

Building infrastructures for peace: an action research project in Nigeria

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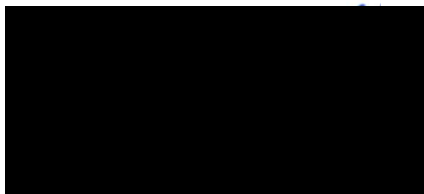
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Abstract

Nigeria has witnessed a plethora of conflicts and violence especially since her post independent era. Direct and structural violence as well as cultural violence have largely dotted her history. The various nature of violence that have over the years keeps the country teetering at the verge of precipice include, resource-based conflict in the Niger Delta, indigenes-settlers conflicts, gender-based conflicts, ethno-religious conflicts, electoral cum political conflicts and the recent Boko Haram violent menace that has claimed at least 13,000 lives in Nigeria. There have been attempts by government and civil society organisations to curb violence in the country. However, their limited apparent success and the extent of violence underlines the need for alternative approaches to build peace in Nigeria. Building infrastructures for peace is one such alternative.

Using an action research approach, the research focusses on establishing peace clubs in four high schools and implementing a programme for a 12 month period.

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I am particularly grateful to God for connecting to Professor Geoffrey Harris. I am grateful and I expressed my gratitude to Professor Geoffrey Harris who was not just a supervisor to me but also a father. For your care and love, Professor Geoff Harris, I say thank you. I prayed to God to connect me to a benefactor, and you became the answer to my spoken prayers. You took me up, sponsored me, and gave me love, care and hope. You became the instrument God used to paint my dream to hold a doctorate degree to reality. I appreciate you Prof., and I prophesy that your labour of love shall never be in vain.

To Margaret Irene, I say thank you dear mum. You are such a special mum, your support for my education from primary to this stage saw me through the thin and thick of the struggle. I love you mum and extend my unalloyed appreciation and gratitude to you and to my family.

Finally, now to him who is able to do immeasurable more than all we ask or imagine, according to his power that is at work within us, to him be glory...Ephesians 3:20-21.

Dedication

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, I dedicate this thesis to the one and only almighty God, the alpha and the omega, the 'I am that I am', the Jehovah who never allowed the weapon fashioned against me to prosper. You are the Jehovah Shalom, the source of peace, for without you, there cannot be true peace. Blessed are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFRC: Armed Forces Revolutionary Council

ASF: Avocats Sans Frontières

CDF: Civil Defense Forces

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

FDLR: Front Démocratique de libération du Rwanda (the main Hutu militia operating in the eastern DRC)

ICTR : International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

LTRC: Liberia Truth and Reconciliation Commission

NaCSA: National Commission for Social Action

NURC: National Unit and Reconciliation Commission, Rwanda

PFR : Prison Fellowship Rwanda

RPF: Rwanda Patriotic Front

RTF: Reparations Trust Fund(s)

SNJG: Simplified Guide to Trial Procedures

TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission, South Africa

Part I: Introduction

Chapter 1: Background, research aims and overview

1.1 Introduction

Conflict has been described as an unavoidable part of human relationships, and if well-handled creates opportunities for self-development as well as the development of social values, improved welfare and security in communities. It is often viewed in the light of the difference of needs or wants between and among individuals or groups, and is regarded as normal, natural and unavoidable. The Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (2005: 2) defines conflict as “... the clashing of interests (positional differences) on national values of some duration and magnitude between at least two parties (organized groups, states, groups of states, organizations) that are determined to pursue their interests and win their cases”. Though conflicts often result in negative and destructive consequences, conflicts can however generate positive outcomes if handled constructively.

Reimann (2005:7) posited that there are three ways of tackling conflicts, and these are “conflict settlement, conflict resolution, and conflict transformation”. In the view of conflict analysts, a world without conflict can hardly be desirable, as it would mean, a world without diversity. Bearing in mind that conflict is an inevitable outcome of human diversity, and according to Bonacker and Imbusch (2005:78) conflicts can be conducted in a constructive way and thus consequently contribute positively within a given society. Furthermore, since conflicts are understood and viewed as omnipresent aspects of human interaction, the emphasis therefore should not be on the question of their elimination, but rather on their regulation or peaceful settlement, (Pfetsch 2005:3), and that given its omnipresent nature, one cannot expect not to have conflict in a multi-ethnic society. However, while the constructive handling of conflict can engender development, violent outcomes following non-constructive handling is a problem, and this has been the bane of Nigeria’s woes.

With a population of over 150 million people, divided into over 300 ethnic groups, Nigeria is confronted with the challenges of governance and violence. In fact, the last two decades in the history of Nigeria has been characterised with different forms of violence, such as, ethnic, religious, electoral and Niger Delta conflict. While the problem of violence is believed by many to have taken root from the oppressive and dictatorial military era under which Nigeria was governed for many years till 1999, it appears to have settled into a sustained pattern of violence further worsened by the thriving political corruption and greed especially among those in government.

Various writers have tried to look into the causes of the violent menace in the country. While some scholars, are of the opinion that the multi-ethnic and multi-religious status of Nigeria provides background for the sustained manifestation of violence in the country, Otite (2002:5), believes that Nigeria has several kinds of pluralisms, the core ones being ethnic, religious and political', which form the basic material of conflict and violence. Otite (2002:16) further submitted that, "the Nigerian major ethnic groups, singly or usually in alliance, block the will and civil liberties of minority groups" leaving little room for justice to thrive. On the contrary, Kaza-Toure (2004:44) however pointed out that, many other nations, that are today united, have similar origins and more inclusive citizenship. Hence, the issue is not pluralisms as such, but how they are managed. Corroborating this, Otite therefore urges Nigerians not to be apologetic, as over 90 per cent of the World's independent states are plural and are in various degrees of stability and at different stages of development. Thus, pluralism cannot be Nigeria's critical problem when it comes to explaining the phenomenon of frequent conflicts within the society. Therefore, instead of trying to kill ethnicity because of the likelihood of it being used by some people to serve negative ends, Nigerians should be proud of their country's diversity because diversity enriches human relationship. Where a people's diversity is creatively cultivated, it provides flavour, strength and vitality to the nation.

What then determines the frequency as well as the intensity and scale of conflict within a society is the presence or absence of in-built anticipatory mechanism and the absorptive institutional capacity to cope with the manifestation of conflict tendencies at all levels of

human interactions within the affected society. It is within this context that one can explain why a homogenous society like Somalia remains unstable. Nevertheless, Nigeria's political elites, both military and civilians, have consistently manipulated the differences between the ethnic formations for their own selfish interest. These interests, it is believed, are fuelled by greed.

Poverty no doubt remains part of the normal life of an average Nigerian. Poverty creates alienation and socio-economic insecurity which impels people to seek solace in primary group identity including ethnic or religious identity. Poverty and a low level of literacy and civil awareness prevent the people from fully comprehending the intricacies of modern government and the real issues involved in it. Hence, self-seeking ethnic demagogues who package ethnicity as a panacea for the people's economic woes easily sway them away. Poverty generates divisive socio-economic competitions. The effect of the competition is insecurity associated with limited job opportunities and social services.

The repression that characterises military rule has been a forerunner of ethnicity in Nigeria. The military has essentially been a tool of internal repression. That is why military rule is inherently a source of pervasive insecurity. Prolonged military rule in Nigeria, no doubt, created a violent system that was bequeathed as a legacy to Nigeria's fourth republic. While Nigeria is seen by many as a currently operating democratic country, following the official ending of military rule in the country in 1999, it is important to point out that the cabal that ruled Nigeria in military uniforms has continued to rule the country behind the scene in their current status as retired generals.

Nigeria largely retains the colonial state structure which is inherently non-democratic because it was the repressive apparatus of an occupying power. Quite often and in the name of state building and development, the African state has oppressed individuals, ethnic groups, minorities, workers, peasants, religious groups and factions of the ruling class. The resultant hostilities may be directed from one ethnic group against the government or against another ethnic group.

Globalisation reinforces the un-democratic character of the Nigerian state and its consequences for ethnic politics. In Nigeria, globalisation needs an authoritarian state capable of forcing through the fundamental restructuring of the country domestic and international relations demanded by the world community. The history of inter-ethnic relations has been quite discordant in Nigeria.

While the Igbo are still nursing their wounds in the aftermath of the civil war, the Yoruba and the Igbo find it difficult to bury the mistrust, betrayal and acrimony of their past relations. In the same vein, the Hausa and Fulani are always ready to recall the history of uneven development of the country and the advantages accruing to the south as a result every ethnic problem is perceived from this tinted history and is reinforced by it. The failure of Government and other formal methods of conflict management in the country now necessitate the need for an alternative approach.

1.2 Direct violence

Direct violence may involve physical harm but also includes verbal abuse and threats. There are 'militias' in the South-East, area boys in the South-West, Yan daba in the North-West and Sara-suka, Ecomog and Katere in the North-East, and thugs in the North-Central (IPCR, 2008:9). Other militia groups include Odua Peoples' Congress (OPC) in the South-West, the Bakassi Boys in the South East, and Niger Delta Volunteer Movement (NDVM) among others in the South-South region, etc. At times, the groups or some members of the groups are also known to be employed by some political officers and contestants seeking elective positions, who engage them to s political and electoral violence against their opponents for their selfish political interests.

Direct violence has often manifested in various cases of violent protest, riots, bomb blasts, among others, in Nigeria leading to physical injury and death of victims of such incidents. Alubo (2006:103) recorded at least 50 cases of violent protests between May 1999 and December 2006, and according to the report of International Crisis Group (2009:2), the 2008 violence

outbreak in the Niger Delta resulted in the death of over 1000 people, while over 80 lives and properties, worth millions of naira, were destroyed on the 29th December 2010 rioting in Jos. In a related development, over 140 people were killed within the first half of 2011 by the Boko Haram bombing in the northern part of Nigeria, (Amnesty International Report, 2011). While the attack orchestrated by the sect in November 2011 on the eve of Eid celebration claimed another 100 people in Borno and Yobe.

The April 2011 post-election violence in some parts of Northern Nigeria claimed 514 civilians and six policemen. In addition, 75 civilians were injured, 165 churches and 53 Mosques, 444 vehicles and 1,442 houses were burnt or destroyed, 22, 141 people were displaced, 45 police properties, 16 government properties and 987 shops were burnt. The experience in Jos is described as an indigene-settler struggle over resource control and access to political offices; however, religion and ethnicity have often clouded the development. The 2001 and 2004 riots took at least 3,000 lives and properties worth millions of naira. Also, in January 2010, over 500 people were killed while hundreds of lives were lost between March and December 2010. About 70 persons were killed in the Christmas Eve bombing and a reprisal attack claimed over 30 lives. The 'fragile peace' is still under threat. In fact, since 2001 when massive violence first erupted in Jos, lasting for 10 days and claiming hundreds of lives, Jos has never truly known peace. The current development of bomb explosions orchestrated by Boko Haram at irregular intervals has now introduced terrorism which hitherto was alien to the Nigerian society. Guseh and Oritsejafor (2007:140) explain the foundation of Nigeria's violence as follows:

The country has experienced several coup d'état and counter-coups as well as withstood a secessionist civil war. The achievement of political independence does not seem to have transformed the state because the indigenous elites that replaced the colonial administrators have failed to implement policies to move the country forward politically and economically. The indigenous elites inherited a state that was not designed to cater to the needs of the Nigerian people, yet these elites were content with the political structures designed by the colonialists.

