens, without the permission of the state within whose territory force is applied.

There is no one standard or legal definition of humanitarian intervention; the field of analysis (such as law, ethics, or politics) often

influences the definition that is chosen. Differences in definition include variations in whether humanitarian interventions is limited to instances where there is an absence of consent from the host state; whether humanitarian intervention is limited to punishment actions; and whether humanitarian intervention is limited to cases where there has been explicit UN Security Council authorisation for action. There is, however, a consensus on some of its essential characteristics.

- i. Humanitarian intervention involves the use of threat and military forces as a central feature.
- ii. It is an intervention in the sense that it entails interfering in the internal affairs of a state by sending military forces into the territory or airspace of a sovereign state that has not committed an act of aggression against another state.
- iii. Humanitarian intervention is in response to situations that do not necessarily pose direct threats to states' strategic interests, but instead is motivated by humanitarian objectives.

3.3.1 Historical Background of Humanitarian Intervention

Intervening in the affairs of another state has been a subject of discussion in public international law for as long as laws of nations were developed. Attitudes have changed considerably since the end of World War II, the Allied Forces discovery of the Holocaust, and the Nuremberg trials. One of the classic statements for intervention in the affairs of another country is found in John Stuart Mill's essay, *A Few Words on Non-Intervention* (1859):

There seems to be no little need that the whole doctrine of non-interference with foreign nations should be reconsidered, if it can be said to have as yet been considered as a really moral question at all... To go to war for an idea, if the war is aggressive, not defensive, is as criminal as to go to war for territory or revenue; for it is as little justifiable to force our ideas on other people, as to compel them to submit to our will in any other respect. But there assuredly are cases in which it is allowable to go to war, without having been ourselves attacked or threatened with attack; and it is very important that nations should make up their minds in time, as to what these cases are... To suppose that the same international customs, and the same rules of international morality, can obtain between one civilised nation and another, and between civilised nations and barbarians, is a grave error...

According to Mill (1859), barbarous peoples were found in Algeria and India where the French and British armies had been involved. Mill's justification of intervention was overt imperialism. First, he argued that with "barbarians," there is no hope for "reciprocity"- an international

fundamental. Second, barbarians are apt to benefit from civilised interveners. Citing Roman conquests of Gaul, Spain, Numidia and Dacia, Mill said “barbarians, have no rights as a nation except a right to such treatment as may, at the earliest possible period, fit them for becoming one. The only moral laws for the relation between a civilised and a barbarous government are the universal rules of morality between man and man.”

Of more relevance, Mill discussed the position between “civilised peoples.” The disputed question is that of interfering in the regulation of another country’s internal concerns; whether a nation is justified in taking part on either side in the civil wars or party contests of another: and chiefly, whether it may justifiably aid the people of another country in struggling for liberty or may impose on a country any particular government or institutions either as being best for the country itself, or as necessary for the security of its neighbours.

Mill brushes over the situation of intervening on the side of governments who are trying to oppress an uprising of their own, saying, “government which needs foreign support to enforce obedience from its own citizens, is one which ought not to exist.” In this case, however, of a civil war, where both parties seem at fault, Mill argues that third parties are entitled to request that the conflicts cease.

Mill then moves to the more contentious situation of “wars for liberation.” He observes:

When the contest is only with native rulers, and with such native strength as those rulers can enlist in their defence, the answer I should give to the question of the legitimacy of intervention is, as a general rule, No. The reason is, that there can seldom be anything approaching to assurance that intervention, even if successful, would be for the good of the people themselves. The only test possessing any real value, of a people’s having become fit for popular institutions is that they, or a sufficient portion of them to prevail in the contest, are willing to brave labour and danger for their liberation. I know all that may be said, I know it may be urged that the virtues of freemen cannot be learnt in the school of slavery, and that if a people are not fit for freedom, to have any chance of becoming so they must first be free. And this would be conclusive, if the intervention recommended would really give them freedom. But the evil is, that if they have not sufficient love of liberty to be able to wrest it from merely domestic oppressors, the liberty which is bestowed on them by other hands than their own, will have nothing real, nothing permanent. No people ever were and remained free, but because it was determined to be so...”

3.3.2 Types of Humanitarian Intervention

i) UN Authorised Interventions

Most states clearly would prefer to secure UN authorisation before using force for humanitarian purposes, and would probably agree that the UN Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, can authorise military action in response to severe atrocities and other humanitarian emergencies that it concludes constitute a threat to peace and security.