There are also cases of human rights abuse by the police through unlawful detention and attack on innocent civilians, especially those who tried to resist extortion by policemen who often mount road blocks on highways.

Domestic or gender-based violence appears to be the most frequent type of violence in many African societies. In Nigeria, violence against women is often regarded as a private matter and should be shielded from public scrutiny (Aihie 2009:2). According to the report of Amnesty International (2007), about a third of women suffer domestic violence, such as physical, sexual and psychological abuse mainly from husbands, but also from dating partners. Of the various forms of domestic violence or abuse women are subjected to, such as physical, sexual, economic, spiritual, emotional abuses and neglect, physical abuse is the commonest, going by the 83% respondents in a study on domestic violence in South-East Nigeria, Obi and Ozumba (2007:75-78).

1.3 Structural violence

Structural violence is the quiet violence built into the socio-political and economic system of the society. This could be manifested in the form of inequalities in resource distribution, unemployment, inaccessibility to social amenities, political marginalization, etc. The attendant structural imbalances and dis-equilibrium as seen in ethnic, regional, religion gender and social cum economic inequalities in Nigeria including poor access to resources, high level of poverty, unemployment deprivation and marginalisation, have not only triggered violence in the country but also largely implicated in fanning the embers of violence in the Nigerian society. Also, certain government policies such as 'quota system' which regulates the offer of admission into higher Institutions and including job opportunities often generates grievances against the system in the context of development that have a qualified individual denied of opportunity on the grounds of ethnic sentiment.

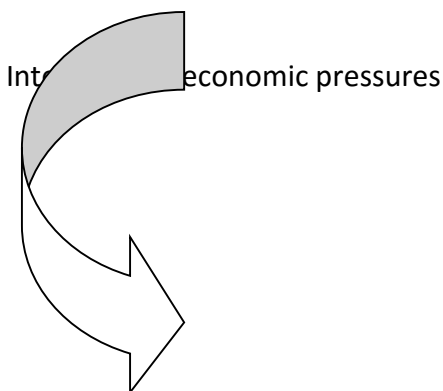
According to IPCR (2008:29) 'structural imbalances and dis-equilibrium in society and high levels of unemployment, poverty, and deprivation constitute the real grievances that lead to conflicts in Nigeria'. The elite greed 'privatization of the state' follows their cornering of state resources, and their eventual 'privatisation of security' exploiting the vulnerability of the alienated youths which they recruit and provide with arms to foment political violence for selfish political and economic objectives, including grievances following greed, contributed to elusive search for a lasting peace in the country for years. The main dynamics of conflict in Nigeria are illustrated by the diagram below.

The diagram illustrates the inter-woven nature of the causes and manifestation of violence in Nigeria by drawing a web of how historical differences of the various regions in Nigeria, political competition, social cum gender inequalities, ethnic and religious tension, economic pressure together with injustice, corruption and youth alienation interplay to define the trajectory of violence in Nigeria. Examples of conflicts in Nigeria in recent time include: Yoruba-Hausa community in Shagamu, Ogun State; Eleme-Okrika in Rivers State; the intermittent clashes in Kano, Kano State; Zango-Kataf in Kaduna State; Tiv-Jukun in Wukari, Taraba State; Ogoni-Adoni in Rivers State; Chamba-Kuteb in Taraba State; Itsekiri-Ijaw/Urhobo in Delta State; Aguleri-Umuleri in Anambra State; Ijaw-Ilaje conflict in Ondo State; Basa-Egbura in Nassarawa State; Hausa/Fulani-Sawaya in Bauchi State; Fulani-Irigwe and Yelwa-Shendam, both in Plateau State; Hausa-Yoruba clashes in Idi-Araba in Lagos State, Niger Delta conflict, sectarian violence in Jos, and Boko Haram violence in North-East Nigeria.

Fig.1 Conflict dynamics in Nigeria

Historical factors

Economic pressures

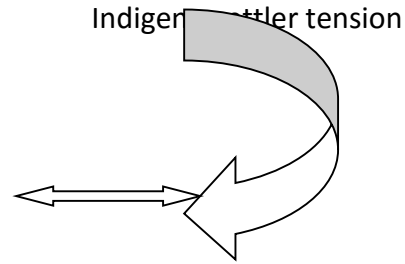


Ethnic tension

Inequalities

Injustice

Youth alienation



Resources

Political violence

Competition

Religious tension

1.4 Cultural violence

Cultural violence represents the excuses or justifications for direct or structural violence. In Galtung's (1996:196) definition, 'cultural violence refers to those parts of culture, the symbolic areas of influence of our life, such as that represented by science, language and arts, ideology as well as religion, that can be used to justify either direct or structural violence'. For instance, the action of some groups under the guise of defending shari'a law drawn upon to foment violence in Nigeria can be said to vividly paint a picture of cultural violence in the country. This development could be explained by the manner in which Islamic ideology is politicised to justify the violence in order to forge identity among Muslims in the country. Examples include the Boko Haram nefarious bombing activities in Nigeria under the guise of defending Islamic ideology which the group believes is against Western education, as well as Christian-Muslim clashes that appeared to have settled into a pattern of recurring violence in Jos and other parts of Nigeria.

1.5 Dealing with violence

The failure on the part of successive government to effectively tackle the challenges can be traced to political corruption, greed and inadequate government commitment to building a culture of peace. The national government has over the years employed security forces to meet

violence with violence, and retributive justice has been the basis of the justice system in Nigeria. The failure is partly due to the absence of a cabinet-level structure for peace and other effective infrastructures for peace to drive the mandate for peace in the country.

In the context of failure of successive government to deal with conflicts and violence effectively, there have been many efforts by civil society to manage and resolve conflicts. The Nigerian Alliance for Peace is one, among other known initiatives, trying to fill the gap created by government inadequacies. However, there is an overwhelming need for principled, sustained and intelligent initiatives by government at local, state and national levels including grassroots civil society engagement, if there must be social change and transformation in the country. In short, there is an overwhelming need for an infrastructure for peace to build peace in Nigeria.

1.5 Peace

In contrast with the types of violence explained in the previous section are three types of peace. Negative peace means the absence of direct violence. Positive peace means that the underlying causes of conflict and violence e.g. economic inequality along ethnic lines are being addressed. Transformational peace refers to the quality of the relationship between the parties initially in conflict; in an ideal world, the relationships would come to be characterised by forgiveness and reconciliation. Peace infrastructures, to which we now turn, are designed with the aim of building all these types of peace, depending on the context and the nature and depth of the conflict involved.

1.6 Peace infrastructures

Using the health infrastructure as in Brand-Jacobsen's analogy, infrastructures for peace are needed to build peace, just as health infrastructures are to health. Table 1.1 summarises his comparative analysis.

Table 1.1: Experience in medicine compared to peace-building

Health Infrastructure (evolved)	Peace Infrastructure (evolving)
Health education in institutions of learning	Education for peace in institutions of learning
Awareness on public health	Awareness of public peace
Knowledge of health for guidance in risky activities	Knowledge of peace education for guidance in risky activities
Professionals in health services	Professionals in peace services
Hospitals and other health institutions	Centres and Institutes for Peace
Pharmaceutical structures	Community based centre for building peace
Units for speedy response e.g. emergency wards	Units for speedy response e.g. mediators, civilian peace forces
Systems for early warning	Systems for early warning
Governmental health structures e.g. Ministries and Departments for health	Governmental Peace structures, e.g. Ministries and/or Department for Peace
Capacities for civil society organizations	Capacities for civil society organizations
Development of relevance national health policies	Development of relevance national peace policies

Mobilizes financial and political support	Mobilizes financial and political support
Promotes a 'culture of health' for healthy living	Promotes a 'culture of peace' for peaceful co-existence
International infra-structures and inter-governmental structures for support, e.g. WHO	International infra-structures and inter-governmental structures for support, e.g. UN Commission for Peace-building
Promotes systematic research and lesson learned, methods and knowledge sharing.	Promotes systematic research and lesson learned, methods and knowledge sharing.

Source: www.gppac.net

For example, health infrastructures such as health education, public health awareness and knowledge, services of health professionals, health institutions such as hospitals and pharmaceutical structures, national health policies, financial and political backup, concern for prevention and the promotion of health culture as well as governmental health structures such as Ministry of Health, etc., have unequivocally contributed, in no small measure, to the prevention and control of diseases as well as the promotion of a culture of healthy living in the global society. As stated succinctly by the World Health Organisation, just like the way the public health efforts prevented and minimized complications relating to pregnancy, injuries at workplace and contagious diseases as well as ailments following the food and water contaminated in different parts of the globe or world, the factors contributing to violence, be they attitudinal or behavioural factors, or factors relating to the broader socio-economic, cultural and political conditions can be altered (WHO 2002:3).

Suter (2004:38) has argued that much attention has been devoted to debating “defence capacities” based on military institutions while no or very little has been devoted to debating “peace capacities” through a peace institutional framework. We could have peace institutions

with various components, just as in the case of military institutions. For instance, such peace institutions have the following components; peace cadet corps, capacity to attract voluntary assistance, training and education, administration, jobs and career opportunities, professional status, diplomatic representation and a Ministry as well as a peace day and honouring peace heroes, just like the defence institutions which also have all the afore-listed components among others.

1.7 Overall objective and specific aims

Where there is widespread direct, structural and cultural violence, the usual response has been violence; and an alternative is to build peace infrastructures of various kinds.

The overall objective of this thesis was to undertake a participatory action research project aimed at building an infrastructure for peace in Nigeria.

The specific aims are to:

- To examine and explain the nature, extent, causes, trend and consequences of conflict and violence in contemporary Nigeria.
- To document the attempts made by the Government and NGOs to intervene in conflicts and build peace, and to assess their outcome.
- To examine and explain the concept and development of infrastructures as a means of non-violent social change.
- To use action/participatory action research approach to implement a plan to establish infrastructures for peace in Nigeria.

1.8 Overview of thesis

The thesis focuses on building infrastructures for peace in Nigeria. It explored this alternative means as a way of promoting the institutionalisation of peace in the country. The research was

initially focused on the idea of establishing a cabinet-level Ministry of Peace, but due to financial constraint and complex bureaucratic bottle-necking in the processes associated with lobbying the Government within the time-frame of the research, the research was re-focused to promoting the concept of local peace committees through non-violent campaigns for social change, create a local peace committee, peace service academy and centre for peace and rehabilitation of displaced persons including building peace clubs in schools which thus became the major part of the study and using the peace infrastructure to promote non-violent change.

Part II Context

Chapter 2: Violence in Nigeria: nature, extent, causes and consequences

2.1 Introduction

Since her independence in 1960, Nigeria has been experiencing one form of violence or the other. The pattern and complexity of such violence is indeed worrisome to the extent that it now appears as if the country is teetering at the verge of a precipice. The 2011 Amnesty International Report, further pointed out that there is unabated human right's violations and unlawful killings as well as torture, enforced disappearance and ill-treatment in the country. This chapter therefore examines the nature, extent, causes, trend and consequences of conflicts and violence in Nigeria.

2.2 Nature of violence

The context of violence in Nigeria is such that intertwined direct, structural and cultural typologies of violence, with factors responsible for the violence are closely knitted together in a way that define complex conflict dynamics. While frustrations occasioned by factors relating to human insecurity and obnoxious policies, among others, largely define structural violence, the physical expression of such development in form of verbal and physical attacks resulting in physical harms and killings largely describe direct violence. At times, the perpetrators of such direct violence attempt to justify their actions on deconstructed religious sentiments, customs, traditions and cultural beliefs, while others anchor their justifications on conditions of human insecurity such as joblessness, hunger, and environmental problems among others, thereby resulting in what Johan Galton described as cultural violence.

Indigenes-settler conflict is an age-old problem in Nigeria. Historically the indigenes-settlers question is responsible for the indigenes-settlers nature of violent conflict in the country. The indigenes-settlers question permeates the various geo-political zones of Nigeria and has indeed led to blood shedding, especially in areas such as Plateau state in the North-Central, and Ife/Modakeke (in Osun State) in the South-Western part of Nigeria, among others. While its manifestation largely defines both direct and structural violence patterns, its expression in the South-Eastern part of the country appeared to solely conform into a description of structural violence, as it is mainly played out in the form of discrimination in employment places. For instance, between 1999 and 2000 all settlers in the state of Enugu, with the exception of those whose husbands are employed in the federal institutions in the state, were retrenched from their appointments in the state, and this resulted into serious acrimonies and generated conflicts between the indigenes and the settlers or non-indigenes, (IPCR, 2008:159).

The indigenes-settlers question in Jos Plateau state has been largely implicated as one of the major causes of violent conflict in the state. The case is such that it initially and repeatedly pitted the Hausa “Settlers” against the Plateau “Indigene” tribes of Afizere, Anaguta and Berom. The said “settlers”, notably the Hausa-Fulani, have lived in the area for several generations. However, the conflict has now also spread to other parts of the state. Since violence first broke out in April 1994, there has been a cycle of violence defining a trajectory of what seems like an un-ending cycle of revenge between the Muslim Hausa “settlers” and the Christian “Plateau indigenes”.

Another nature of violence in Nigeria is ethno-religious violent conflict. The employment of religion as an instrument for fomenting violence in Nigeria’s polity is traceable to the era of the British colonialists whose colonial administrations intentionally exploited religion as an instrument of pacification in the country. This nature of violence in Jos, Plateau state, has continued through the era of the military junta into the democratic regimes which has also

been overwhelmed by political muscle, centrifugal divisions, ethno-religious polarisations and violence including weak governance. It is believed by some scholars that the multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-linguistic and multi-cultural nature of the Nigerian society may also be serving as catalyst for the frequent occurrence of violence. There are over 250 ethnic groups with their unique cultures, and as posited by IDEA (2001:87) “ethnic culture is one of the important ways people conceive of themselves, and culture and identity are closely intertwined”. In Nigeria, ethnic cultures have been wrongly exploited to brand the country. with tribalism and manipulation of religious sentiments as well as regionalism, largely explains the unequal development of the country in addition to the perennial social tension and political instability. I quote “as a result, ethnic sectarianism has left a trail of destructive violence and even threatened the territorial integrity of Nigeria” (IDEA, 2001:89).

Example of some of the ethno-religious violence in Nigeria that drew national and international attention according to Kwaja (2009:106) included ; “Tiv versus Jukun, Jukun versus Kuteb; Chamba versus Kuteb in Tararba State; Ogoni versus Andon in Rivers State; the Sharia crisis in Kaduna State; the Tiv versus other ethnic groups in Azara of Nasarawa State in 2001; the Hausa/Fulani versus the Anaguta, Afizere and Berom in Jos North Local Government Area of Plateau State in 2001; the Tarok versus Hausa/Fulani in Wase Local Government Area in 2004; the Goemai versus the Hausa/Fulani in Shendam Local government Area of Plateau State in 2002; the religious violence of Maidiguri, Borno State in 2005; the Quanvs Pan in Quan’Pan Local Government Area of Plateau State in 2006; the Hausa/Fulani versus the Anaguta, Afizere and Berom in Jos North Local Government Area of Plateau State in 2008 and the ‘Boko Haram’ violence that engulfed Borno, Yobe, Bauchi and Kano states in July, 2009 respectively”.

Other cases of ethno-religious clashes in Nigeria, according to the year 2000 *Annual Report on the Human Rights Situation in Nigeria* included the Warri communal clash in Delta State on May 30 to June 9, 1999 ; Oodua People’s Congress and Hausa traders clashed at Sagamu, Ogun State

on July 18, 1999 ; communal clash in Lagos between Oodua People's Congress and Hausa traders on November 25, 1999 ; communal clash in Brass Local Government area of Bayelsa State on January 25, 2000 ; communal clash in Etsako Local Government area of Edo State (January 29-30, 2000) ; Sharia riots in Kaduna on February 21,2000 ; religious riots in Aba, Abia State ; reprisal killing from the Kaduna mayhem on February 28, 2000 ; Epoch of Ife – Modakeke war of attrition on March 5, 2000 ; hostilities between the people of Eleme and Okirika in Rivers State on March 16, 2000 ; religious riots in Damboa, Borno State on March 28,2000 ; communal clash in Ovia South Local Government area of Edo State on April 8, 2000 ; religious riot in Kaduna on May 23,2000 ; communal clash between the people of Ikot Offiong and Oku-Iboku of Cross River State on June 23, 2000 ; hostilities between the Ijaws and Urhobos in Delta State on July 21, 2000 and a communal clash in Bendel Local Government area of Abia State on August 12, 2000, Igbos and Hausa traders clashed at Alaba Rago market area of Lagos State October16, 2000 ; religious riot in Kano State on April 13, 2001 ; communal clash between the Ijaws and Itsekiri of Delta State on May 12, 2001 ; communal clash between Odimodu and Ogulagba communities of Delta State on July 2, 2001 ; ethnic violence in Nassarawa State on July 12, 2000 ; religious clash in Jos, Plateau State on September 7, 2001 ; religious riot in Kano on September 16, 2001 ; religious riot in Benue State on September 18, 2001 ; O'odua People's Congress and Hausa people clashed at Idi-Araba, Lagos State on February 2, 2002 ; communal clash between Apprapum and Osatura communities of Cross Rivers State on February 26, 2002 ; communal clash at Ado-Ekiti on August 31, 2002 and religious riots in Kaduna State and Abuja on November 21, 2002, (Odika, 2001:65).

Over 40 per cent of ethno-religious violence occurred in Nigeria within the earlier years of its fourth republic. Besides, there appears to be a continuous rise of such violence in the country (Salawu, 2010:345). Tiv/Fulani ethno-resource conflict is one example of a conflict that intertwined ethnic and resource competition. While the Tiv people are predominantly into crop farming, the Fulani are into nomadic or cattle rearing economic activities. One of the crises involving the two groups started in April, 2011 and degenerated into its worst case in March

2012 following the three different attacks that occurred in the month of March. The 19th of March 2012 attack triggered the State Government to arrest five village heads, but were later released following a Government directive. They were directed to ensure peace in their domains. Notwithstanding, there was again another attack on the 22nd March by the Fulani herdsmen on Yongogba, a Tiv settlement in Chanchaji ward of Takum ward in Taraba state, during which the said settlement was set ablaze by the marauders. Prior to 22nd of March 2012 attacks, there was also an attack on the 20th of March 2012. These series of attacks brought the Tiv/Fulani mayhem to its peak since the recent attacks first started in April 2011.

Gender-based violence is another common type of violence in Nigeria. Gender describes behaviours, attributes or characteristics and roles expected in the society of individuals on the basis of being born of male or female (Uwameiye & Iserameiya, 2013:219) and gender based violence is most often against the women and the girl child, and also, mainly within the family. Gender based violence is an age-old psycho-social issue deeply rooted in the dwindling concept of gender inequality which is a kind of structural violence within any social system. Gender-based violence is broadly used as “violence against women and it also highlights gender inequality in which most violence is rooted” (USAID, 2006: 66). The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action defined it as “any act of gender based violence that results in, or is likely to, result in physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty whether occurring in public or private life. Among the various forms of violence against women are battering by spouse, rape, verbal assault, female genital mutilation, incest, child marriage, forced marriage, denial of women work opportunity, denial of women’s right to own property, denial of girl child right to choose her husband, denial of girl child access to education, child labour, girl child trafficking and using girl child for commercial sex purposes, among others.

In many societies, physical abuse is regarded as acceptable conduct, and where it is frowned at, women are often blamed for inciting men to engage in it (Idimegwu, Ibid, Watt and Zimmerman, 2002: 1232-1237). For instance, among the Tiv ethnic group in Nigeria, women have been socialised to perceive wife beating as a sign of love and sometimes, they even encourage it (Idimegwu, Ibid; Foster, 2002:30). Also, according to demographic and health surveys, 64.3 per cent of women in Nigeria consider it normal to be beaten by their husbands. Many Nigerian societies appeared to largely condone wife beating, where they believe that a husband's chastisement of his wife by beating her is embedded in the culture (Okemgbo, Omideyi and Odimegwu, 2002:101-104; Ilika, Okonkwo and Adogu, 2002:53-58). Violence against women is an illustration that points to the low position and status women are accorded in many cultures, and as posited by Ondicho, (2002:35-44), "the traditional attitude regarding the subordination of women exacerbates the problem of sexual and domestic violence". Cultural practices, norms, value and belief in some society fan the embers of certain behaviours that relegate the women to a lower status in the society in comparison to the men who often dominate them into subjugation. For instance, in many communities in Nigeria, the male child is seen as central to continuing the family name. He is also more favoured to inherit the family's lands and property as well as being more involved in the decision-making process of the society than his female counterpart.