The understanding of what constitutes threats to international peace has been radically broadened since the 1990s to include such issues as mass displacement, and the UN Security Council has authorised use of force in situations that many states would have previously viewed as “internal” conflicts.

ii) Unauthorised Interventions

In several instances, states or groups of states have intervened with force, and without advance authorisation from the UN Security Council, at least in part in response to alleged extreme violations of basic human rights. Recent examples include the intervention after the Gulf War to protect the Kurds in Northern Iraq as well as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation’s (NATO) intervention in Kosovo.

Four distinct attitudes or approaches to the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention in the absence of Security Council authorisations can be identified.

1. **Status quo:** Categorically affirms that military intervention in response to atrocities is lawful only if authorised by the UN Security Council or if it qualifies as an exercise in the right of self-defence. Under this view, NATO’s intervention in Kosovo constituted a clear violation of Article 2(4). Defenders of this position include a number of states, most notably Russia and People’s Republic of China. Proponents of this approach point to the literal text of the UN Charter, and stress that the high threshold for authorisation of the use of force aims to minimise its use, and promote consensus as well as stability by ensuring a basic acceptance of military action by key states. However, Kosovo war has also highlighted the drawbacks of this approach most notably when effective and consistent humanitarian intervention is made unlikely by the geopolitical realities of relations between the Permanent Five members of the Security

Council, leading to the use of the veto and inconsistent action in the face of a humanitarian crises.

2. **Excusable breach:** Humanitarian intervention without a UN mandate is technically illegal under the rules of the UN Charter, but may be morally and politically justified in certain exceptional cases. Benefits of this approach include that it contemplates no new legal rules governing the use of force, but rather opens an “emergency exit” when there is a tension between the rules governing the use of force and the protection of fundamental human rights. Intervening states are unlikely to be condemned as law-breakers, although they take a risk of violating rules for a purportedly higher purpose. However, in practice, this could lead to questioning the legitimacy of the legal rules themselves if they are unable to justify actions the majority of the UN Security Council views as morally and politically justified.
3. **Customary law:** This approach involves reviewing the evolution of customary law for a legal justification of non-authorised humanitarian intervention in rare cases. This approach asks whether an emerging norm of customary law can be identified under which humanitarian intervention can be understood not only as ethically and politically justified but also as legal under the normative framework governing the use of force. However, relatively few cases exist to provide justification for the emergence of a norm, and under this approach ambiguities and differences of view about the legality of an intervention may deter states from acting. The potential for an erosion of rules governing the use of force may also be a point of concern.
4. **Codification:** The fourth approach calls for the codification of a clear legal doctrine or “right” of intervention, arguing that such a doctrine could be established through some formal or codified means such as a UN Charter Amendment or UN General Assembly declaration. Although states have been reluctant to advocate this approach, a number of scholars, as well as the Independent International Commission on Kosovo, have made the case for establishing such a right or doctrine with specified criteria to guide assessments of legality. A major argument advanced for codifying this right is that it would enhance the legitimacy of international law, and resolve the tension between human rights and sovereignty principles contained in the UN Charter. However, the historical record on humanitarian intervention is sufficiently ambiguous that it argues for humility regarding efforts to specify in advance the circumstances in

which states can use force, without Security Council authorisations, against other states to protect human rights.

3.4 Responsibility to Protect

Although usually considered categorically distinct from most definitions of humanitarian intervention, the emergence of a Responsibility to Protect (R2P) deserves mention. Responsibility to Protect is the name of a report produced in 2001 by the International Commission on Intervention and States Sovereignty (ICISS) which was established by the Canadian government in response to the history of unsatisfactory humanitarian interventions. The report sought to establish a set of clear guidelines for determining when intervention is appropriate, what the appropriate channels for approving an intervention are and how the intervention itself should be carried out.

Responsibility to protect seeks to establish a clearer code of conduct for humanitarian interventions and advocates a greater reliance on non-military measures. The report also criticises and attempts to change the discourse and terminology surrounding the issue of humanitarian intervention. It argues that the notion of a “right to intervene” is problematic and should be replaced with the “responsibility to protect.” Under Responsibility to Protect doctrine, rather than having a right to intervene in the conduct of other states, states are said to have a responsibility to intervene and protect the citizens of another state where that other state has failed in its obligation to protect its own citizens.

This responsibility is said to involve three stages: to prevent, to react and to rebuild. Responsibility to Protect has gained strong support in some circles, such as in Canada, a handful of European and African nations, and among proponents of human security, but has been criticised by others, with some Asian nations being among the chief dissenters.

3.4.1 Protection of Children in Conflict

Both in international and non-international armed conflicts today there is tendency towards disregard for the most fundamental humanitarian rules which many times result in discriminating and horrifying attack on the civilian population, especially children.