Gender based violence manifests in different forms such as physical, sexual, economic, emotional, mental and psychological. However, the physical aspect is the most prevalent of the various forms of intimate partner violence. Intimate Partner Violence is often cloaked with denial, shame, and silence by the victims, and it occurs between two persons in a close relationship whether current spouse or erstwhile spouse or dating partners. It is the "actual or threatened physical or sexual violence or psychological and emotional abuse directed toward a spouse, ex-spouse, current or former boyfriend or girlfriend, or current or former dating partner" (Saltzman et al. 2003:10), and it is increasingly replacing the term domestic violence (WHO, 2005a).

A culturally-based form of violence against women in some parts of Nigeria is female genital mutilation or female circumcision which is said to affect at least 40.5 per cent of women according to the 2008 national baseline survey. There is also an age-old practice in the Igbo tribe which involves the shaving of the hair and making a widow drink from water used in washing the corpse of her deceased husband as a way of testing her involvement in the death of the man.

There are also serious cases involving battery, beating and all manner of assault during domestic violence against the woman. For instance, in a survey conducted by an NGO known as Project Alert in 2000, 25 cases of women murdered by their husbands were recorded. Also, a typical case that occurred recently in Lagos involving a medical doctor whose multi-billionaire husband threw her from their upper storey building leading to her death following the injuries sustained from the incident is one alarming case. It was surprising to know that while the man was awaiting trial, he was still walking free on bail. There are cases of old women who are confronted with ceaseless abuse due to their childlessness and in some cases branded as witches and thus subjected to abuse. Furthermore, incidents of trafficking of women and children as well as other cases of sexual harassment also abound. Going by statistics, about 60-70% of Nigerian young women are subjected to the sex trade in Italy by the traffickers while over 80% of the 12 million children in labour in Nigeria are trafficked victims (Adjamagbo-Johnson, 2002:10). There also appears to be cases of some policemen, who acting under unprofessional conduct, sexually assault some incarcerated women as well as committing human rights abuse by some police who through their action inflict violence against some innocent citizens, probably through illegal 20 naira exploitation especially by some police in road blocks.

Politically related violence in Nigeria pre-dates to 1966 when the first military interregnum occurred in the country. Since then, a number of coup d' etat have occurred in the country

giving way to military head states to stir the affairs of the country in a manner that many believed mainly contributed to the entrenchment of systemic violence in the country. The Olusegun Obasanjo military administration begot the second republic in Nigeria, and the process leading to the Shehu Shagari-led second republic was however not devoid of violence just like the first republic. Political cum electoral instability largely dotted the various military regimes including the democratic second and third republics that were also truncated by the military, who also gave birth to the forth republic in 1999. The pattern has not played out without consequences as deaths and loss of properties by its victims including threats to national unity at the various stages of the political development. The 2003 experience however came “after a relatively peaceful, if not perfect election in 1999” (Hazen & Horner, 2007:11) in Nigeria. Allegations of fraud, disenfranchisement and violence overwhelmed the election, and according to Hazen & Horner (2007:11) the use of violence in electoral processes, rigging of election, involvement of armed groups and dismal performance by the electoral commission led to the discontent of the electorate in 2003. Also the 2007 election was characterised by intentional delay, bias and ineffective preparation for the election which contributed to the political violence (Bekoe, 2007:15).

The April 2011 election was a departure from the experiences in the 2003 and 2007 elections in terms of the free and fair nature of the elections, thus bringing to memory the 1993 election which was popularly believed or adjudged as the freest and fairest election in the history of Nigeria, but was eventually sabotaged by the military by annulling the election and preventing the apparent winner, Bashorun MKO Abiola, from been sworn into the position of the President. The post-election violence that characterised the 2011 election nevertheless mimicked the usual patterns of violence that have for years infested Nigeria’s political climate and thus retarded the country’s political progress for years. The violence which mainly occurred in the northern part of the country was characterised with killings, maiming, arson and destruction of property.

The conflict in the Niger Delta is a resource-based conflict, and it has undergone various phases since its inception. The struggle which is centred around oil exploration in the region including gas flaring is mainly rallied round the negative externalities of the oil exploring activities of the multi-national oil companies operating in the Niger Delta cauldron, its impacts on the people of the region, and a decade of developmental neglect of the area notwithstanding its role in the Nigerian economy, including the benefit accruing to the oil companies operating in the area. The objections of members of oil communities in the region is against the Federal Government and the Oil Companies working in consonant with the Government to exploit oil in the region without adequate beneficial attention to the people of the Niger Delta who have been at the receiving end following the environmental degradation occasioned by the oil exploring activities in the region.

Over the last 10 years when the Boko Haram was formed in Maiduguri, the challenges of violence in Nigeria has snowballed into a pattern that posed great danger to the corporate existence of the country as the country now seems to be left teetering at the edge of a precipice. According to Punch newspapers dated 12th of June 2012, death tolls following Boko Haram's attacks were officially put at 1200 as at March 2012. Dozens of others have also been killed in six states of the North-East, Kano and Kaduna since then. The Nation newspapers dated 19th of June, 2012, estimated that within the first half of 2012 more than 580 persons lost their lives in violence blamed on the sect. Thousands of others have since fled their places of abode to the neighbouring countries of Chad, Niger and Cameroon or to South-Ward, North-Central and Southern states of the country.

According to a statement contained in *Punch Newspapers* dated 12th of June, 2012, and credited to Oluseyi Petirin, Nigeria's former Chief of Defence Staff, "Boko Haram is a religious sect that initially started by condemning Western knowledge in Nigeria and blossomed into a terrorist group that unleashed mayhem on unsuspecting victims. Boko Haram has killed over

1200 people in Nigeria, including Christians, Muslims, and most internationally remembered was the bombing of the UN House in Abuja that killed about 23 people". He described them as people with no clear-cut ideology. In addition to direct violence, the people of Nigeria are also largely confronted with structural violence, such as unemployment, policy of quota system, poverty, poor health facilities and schools including inadequate social amenities and infrastructural facilities - good roads, electricity, and pipe-borne water.

Violence in high schools has also increased astronomically in the country. From high schools to higher institutions, violence largely threatened smooth learning experiences as gangsterism and cultism seem to have taken roots in some citadel learning, casting doubt into the largely envisaged beautiful future educational horizon for our dear country.

2.3 Extent

There is an increasing deterioration of the security situation in Nigeria and violence against women is on the rise while the rights of children remain unprotected by Government even as forced evictions is spreading to the nooks and crannies of the country. According to Human Right Watch (2011), more than 14,500 people have lost their lives due to inter-communal, political and sectarian violence since 1999 when the military regimes gave way to democratic Government in Nigeria. As a result of widespread poverty and poor governance militant groups have continued to thrive resulting in killings and reign of violence.

The condition of insecurity in the country remains bad news to Africa's most populated country going by the 2011 Global Peace Index (GPI) ranking which places the country among the bottom 20, with a ranking of 142 out of 153 countries and score of 2.743. This is further accentuated by the 2011 ranking of the Human Development Index (HDI) which scored the country 0.453 and ranked it 159 out of 178 countries. There is a growing impact of preventable diseases on the

populace and the situation of structural violence is sky-rocketing daily. The 2011 HDI reported 0% access to drugs by the people and infant mortality rate stands at 70.49%, 51% public girls out of school, hospital bed is 1.67 per 1000 people while the probability of reaching 65 by a male is 42.1% and that of reaching 40 by the people is 33.7%, a situation which Galtung described as structural violence in the context of a society that has the potential to prevent it but does not.

The scourge of violence against women in Nigeria is no doubt increasingly alarming, and as posited by Jekayinka (2010:20), domestic violence and female genital mutilations including forced prostitution are in practice in Nigeria at an alarming rate. According to WHO (2002), about one third of Nigerian women had been victims of violence in diverse forms at one time or the other. These acts cut across cultures, traditions, class and ethnic groups. Cultural practices and beliefs have long been implicated in fuelling violence against women as women seem to be relegated to second class status in many communities in Nigeria. For instance, there are tribes in Nigeria where a woman does not have the right to inherit her husband and father's properties. In some other cases, widows are subjected to humiliating experiences under the guise of mourning in the event of the un-timely demise of their husbands.

Violence associated with child trafficking is another common violent practice in the country. As pointed out by Dr. Ezio Murzi, a representative of UNICEF in Abuja, over 60 per cent of African children are trafficked for sex exploitation in Europe are Nigerians, (Adoba, 2004:1). Syndicates who pretend to help secure jobs for them often deceive the victims into prostitution in Europe. Girls below the age of 18 are being abused and most of the cases remain unreported for fear of stigmatisation. There is a low level of awareness of human rights violations, and those who are aware are scared of stigma and as such tolerate violence even when they are suffering in silence until it results in depression, low self-esteem and attendant health problems (Uwameiye & Iserameiya, 2013:220).

Gender-based violence is the widest but less reported nature of violence in Nigeria, and this may not be unconnected to the fact that they are often met with “silence not only by the state but also by much of the human rights community” (Abama, 2009:24). Though under-reported, violence against women is prevalent in many cultural settings in developing countries and developed countries (Odimegwu, 2001: 16-21; Foster, 2002: 3-4).

The experience following a Nigerian Monarch in Akure, Ondo state opened up a new chapter into the level of awareness of spousal abuse on one hand, and the road to protection and justice on the other hand on issues of domestic violence. The brutal acts of violence perpetrated by the disgraced Deji of Akure (King of Akure) Oluwadare Adepoju Adesina, the Osupa 111, against his wife Mrs. Olori Bolande Adesina, who apparently had her skin blistered from a chemical substance and reported marks of physical brutality via public flogging. The State Government reacted to the development by deposing the King. It could be recalled that it was reported that the deposed King had his contingency of police guards at the time of said violence, but the police reportedly viewed the issue as a private affairs between the couples, a mentality which according to Arisi (2011:374) is too common and deeply enshrined in the psyche of many Nigerians.

The Nigerian society including the law of the country scarcely recognised some of the notable forms of violence against women such as sexual harassment, female genital mutilation, domestic violence, economic violence as well as violence associated with early marriage, yet the extent of the violence is alarming. In fact, the experience of domestic violence against women in Nigeria is ‘shockingly high’. As unmasked in the 1998 National Baseline Survey, 40.5% Nigerian women are affected by female genital mutilation. Furthermore, in a related survey conducted by Project Alert in 2000 at least 25 cases of women murdered by their husband’s were recorded, while 60-70% are victims of women and child trafficking and thus subjected to sex trade in Italy, and 80% of the 12 million children in labour are victims of trafficking

(Adjamagbo-Johnson, 2002:3). Violence against women cut across the socio-economic, educational and political strata's of society.

Gender imbalance, as gender based violence has also increased astronomically in the country. The problem of gender imbalance in education in Nigeria is indeed worrisome. According to a statement by Erelu Bisi Fayemi (wife of the former executive Governor of Ekiti state – Dr Kayode Fayemi) commented in Moment newspapers dated March 9th 2012 that, “two of every three illiterate adults in Nigeria are women, and that the illiteracy scourge finds itself among other problems such as unequal access to land and inheritance, high mortality rate and discrimination against women in terms of employment opportunity”.

The indigene-settler question is another problem in Nigeria. For instance, more than 1000 people were killed in the September 2001 sectarian violence between Christians and Muslims in Jos, while about 72 villages were ravaged by fire in the violence that occurred between 2002 and 2003 with several thousands of people abandoning their homes. Also, at least 20 people were killed in April 2004 in clashes that lasted for three days between ethnic militias and the State. While in May 2004, the attack on the town of Yelwa by militias in Plateau claimed over 600 lives according to the Red Cross.

The reprisal attack on the 10th of May, 2004 following the killings of Muslim's that took place in Yelwa, Plateau state on May 2, 2004, led to the murder of 30 Christians in Kano state with about 10,000 Christian residents in Kano fleeing their homes and taking refuge in police barracks. The sectarian violence between Christians and Muslims in the North region of Nigeria had led over 57, 000 people homeless, with over 30,000 Christians displaced from their Kano homes and another 27,000 Muslims displaced to Bauchi for refuge from the massacre unleashed on the Muslims by Christians in Plateau state in May 2004. Over 2000 lives have been lost to the reprisal attack following the incident in Jos against the Yelwas, (Global Security 2013:1). Also, the July 7-8, 2012 violence in Plateau state claimed the life of a Nigerian senator

Senator Gyang Dantong, including Hon. Gyang Fulani of the Plateau State House of Assembly, and over 100 other persons, following the attacks on ten villages by the Fulani herdsmen, and as contained in Punch newspaper dated 9th of July 2012, the attacks affected nine villages in Barkin Ladi local Government area and one in Riyon. The Nation newspapers dated 9th of July 2012 further recorded that the terrorists numbering 400 invaded Kururuk, Kuzen, Ngyo, Kogoduk, Ruk, Dogo, Nyar, Kufang, Kait, Kpakpiduk. It could be recalled that Plateau State has been a flashpoint of perennial ethnic crisis. Political violence has also been on the rise in the country. Suffice it to say that political violence in Nigeria has become a threat to the corporate existence of the country. According to the Human Rights Watch Report (2011), the April 2011 post-election violence in Nigeria is among the fiercest and bloodiest in the nation's history, as it recorded at least 800 deaths in riots that spanned three days in 12 northern states of the country. However, in a statement by Nigeria's Inspector General of Police, the riots "claimed the lives of 514 civilians and six policemen. Also, 75 civilians were injured, 165 churches and 53 Mosques, 444 vehicles and 1,442 houses were burnt or destroyed. In addition, 22, 141 people were displaced, 45 police properties, 16 government properties and 987 shops were burnt". The violence which began with a protest in support of the Congress for Progressive Change candidate, General Muhammadu Buhari degenerated into sectarian killings in Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara States, resulting in the displacement of over 65,000 people and associated carnage (Human Rights Watch, 2011).

It could be recalled that more than 50 people were reportedly killed prior to the election between July 2010 and the April 2011 over pre-election related matters (Amnesty International, 2011). The report (Human Rights Watch, 2011), revealed that more than 100 people were killed in 2003 while over 300 were killed in 2007 as a result of election related violence. In May 1999 violence erupted in Kaduna State over the succession of an Emir resulting in more than 100 deaths. However, the Kaduna violence that occurred between February and May 2000 rates among some of the worst Nigeria has experienced.

Communal violence outbreaks constitute another source of worry in Nigeria. Among several incidents of such violence in Nigeria is the December 2011 Ezza/Ezillo inter-communal clash in Ebonyi state that claimed at least 52 lives. The clash between the two communities was believed to have happened first in 2008 but was contained in 2010. It has also to be recalled that in October 2001, hundreds of people were killed and thousands displaced in communal violence that spread across the Middle-Belt states of Benue, Taraba, and Nasarawa. Again in 2014, over 40 people were reported killed in violent outbreak in Nasarawa. While ethnic related violence was taking its toll on Nigerians, the intertwining of religion and ethnic factors in the manifestation of violence further complicates matters. The connection between religion and ethnic factors in violence played out in Nigeria is indeed strong. While over 1,000 people died in rioting over the introduction of criminal shar'ia in the State. Hundreds of ethnic Hausa were killed in reprisal attacks in South-Eastern Nigeria.

The Boko Haram insurgency and the Fulani herdsmen attacks have constituted a major violent menace in the northern part of Nigeria in recent times. From Borno to Yobe, Adamawa to Plateau, Nasarawa to Benue and Kaduna States, tales of killings and burning of Christians' homes and churches are becoming increasingly rampant. In a statement credited to General Carter Ham, commander of US military in Africa, there is an indication of cooperation between Boko Haram, al-Shabaab in East Africa and Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. According to him, such development could lead to a dangerous escalation of a security threat in the African continent, (Punch, 2012:2). As stated in the Joint Report of the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Royal Aal-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought during the visit of their delegates to Nigeria in 2012, the Boko Haram "violence is the worst between the two faiths since the Bosnia war of 1992-1995", even as Pastor Ayo Oritseja emphasised that the intent of the sect is to "exterminate Western influence in Nigeria and to end Christianity in the country", (Guardian, 2012:1-2).

According to the report (United States Government, 2013), Boko Haram ranks second on the global terror list. The statistical report called 'START' conducted by the University of Maryland

for the American government on global terrorism in 2012 revealed that while the Taliban killed 1,842 people in 525 attacks in 2012, and came tops on the infamous ranking, Boko Haram came second, killing 1,132 in 364 attacks. Also, the statistical report revealed that of the top 10 countries with the most terrorist attacks last year, Nigeria came fifth because of the activities of Boko Haram.

Nigeria ranked fourth in number of deaths from terrorist attacks. According to the statistical information attached to the said "U.S. Terrorism 2012 reports", there were a total number of 546 terror attacks in Nigeria with 1,386 killed in 2012 alone. Furthermore, the average lethality of terrorist attacks in Nigeria (2.54 deaths per attack) is more than 50 per cent higher than the global average of 1.64. The November 2011 attack by the Boko Haram saw the sect targeting churches, mosques, banks and police stations, leaving at least 150 people dead (Africa Watch, 2011). Since then, these sites, and many other places including schools have come under serious attacks. There appears to be a rise in the number of people killed between 2013 and within first quarter of 2014. While about 159 people were killed in 2013 about 245 people were killed within the first two months in 2014, thereby casting doubt in the gains claimed by Nigeria military's crusade to bring down the number of casualties and eventually eradicate the Boko Haram insurgency within 2014. The abduction of about 219 girls from their school in Chibok and killings in some other schools climaxed the nefarious acts against schools by the sect.

Niger Delta violence is another type of violence that has impacted negatively on the country. Right from Okoloba to Ogidigben, Umuchem to Peremabiri, Ogbotobe to Bonny, Egbema to Edagber and Ogoni to Iko, among others, the Niger Delta has with time evolved through conflict of instability and violent protests to become phenomena that occur frequently. The magnitude of direct and structural violence in the region further worsened by the high level of insecurity in the Northern part of the country has no doubt stretched Nigeria itself to the threshold of disintegration.

Protest in the region can be viewed in at least four phases. The first phase which lasted between late 1970s to mid-1980 was one of legal actions by the oil bearing communities against the oil companies for in-adequate compensation for their damages, as the people still had confidence on the Federal and State Governments. The second phase lasted mid-1980s to mid-1990s. This phase was characterised with peaceful demonstrations, peaceful disruption of oil workers from operation and peaceful occupation of flow stations as a call for adequate compensation and the provision of social amenities was at the heart of the struggle. Following the forceful response of the oil companies using Government security operatives, the third phase speedily changed into forceful resistance leading to forceful occupation, shutting down of flow stations, kidnapping of oil workers, destruction of equipment and seizure of vessels and vehicles belonging to the oil companies. This phase hastily transitioned into the more militant fourth phase in December 1998 with the issuance of the historic Kaiama Declaration by the Ijaw Youth Council, which in the Ogoni Bill of Rights, called for self-determination within the Nigerian State and control of resources. December 30, 1998 was however given to the oil companies to evacuate the Niger Delta by the resistant group. This triggered the Government to further respond with the military leading to the Yenagoa and Kaima massacres which resulted in the complete destruction of Odi village by the Obasanjo led Government in November 1999. Also, the violence in the region, consumed among others, the Umuechem community in November 1990 which led to the death of 20 persons including a traditional ruler, his two sons and a law enforcement agent.

In addition to the direct violence in the region, structural violence took its toll on the people of the Niger Delta, as the region is largely plagued by poor economic conditions, absence of safe drinking water, poor electricity supply, poor roads, social instability, and decaying social values which worsened the spread of HIV/AIDS, which according to the report (Niger Delta Human Development, 2006:4) led to a “loss in human capital, productivity decline and increased dependency rates further compounded by lack of basic health care services, prevention, care, support and treatment programme”. While life expectancy has dropped in the region, even in the age of blockbuster oil prices, energy availability is poor in the region that provides the United States one-fifth of her energy needs. Despite producing over two millions barrels of

crude oil per day, the Niger Delta, ironically needs to import fuel. The report (Niger Delta Human Development, 2006:9) further revealed that the Niger Delta region whose wealth funds gigantic infrastructural developmental project in other parts of the country including funding peacekeeping operations in other parts of Africa, almost totally lacks good roads and transport infrastructure. .

The said report further revealed that, while the region is characterised by poor local governance, environmental degradation, social instability, competition for economic resources “administrative neglect, crumbling social infrastructure and services, high unemployment rate, social deprivation, abject poverty, filth and squalor, and endemic conflict”, the region’s human development index which scores a decent standard of living, longevity of life and knowledge, is as low as 0.564 (with 1 being the highest score). Furthermore, the report (Niger Delta Human Development Report, 2006:2) showed that, though slightly higher than Nigeria’s overall rating that stood at 0.453, it was however lower than other countries and regions with similar oil and gas resources. For instance, in 2000, Saudi stood at 0.8000, while in 2003, United Emirates, Kuwait, Libya, Venezuela, and Indonesia scores stood at 0.849, 0.844, 0.799, 0.772 and 0.697 respectively.

The Tiv/Fulani conflict afore-mentioned has led to scores of deaths, and villages ravaged with inferno’s following the clash between the Fulani and the Tiv people. The March 11 clash between the Fulani herdsmen and Tiv Farmers in Nasarawa state which occurred in Kadarko, a community in Giza local council left 11 people dead, while about 5,000 residents of the community fled for a safer haven to neighbouring towns in Benue state. Young men of Fulani stock came out of the bush opposite a market and opened fire on the traders, killing 11 people including four Tiv and Ogoja women. It could be recalled that the Tiv-Fulani recent crisis commenced in April 2011, and assumed an alarming and worrisome state over the weekend of 11 March 2012. Over 100 persons have lost their lives since the eruption of the crisis in April

2011. The 19th of March, 2012 clash between the Tiv and the Fulani again claimed another 15 lives as well as properties worth millions of Naira which were vandalized in the targeted villages of Dermavaa, Dooshima, Ayu, Agboaye and new Gboko, after been set ablaze by warring factions, who arrived at the villages dressed in military and mobile police uniform. While the Tiv people were still trying to regain their stands following the 19th March 2012 attack, the Fulani herdsmen again unleashed mayhem on the Tiv village (see section 2.2) by setting the settlement ablaze on the 22nd March 2012. However, there were no human casualties as the inhabitants of the Yongogba village had shortly before the attack fled the village for fear of their lives.