As one of the most vulnerable in armed conflicts children are therefore more than ever in great need of protection.

Under IHL, children are entitled to the general protection for civilians in armed conflicts, but owing to their particular vulnerability they are also entitled to special protection.

International legal instruments are important tools to protect children in armed conflicts and there are several provisions in international conventions that grant children special protection adapted to their needs. Some of the most important instruments are from the Geneva Convention of 1949 to the optional protocol to the Convention on the Right of the Child of 2000.

3.4.2 Geneva Conventions and Protocols

There are several principles as the protection of a child in armed conflict; already the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and their Additional Protocols of 1977 contain many children – specific provision.

Two general principles are laid down in Article 77 in Protocol 1 and in Article 4 Protocol 4. They state that:

1. Children shall be the object of special respect and be protected against any form of indecent assault;
2. Children shall be provided with care and aid they require;
3. Children must be evacuated from besieged or encircled areas;
4. Children have a right to receive care and aid by the dispatch of medicines;
5. They have a right to the maintenance of their cultural environment to education and the preservation of family unity;
6. It is prohibited to impose the death penalty on children under 18 years of age;
7. If detained or interned, they must be held in quarters separate from the quarters of adults; and
8. it is prohibited to recruit children less than 15 years into the armed forces among others .

3.4.3 Older Persons in Armed Conflict

Older persons are weak persons who can hardly help themselves; thus, in armed conflict they need the help of others to survive. In armed conflict, older persons are exposed to great danger like other civilians but in addition to that, they have vulnerabilities and needs associated with ageing that place them at greater risk. However, their special situation has been insufficiently recognised and addressed by humanitarian intervention targeted to vulnerable groups generally. Moreover, lack of understanding, even prejudice towards older women and old men often results in devaluation of their unique capacities and contributions and of the role they can and do play in the care of dependants, the mitigation of emergencies and the recovery of war-torn societies.

3.5 Criticism about Humanitarian Intervention

Many criticisms have been levied against humanitarian intervention. Inter-governmental bodies and commission reports composed by persons associated with governmental and international careers have rarely discussed the distorting selectivity of geopolitics behind humanitarian intervention or potential hidden motivations of intervening parties. To find less veiled criticism, one must usually turn to civil society perspectives, especially those shaped by independent scholars who benefit from academic freedom.

Some argue that humanitarian intervention is a modern manifestation of the Western colonialism of the 19th century. Anne Orford's work is a major contribution along these lines, demonstrating the extent to which the perils of the present for societies experiencing humanitarian catastrophes are directly attributable to the legacy of colonial rule. In the name of reconstruction, a capitalist set of constraints is imposed on a broken society that impairs its right of self-determination and prevents its leadership from adopting an approach to development that benefits the people of the country rather than makes foreign investors happy. The essence of her position is that "legal narratives" justifying humanitarian intervention have had the primary effect of sustaining "an unjust and exploitative status quo."

Others argue that dominant countries, especially the United States and its coalition partners, are using humanitarian pretexts to pursue otherwise unacceptable geopolitical goals and to evade the non-intervention norm and legal prohibitions on the use of international force. Noam Chomsky and Tariq Ali are at the forefront of this camp, viewing professions of humanitarian motivation with deep skepticism. They argue that the United States has continued to act with its own interests in mind, with the only change being that humanitarianism has become a legitimising ideology for projection of US hegemony in a post-Cold War world. Ali in particular argues that NATO intervention in Kosovo was conducted largely to boost NATO's credibility.

A third type of criticism centers on the event-based and inconsistent nature of most policies on humanitarian intervention. These critics argue that there is a tendency for the concept to be invoked in the heat of action, giving the appearance of propriety for Western television viewers, but that it neglects the conflicts that are forgotten by the media or occur based on chronic distresses rather than sudden crises. Henry Kissinger, for instance, finds that Bill Clinton's practice of humanitarian intervention was wildly inconsistent. The US launched two military campaigns against Serbia while ignoring more widespread slaughter in Rwanda, justifying the Russian assault on Chechnya, and welcoming to

the United States the second-ranking military official of a widely recognized severe human rights violator - the communist government of North Korea.