Indigene-settler conflict has become a common denominator in the conflicts involving Tiv and Jukun, Aguleri and Umuleri, Ife and Modakeke, among others. Words such as 'settler, non-native, host community, foreigner, native foreigner, stranger element, squatter, non-squatter, immigrant, migrant, indigene, non-indigene, are readily used to discriminate Nigerians from other Nigerians, and this no doubt fanned the embers of structural violence including the creation of a sense of alienation and increasing tensions in communities resulting in violent conflicts that have, in many conflict situations including Tiv-Jukun, cost massive loss of lives and properties in addition to humanitarian problems that accompany displacement. Like other conflicts, the 1993 one was noted for its widespread devastation. Villages were burnt and corpses lay in various stages of decomposition. Hate and bitterness also resulted with both sides of the divide seeing themselves as enemies. A situation or practice where an individual is required to present a 'citizenship certificate' from the so called local government of origin before he or she is considered for benefits such as employment, scholarships, admission, etc. is also a type of structural violence that is disgusting and readily breeds direct violence. For example, one whose fore-father migrated to a place centuries ago, and is now unable to produce such a document because he or she is regarded as a settler, and as such is denied social benefits on those grounds, is bound to develop antipathy against those or institutions behind such prejudice.

Like other indigene-settler conflicts, the devastating effect of Ife-Modakeke conflicts was quite alarming. Ife and Modakeke are neighbouring communities in Osun State, Nigeria, which have engaged in protracted communal violence and intra-ethnic conflicts. The conflict could be described as indigene-settler conflict. The Ife Modakeke conflict is one of the oldest ethnic conflicts in Nigeria. It started in the 19th century, and continued through 20th century to the 21st century. There have been seven major violent conflicts since it first occurred in the 19th century with the first one occurring in 1835 to 1849, others were 1882 – 1909, 1946 – 1949, 1981, 1983, 1997, 1998 and 2000. This conflict could be described as landlord - tenant or indigene- settler kind of conflict, as it is generally believed, going by history, the Modakekes migrated from Ibadan to Ife. Agbe (2001:15), posited that there are several judicial evidences showcasing that the people of Modakeke migrated at one point in time or the other to Ile-Ife from different locations especially Ibadan. Since then, the two ethnic groups have been living together as neighbours. It is commonly held that the historical events involving the collapse of the old Oyo Empire and the subsequent war that occurred till 1893 brought about an exodus of Oyo refugees to various parts of the Yorubaland, including the land of Ife.

Since its first occurrence in the 19th century, the age-old hostilities between the Ife people and the Modakeke people has claimed several lives and the destruction of properties worth millions of Naira. The development even led to the Ife poisoning their King, Ooni Abeweila in 1849 and denied him a royal burial following accusations by his subjects that he was cooperating with the Modakeke people during his reign as Ooni of Ife. The crisis has festered for such a long time and culminated into the year 2000 with violent outbreaks which led to over 2000 deaths and several others injured. Several hundreds of people were shot, slaughtered or lynched, and many houses including property worth several millions of naira was ravaged (Asiyanbola 2010:63). Thousands of people were also displaced by the mayhem which has now left animosity among the warring communities.

To a larger extent, violence in Warri led to the destruction of lives and properties including increased security threats in the town of Warri. In the pre-colonial days, the acrimony

generated as a result of the conflict between the Urhobo and the Itsekiri persisted even into the post-colonial era. The Urhobos claimed that they were largely oppressed and suffocated by the Itsekiri laws following the creation of the court system by the Europeans in the Urhobo area and having the Itsekiri's manage the court system. The renewed violence in 2003 is, among others, one that cannot be easily forgotten by the Warri communities, considering the bloodshed that characterised the dreadful developments. The 2006 Human Rights Watch Report on inter-communal violence in Warri attempted to picture the violence as:

Since 1997 Warri's 'ownership' controversy has given rise to a series of intercommunal clashes that have claimed hundreds of lives. In 1997 hundreds of people were killed in clashes sparked by the creation of a new LGA, Warri Southwest; the location of its headquarters, and the swearing-in of local officials to that LGA administration, helped spark renewed fighting in 1999. In the last large-scale outbreak of violence, in 2003, several hundred people were killed over the course of several months in clashes triggered initially by a dispute over the delineation of electoral wards in Warri. At the time of Human Rights Watch's last visit to Warri in December 2005, a fragile peace was in place, but many community and youth leaders on all sides felt that it could not be expected to hold unless the issue of ownership was resolved to their group's satisfaction.

(Human Rights Watch Report: 55-56).

As of today, violence in Warri appears to have considerably abated, following various interventions occasioned by non-government actors, time has however not come for the inhabitants of the town to go to sleep with their eyes fully closed. School-based violence is also on the rise in many schools, and the development has provided context for the recruitment of younger youths into militant grouping's by some militant groups in the country. Intimidation, bullying, gangsterism and theft of property and vandalism largely threaten the corporate learning environment provided by the school system.

2.4 Causes

The causes of violence in Nigeria, are in many cases intertwined in a web-like manner that appear to have knitted ethnic, religious, resource-based, politics and indigene-settler conflicts together in a multi-linguistic, multi-ethnic and multi-religious Nigerian society. While the six geopolitical regions of Nigeria have experienced one protracted conflict or the other, the North-Eastern region and the Niger Delta region appeared to have been most hit with intense protracted violence.

The importance of the Niger Delta region to the Nigerian economy and the pockets of the oil companies operating in the region, and by extension Africa and the global oil market cannot be gainsaid. It is an economic and political phenomenon. At least 97 per cent of Nigeria's foreign exchange is from crude oil exploration in the Niger Delta, and about two million barrels of oil are produced from the region on daily basis. Yet, the Niger Delta could be described as a rich-poor region, as it remains the source of wealth to others, while the region itself, remains poor. "The multi-national oil business dealers raping Nigeria of these expensive resources are Shell, Elf, Mobil, Agip, Texaco and Chevron, including their contractor companies", (Oteh, 2012:14). It could be recalled that oil was first discovered in the Oloiboiri area of the Niger Delta in the late 1950s, however, since the first oil well was sunk in 1956 in the said area in Bayelsa state, the people claimed that poverty, misery and sorrow further characterised the area, as oil spillage which pollutes farmland, fishing streams and ponds, and the indiscriminate flaring of gas which poisons the air they breathe has been the reality factor of their daily lives.

The grievances of the Niger Delta people leading to youth restiveness, has been that the level of development of the region has fallen below that of other parts of the country. Despite the enormous wealth from the region, the level of cultural and physical degradation, the appalling procedures of oil production in the area, which has led to a shocking state of degradation, and the failure of the multi-national oil companies operating in the area to generate prosperity and

economic empowerment through the spillover effect of their operations have all been contributing factors.

In addition, to the point that successive Governments in Nigeria, have not been sincere in policy formulation, implementation of even, so called formulated policies, including the effective operations of various institutions created by it, the politics of oil derivation formula has also not helped matters. Some Analysts have accused the Obasanjo Government as the cause of the Niger Delta plight, stating that “as a Military Head of State in 1978, Obasanjo enacted the land use Decree, which transferred ownership of all lands including mineral resources found in them to the State”, (Oteh, 2012:15). Also, as regards oil derivation formula, Bolaji Akinyemi stated that, “from the 1969 Petroleum Decree which vested 100 per cent in the Federal Government, the figure has fluctuated from 30 per cent derivation in 1971, to 25 per cent in 1977, to 1.5 per cent under Shagari Government, to 3 per cent under Babangida and to 13 per cent under Obasanjo”. Furthermore, the use of violence (Joint Military Taskforce) against the direct violence of the Niger Delta youths by the Government further multiplied violence in the region.

It was indeed unfortunate for the Government to allow the multi-national oil companies in the region to operate the kind of oil producing procedures that cannot be tolerated in the United States and in Europe. It is even more pathetic and ridiculous to see the oil company build state of the art facilities in its own community and refusing to extend such largess to it's host community that lacks social amenities, even as the companies also failed to generate skilled and unskilled job opportunities, as well as expand skill acquisition programmes to the youths in the community. It was in this context, attitude and neglect giving the prevailing socio-economic conditions of the area, which triggered the principal actors - the youths, into violent conflict and lawlessness - a situation described as youth restiveness. Their grouse was mainly against the Government working in conjunction with oil companies.

However, the emergence of post-amnesty violence in the region could be traced, not just to the factors that have been implicated for brewing violent conflict in the region, but more to the activities of the remnant of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta, and the rag-tag sea pirate's. In fact, greed, physical and mental indolence, including unpreparedness to adjust to acceptable standards of social behaviour, are the drivers of the remnants of the violent hoodlum still operating under auspices of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), in addition to the ongoing trial of Henry Okah in South Africa which they claimed is the cause for their recent violent action in the Niger Delta region.

The Boko Haram sect introduced suicide bombing to Nigeria, thereby adding another dimension to the pattern of violence in the country. In 2002, Muhammed Yusuf founded the sect which appeared to have set out seeking to impose a stricter form of Islamic law in the Northern part of Nigeria including the ending of corruption. However, the sect later became fully violent after the five days of consistent clashes between it and security forces in July 2009 in the States of Borno, Yobe, Bauchi and Kano, a development that left over 80 people dead including at least 30 police officers. In the course of the said unrest, Muhammed Yusuf, the Boko Haram leader, and many of his followers, were captured and allegedly killed by the police in Maiduguri. Since then, the Boko Haram sect has relentlessly meted out hardship, killing and destruction in the Northern part of Nigeria with a resultant effect that eluded the region of peace and tranquillity, including bringing business to its knees. The Joint Report of the delegates of World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Royal Aal al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought, contained in the Guardian newspapers dated 12th of July, 2012, emphasised that "corruption, mismanagement, land disputes and lack of aid for victims or punishment for troublemakers" as factors that fuelled tensions in North Central Nigeria. While delivering a paper titled 'Nigeria: the next phase of Boko Haram terrorism, and published in Guardian newspaper dated 24th June, 2012, Professor Wole Soyinka, stated that "it is a political struggle dabbed with religion" which he asserted gives the insurgents access to funding support from international terrorist organisation's including the easy recruitment of foot soldiers for the suicide missions. President

Jonathan had also stated that the root cause of Boko Haram menace is “weak moral foundations, poverty, dirty politics, poor governance, unemployment and fanaticism”, (*Nation*, 2012:2).

In, what seemed like an early signal to the import of terrorism into the Nigerian society, Mr Mike Okiro, the erstwhile Nigeria’s Inspector General of Police (IGP) during the May 9, 2008 conference for senior Police Officers held in Obudu, Cross River state, Nigeria, told senior Police Officers that “the Al Qaeda terrorist network was planning to orchestrate a bombing campaign in Nigeria” (*Punch*, April, 19, 2012:8). It was just a matter of time, as bombs began to fly in Northern Nigeria like champagne at a party. Also, there were several other warnings about terrorist’s plans to launch attacks in various strategic locations in Nigeria by the Western embassies in Nigeria. “The warning usually predicated on February

A 2002 call by Al Qaeda founder, the late Osama Bin Laden was for Muslims in Nigeria and some other countries to overthrow their Governments” (*Punch*, 2012:8). However, less than a year after the independence day bombing in October 2010 for which the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta claimed responsibility, the Boko Haram sect commenced their bombing campaigns, hitting strategic places including the Nigerian Police headquarters and the United Nations office in Abuja, Nigeria in June and August 2011. Since then, there have been a series of attacks leaving Nigerian’s sleeping with one eye opened, while the Western embassies have continued to issue warnings.

While colonialism, political instability, corruption, greed and grievances, inequality, bad governance, and poor violence prevention approaches have been fingered as factors that are traceable to the prevailing culture of violence in the country, another twist that has been added to the argument is the ‘individual survival’ hypothesis resulting from lack of social cohesion which largely breeds lack of patriotism upon which other social misconducts build

The genesis of religious violence in Nigeria could be traced to the decision of the Babangida led military regime to secretly upgrade the membership of Nigeria in the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) from observer status to a substantive one. The move was viewed by *the* Christians as a calculated ploy to Islamise Nigeria to turn the country into an Islamic state, contrary to the nation's constitution. The pockets of violence, which followed the aforesaid development, continued even after the said regime under different brands such as the incessant violence between Christian and Muslims appeared, to have gradually settled into an undesirable pattern.

In addition to the electoral processes which contribute to the transformation of latent social conflicts into violent ones, structural conflicts and existing violence can affect electoral processes (see table 2.1). Factors responsible for election-related violence can be grouped into structural and process factors. Structural factors of electoral violence (Alihodzic, 2011:29) are often more static, resistant to change and exist outside electoral processes. For instance, changes in socio-economic conditions like unemployment or changes in socio-political exclusion such as policies or practices that transform ethno-religious conflicts may stretch over and across several electoral cycles. On the other-hand, process factors are more dynamic and specific to electoral process and context. Some process factors may only be relevant during one phase of the electoral cycle, while the effect created by others, may last for more than one phase. For instance, if the process of voter registration is poorly conducted, it may bring about tension during the period of voter registration and the election itself, as a significant number of the electorate may be disenfranchised during voting as a result of incorrect voter registers.

Table 2.1: Process and Structural Risk Factors

Structural factors (exogenous to electoral processes)	Process factors clusters (endogenous to electoral processes)
Socio-political exclusion	Dismal electoral planning & management
Socio-economic conditions	Contested electoral legal framework
Changing power dynamics	Poor training & education
Presence of non-state armed actors	Troubled voters & party registration
Gender-based violence & discrimination	Inadequate electoral dispute resolution
Presence of organised crime	Heated electoral campaign
Violation of human rights, media conduct, environmental hazards	Contested election results
Grievances associated with genocide, crimes against humanity	Problematic voting operations

& war crimes	
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Source: Alihodzic (2011:29)

Central among the causes of violence against women, is the perception that the female gender is biologically and physiologically weaker than the male (Uwameiye & Iserameiya, 2013:220). The societal perception of women as inferior to men in many communities is often exploited upon by men to justify their violent actions against women. The relegation of women to second class status dates back to early history, which showed that the human society has been a male dominated one. In Nigeria for instance, the birth of a male child is met with jubilation in the family as opposed to that of the birth of a female child. According to Uwameiye & Iserameiya (2013:221), the violence of discrimination against the girl child as she passes via the stages of development, often left her bewildered. Furthermore, the traditional African patriarchal context that defines power structure support's the surrendering of a woman's sexual rights and obedience to her husband upon marriage, this according to Arisi (2011:373) invariably leaves her husband the liberty to violate and batter her in the event of his belief that the woman did not adequately fulfil her obligations. Also, irrespective of signs of physical abuse, the woman is often first accused by the female relative of the husband, while the man is often seen as right where the socio-cultural context of domestic violence is dependent on the gender-power relationship. The cultural belief of unequal power between male and female leading to male domination and discrimination against women has not only led to the prevention of some women from full advancement but also one of the causes of violence against women in Nigeria (Uwameiye & Iserameiya, 2013:221).

Another cause of gender based violence is financial insecurity on the part of the man. Many men get physical with their wives if they are not able to establish authority economically in their homes. The man is perceived as having failed in his responsibility in the situation of his inability to meet the family needs financially, and in attempt to evade that perception that

appears to present them as failures in their homes, some men turn violent, especially in cases where total dependency on a man by members of his family leads to frustration.

Poverty, and its associated stressors, are some of the salient causes of violence against women in Nigeria, as economic challenges following unemployment or under-employment by men often breeds frustration, hopelessness and anger, which through transfer of aggression, subject the women to attack by their husband. In the same vein, “poor women who experience violence may have fewer resources to escape violence in the home” (Birdsall, et al. 2004:16). In certain parts of Nigeria, hawking items by young girls, who are supposed to be in school is an everyday experience. It is a common opinion among concerned families, that the returns of the girl child to the family from hawking wares is high, thus, the family view it economically wiser to disallow such a child from schooling and engage her with activities such as hawking, working as house help to richer families among others for financial returns to the girl’s family. The girl therefore suffers denial of access to education which tells on her quality of life. Connected to the aforesaid, is the low strata women appear to occupy economically in many communities. In the opinion of Ndungu (2004:11) “the reproductive and productive roles of women often place them at the bottom of the ladder”. This position often leaves them with low paying job, which makes it challenging for them to meet the demands of running the family, in addition to robbing them of power to take part in decision making within the socio-economic, political and cultural sphere of life in their society. This experience leaves the women over-burdened with family and domestic responsibilities amidst low resources and little political space to improve upon her standard of living, (Uwameiye & Iserameiya, 2013:22).

Cultural factors, such as harmful marriage practices, especially in the Northern part of the country, where young girls are given out in marriage to men, often serve as obstacle for the young girl to improve upon themselves as they are confronted with the challenges of childbearing early in life. Societal orientation, cultural and religious practices, as well as customs

on widows, are other factors that fuel violence against women, while in some other cases, some men may choose to prove their masculinity and superiority by physically and psychologically abusing their wives through beating. The quest to circumcise the female gender as seen in some communities does also cause violence against women, defined in the context of female genital mutilation.

Also, a large number of female children in Nigeria still suffer from poor access to education, and this account's for the prevalent few skills and fewer job opportunities among women in Nigeria, thus amounting to a growing spate of structural violence against Nigerian women. Poor governance and a dismal approach to managing the educational system, which among others, is occasioned by corruption and poor implementation drive of Government policies on education.

Poor public attention and under-reporting of cases of violence against women can also be linked to the unending menace of violence against the female gender. Irrespective of the fact that gender based violence occurs on a daily basis, both in public and private, yet it appears invisible, unrecognised and at best trivialised (Odimengwu, *Ibid*; Ondicho, 2000: 35-44), and as submitted by Arisi (2011:37) "violence against women, for years in Nigeria, has received very little or no attention, with silence engulfing it being used as a weapon in further perpetrating the act". According to Salawu (2010:348), the main causes of ethno-religious violence in Nigeria are connected with "accusations and allegations of neglect, oppression, domination, exploitation, victimization, discrimination, marginalization, nepotism and bigotry". According to him, there has not been a case of total agreement of how the nation's wealth, power and status are to be shared among the individual and group components of the State, neither was there agreement on how to conduct vital changes and reforms. Furthermore, the breakdown of instruments of social control, which is a key feature of the traditional African society, also contributes in no small measure to the causes of violence in the country, in addition to the long

military involvement in the country's politics, as well as the "politico-religious developments at the international scene" (Salawu, 2010:349).

Inter and intra ethnic communal clashes, revolving around chieftaincy tussles and land ownership cum boundary matters, often define the nature of violence in the South-Eastern part of Nigeria. Political differences are regarded as one of the drivers of violence in Nigeria. It is important to state here that the pre-colonial Igbo society had no monarchical form of Government except in Nri, Arochukwu, Onitsha and Oguta towns (Ezeani, 2000:116), but ruled themselves via elders who were responsible for the interpretation of the customary laws, which a group of the male population divided into age grade, has as their responsibility to implement, (Ezeani, 2000:116), however the imposition of warrant chiefs during the British colonial era by the colonial on the hitherto republican Igbo society, could be traced as the genesis of chieftaincy related conflict in the South East.

The immediate cause of the 2002 to 2003 violence in Jos, was the accusation of the Muslim Hausa Nomads (settlers) of stealing land and attempting to usurp political power by the Christian Tarok farmers who are considered as indigenes. Earlier in 2001, a violent conflict, considered as the worst alongside the 1994 mayhem, led to mass destruction of life and property. The attempted implementation of the criminal aspects of the Muslim shari'a legal code, further contributed in sparking off and fanning religious violence in the country. The Northern political and religious leaders had established the Supreme Council for Sharia in Nigeria (SCSN) following the adoption of shari'a criminal code by Zamfara State in October 1999. The council was mandated to promote the adoption of Sharia in other Nigerian states. This development was met with sharp reaction by Christian's in the Northern part of the country, fearing that it was designed to lay background for an Islamic theocratic state. Doctrinal differences are often the basis of intra-religious conflict. Kano and Kaduna served as hot spots for various conflicts in the region.

The Kaduna violence of 1999 was premised on the Sharia question, which developed into a major political confrontation on the 27th October 1999 when Governor Ahmed Sani Yerima of Bakura of Zamfara State inaugurated the adoption of the Sharia legal system which took effect from 27th January 2001. The Zamfara law extended the application of Sharia from personal law to criminal law. Following the Zamfara example, some other states in the North, such as Kano, Sokoto, Niger, Yobe, Kebbi and Borno announced their intentions to adopt similar measures. The attempt by the Kaduna State House of Assembly, to pass a Sharia bill led to a series of demonstrations, first by Muslim supporters and then by Christian opponents.. The anti-sharia demonstrated by Christian's on 21st February 2000, led to major hostility between the two groups resulting in massive killing of people on both sides, the destruction of religious buildings, general arson and the destruction of property.