Humanitarian intervention has historically consisted of actions directed by Northern states within the internal affairs of Southern states, and has also led to criticism from many non-Western states. The norm of non-intervention and the primacy of sovereign equality are still cherished by the vast majority of states, which see in the new Western dispensation not a growing awareness of human rights, but a regression to the selective adherence to sovereignty of the pre-UN Charter world. During the G77 summit, which brought together 133 nation-states, the “so-called right of humanitarian intervention” claimed by powerful states were condemned.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Importance of women in peace process cannot be under-estimated, as recent conflicts in many parts of the world have shown that women have extensive knowledge, for example, rebel movement’s location, abuses of security forces on population, progress of warring forces. In addition, at the micro level, women know when male members of their families are preparing for war or violence. Use of women in peace operation improved access to the local population and the behaviour of male colleagues.

5.0 SUMMARY

In this unit, definition of some gender-related concepts was given for proper understanding of our discussion, and we explained the relationship between women and conflict. The meaning of humanitarian intervention was discussed coupled with explanation of types of humanitarian intervention. Responsibility to Protect was also stated while criticism about humanitarian intervention was not left undiscussed.

6.0 TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENT

1. Briefly explain the concept “gender.”
2. Of what importance is gender to conflict resolution and peace processes?
3. What is humanitarian intervention?
4. Justify the humanitarian intervention of a state in the internal affairs of another state.

7.0 REFERENCES/FURTHER READING

- Abiew, F. K. (1999). *The Evolution of the Doctrine and Practice of Humanitarian Intervention*. Kluwer Law International.
- Alton, F. (2000). *Humanitarian Intervention: Crafting a Workable Doctrine*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.
- Bruno, S. (1999) "NATO, the UN and the Use of Force: Legal Aspects." *The European Journal of International Law*: p.1-22
- Burton, M. (1996). "Legalizing the Sub-Legal: A Proposal for Codifying a Doctrine of Unilateral Humanitarian Intervention." *Georgetown Law Journal* , p. 417.
- Byers, M. & Chesterman, S. (2003). "Changing the Rules about Rules? Unilateral Humanitarian Intervention and the Future of International Law." *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal, and Political Dilemmas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chesterman, S. (2001). *Just War or Just Peace? Humanitarian Intervention and International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). *A New Generation Draws the Line. Kosovo, East Timor*.
- Cottey, A. (2008). "Beyond Humanitarian Intervention: The New Politics of Peacekeeping and Intervention." *Contemporary Politics*: pp. 429-446.
- Danish Institute of International Affairs. (1999). *Humanitarian Intervention: Legal and Political Aspects*. Submitted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Denmark.
- Dorota, G. (2010) ."From Humanitarian Intervention to Responsibility to Protect." *Criminal Justice Ethics*, p.110-128.
- Falk, R. (2005) "Humanitarian Intervention: Elite and Critical Perspectives,"*Global Dialogue*.
- Fernando, T. (2003). "The Liberal Case for Humanitarian Intervention." *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal, and Political Dilemmas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Hilpold, P.(2002). “Humanitarian Intervention: Is there a Need for a Legal Reappraisal?” *European Journal of International Law*, 12, p. 437-467.
- Independent International Commission on Kosovo. (2000). *Kosovo Report*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jason, L.(2003). *Neighbors on Alert: Regional Views on Humanitarian Intervention*. Washington DC: The Fund for Peace.
- Jennifer, M. W. (2004). *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*. (Ed.). Jennifer M. Welsh. New York: Oxford University Press.
- John, S. M. (1859). *A Few Words on Non-Intervention* at the Online Library of Liberty
- Kissinger, H.(2001). *Does America Need a New Foreign Policy?* New York.
- Lori, F. D. (Ed.). (1993). *Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.
- Marjanovic, M. M. (2004). “*Is Humanitarian War the Exception?*” Mises Institute.
- O’Connell, M. E. (2000) “The UN, NATO, and International Law after Kosovo.” *Human Rights Quarterly* , p. 88-89.
- Orford, A. (2003). *Reading Humanitarian Intervention: Human Rights and the Standards of the West*. New York: Verso.
- Pattison, J. (2010). *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Who Should Intervene?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shashi, T. T. & Sam, D. (2001). “Humanitarian Intervention: Getting Past the Reefs.” *World Policy Journal*.
- Statements by Russia and China on 24 March 1999, in UN Security Council S/PV.3988.
- Stromseth, J. (2003). “Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention: The Case for Incremental Change.” *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal, and Political Dilemmas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sumon, D. (2005) "Organizing for Peace: Collective Action Problems and Humanitarian Intervention." *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*.

Tariq, A. (2000). *Masters of the Universe? NATO's Balkan Crusade*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

The UK based its legal justification for the no-flight restrictions on Iraq on humanitarian intervention. The US based its on UN Security Council Resolution 678.

Use of Force in International Law. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.