The turmoil of inter-ethnic violence and the mindless bloodbath between the Bassa and Egbura in Nassarawa state was centred on the ownership of land from which other causes flowed out. The Bassa claimed to be indigenous to the area and therefore the owners of the land. They felt they were being cheated of their birthright by the Egbura chiefdoms while Bassa and other communities were given none.

The immediate and main source of conflict between Aguleri and Umuleri communities in Anambra state was the struggle for ownership and control of Otuocha land. As posited by Tijani (2006:136), following its 'attachment to history, social existence and ethno-geographical identity of each community', land is believed to have social-psychological significance. It was the struggle for the land located between Aguleri and Umuleri that had turned supposedly good neighbours to enemies for years in the South-Eastern geo-political region of Nigeria. While the main trigger or causal factor of the conflict between the aforesaid communities in Anambra state, was the ownership and control of Otuocha land, the embers of conflict were however further fanned by elites struggle for power and economic resources, the activities of town

unions in both communities, and the absence or low political will on the part of the Government to resolve the conflict amicably.

The recurring factors responsible for Urhobo-Itsekiri conflicts included ownership of Warri (and now Sapele), the Olu of Warri's title, psychosocial factors, and Government negligence. On the issue of ownership of Warri, there have been conflicting claims among the Urhobos, Itsekiri and the Ijaws on the ownership of Warri and recently Sapele.

In a section titled "Delta State: The Ownership Controversy in Warri" a *Human Rights Watch* report stated:

In and around Warri, the Niger Delta's broader problems have become inextricably bound up with a long-running controversy over who the "true indigenes" of the city are. Warri is home to three different ethnic groups that each claim to be the town's true 'owners'—the Ijaw, the Itsekiri and the Urhobo, and each has compiled elaborately detailed treatises detailing their historical and demographic claims upon the place. Each group has made some attempt to claim that they were the first to settle the area, and each group has made claims about their demographic strength that are rejected by their neighbors.

(Human Rights Watch, 2006:55)

The Tiv-Jukun conflict (Benue state), is one of the several protracted inter-ethnic feud's (IRIN, 2001:2) that threatened the corporate existence of the Nigerian state. The conflict occurred in 1959, 1980, 1990 and 2001, with resultant destruction of lives and properties. According to Egwu (2004:56), Tiv and Jukun conflict was centred around the land factor, as were the several other cases connected to indigene-settler conflicts such as that of Ife-Modakeke, Aguleri-Umuleri, Zango-Kataf and Mango-Bokkos (Plateau state).

Hence, the three main factors upon which Tiv-Jukun conflict can be explained are land issue, political factor and indigene-settler question. The land issue was succinctly captured by Obioha (2005:12) as follows;

The case of Tiv-Jukun crises is deep rooted in the issue of traditional homelands, which is deep in Nigerian culture and it is a typical case of [conflict] between two sedentary cultivator groups from different ethnic groups. There was once a Jukun kingdom over much of the area of the conflict, and there is much sentiment among the Jukun that this is their land. The Tiv diet staple is the yam, a nutritious root. The yam removes almost all nutrition from the soil, and yam fields must lie fallow for several years before reusing them. So each year, Tiv farmers must move to new plots of land, and after generations they began to feel this was their right. Jukun felt the Tiv were no longer respecting the rights of the traditional people of the area, but they were taking new land without permission.

As posited by Suberu and Osaghae (2005:15), “some of the conflicts that have ensued in the country have remote origins in the patterns of pre-colonial migration, conquest, and control. There is also the issue of lack of good governance, poverty and unemployment as underlying causes of violence in the region and Nigeria as a whole. While poverty is biting harder on the populace, inequality is further fomenting the embers of grievance’s in an alarming manner. In fact, At the World Bank’s Country Programme Portfolio Review in Enugu on November 13, 2013, The World Bank Country Director for Nigeria, Marie-Francoise Marie-Nelly, said that the number of Nigerian’s living in destitution makes up 8.33 per cent of the total number of people living in destitution all over the world. She stated that, “1.2 billion people live in destitution out of which 100 million are Nigerians. Inequality is rising in many developing nations including Nigeria. In Nigeria, 63 per cent of the population live on less than \$1.25 a day.” In sum, conflicts in the North-West zone and many parts of Nigeria could be seen to have been influenced by factors rooted in the socio-economic and political structure of the society. What happened at the international, national and local levels were far reaching in shaping the nature and dynamics or trends of conflicts in the North-West zone and Nigeria in its entirety.

In schools, violence is fanned, among other factors, by a culture of violence society and the indiscriminate exposure of young students to the internet, where they are exposed to the effects of cyber-crime. Illicit use of drugs amongst some students is also responsible for the rise in violence among youths.

The Gur theoretical approach, which combines the relative deprivation approach contained in his classic book *Why men rebel* with the group mobilization approach, further explains the causes of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria. According to the model, firstly he “opined that discrimination against an ethnic or religious minority causes the minority to form grievances. Secondly, these grievances contribute to the mobilization of the ethnic or religious minority for political action. Thirdly, the more mobilized a minority, the more likely it is to engage in political action including protest and rebellion” (Salawu 2010:350).

Finally, while various factors have been identified as causes of conflict in Nigeria, the disconnection between the State and the citizenry no doubt further laid the background for other factors to blossom in relation to triggering violent conflict in the country. This formed the basis for the ‘individual survival hypothesis’ aforementioned. The resort to drugs such as heroin, cocaine, etc. by some youths, is regarded as one of the causes of violence in the country. Other reasons argued as causes of violent conflicts included ignorance, religious intolerance, unemployment, and ethnic rivalry including agitation for resource control. This is connected to Kayode Fayemi’s (former Governor of Ekiti state) assertion, that human insecurity and injustice is the bane of violence in Nigeria, and that “the existing configuration of Nigeria’s fiscal federalism is one of the most violence-inducing sources of injustice”, (Nation, 2012:52). Furthermore, in the absence of justice, equity and fairness in all dealings and a luke-warm commitment to fighting poverty, serious security challenges arise, and discontentment festers in the polity. This is further corroborated by a number of studies which have showed that a number of factors are responsible for violent conflicts in Nigeria. These include inequality, poverty, unemployment, religious intolerance, ethnic rivalry, growing acculturation, resource agitations and ignorance being among some of the key contributing factors responsible for violence in Nigeria.

Another critical factor is the breakdown of cultural values. Unfortunately, evasion of these, due to increasing acculturation and negative external influences, has also contributed largely to the spate of violent crises and general insecurity in the country. The most critical of these factors, however, include inequality and ignorance, which leads to suspicion and mistrust.

External influences by militant groups in the country, peer influence and the general level of human insecurity in the country, amongst other factors, contribute to the causes of school-based violence in Nigeria. The various types of violence, including structural or systemic violence, has no doubt heightened insecurity in the country, hence the need to take urgent steps to address conflicts and violence in the country from their root causes in order to promote security in the country. According to Oxford Research Group (2014:1), “the central premise of a sustainable security approach is that we cannot successfully control all the consequences of insecurity, but must work to resolve the causes”.

2.5 Trends

Nigeria’s history has been one largely punctuated with pockets of violence since pre-independence era, especially since the commencement of party politics dating back to the 1920s in the South and the 1940s in the North. Conflicts in Nigeria however aggravated following independence in 1960. The conflict scenes, at that time, were however dominated or characterised with the use of crude weapons such as arrows, bows and machetes, (Best and Kemedi, 2005:15). These conflicts, which soon intensified thereafter, degenerated into the civil war of 1967 to 1970. The civil war, which was between the Federal Government of Nigeria and the Biafran secessionists of the South-Eastern part of the country, erupted and quickly

degenerated into full scale violence or armed conflicts, leading to death of many people and destruction of properties. Since the civil war which terminated in 1970, Nigeria has been bedevilled by civil strife, tensions, communal and religious conflicts.

The 1980s were characterised with religious riots or clashes between Christians and Muslims, particularly in the Northern part of the country. The 1990s were dotted with violent conflicts, such as the June 1993 election cancellation by the former Nigerian military President General Ibrahim Babangida (rtd), and violence associated with the rule of Nigeria's erstwhile head of State, General Sani Abacha (rtd) from 1993 to 1998. This contributed to sporadic violence in various parts of Nigeria, (Best and Kemedi, 2005:13). Some of the intense violence in the North-Central (Middle Belt), North-Eastern and North-Western part of the country includes conflicts involving the Sayawa-Hausa and the Fulani in Tafwa Balewa local Government area, Tiv and Jukun communities in Taraba state, Chamba and Jukun-Kuteb in Taraba state, Bassa and Egbura in Nasarawa state, Zango-Kataf in Kaduna, and in recent times Boko Haram violence especially in North-Eastern Nigeria. In the South-West, there was, among others, Ife-Modakeke conflicts in the Osun state, while in the South-South region there were conflicts between Ijaws, Itsekiris, and Urhobos in Warri, as well as the resource based conflicts in the Niger Delta.

In recent years, the trend of violence, communal, religious and resource-based violent conflicts among others, is such that these conflicts spanned through the length and breadth of Nigeria with hundreds of people left dead, thousands displaced and properties destroyed. From Warri in the South-South to Kafanchan in the North-Central, and from Aguleri-Umuleri in the South-East to Ife-Modakeke in the South-West, neighbouring communities have pounced with destructive fury on each other. Also, from resource-based conflict in the Niger Delta of the South-South region, to religious-based conflicts in the North, including terrorism in the North-East by the Boko Haram insurgents, Nigeria has indeed been compelled to hang on the verge of a precipice.

While indigenes-settlers conflicts cut across all the geo-political zones of the country, the upsurge in militia groupings in the country is alarming. The rise of militia groups such as the O’odua peoples’ Congress in the South-West, the Bakassi Boys in the South-East and the Egbesu Boys in the Niger Delta have contributed to the proliferation of arms and ammunition in the country. The O’odua Peoples’ Congress attacked and razed down police stations, killed police officer’s and carted away stolen arms between 1997 and 2001, (Best and Kemedi, 2005:18) Similarly, the Egbesu Boys took up arms in a violent struggle against perceived social injustice in the Niger Delta, and the Bakassi Boys which, initially emerged as vigilante groups, soon became “a potent force in the cities where they operated (HRW and CLEEN, 2002:10), but later drifted away into “extra-judicial means such as murder, ‘necklacing’, and torture, which quickly drove the vigilantes underground (HRW and CLEEN, 2002:10). While belligerents were often divided along ethnic lines, most intense conflicts have often been between and among people of the same ethnic group, such as in the case of Ife and Modakeke in the Yoruba ethnic group and the Aguleri and Umuleri in the Igbo ethnic communities.

The pattern of violent conflicts in Nigeria reveals two characteristics: firstly, the conflicts are often multi-dimensional and geographically discrete, as well as, involving a diverse range of actors who are pursuing distinct goals. While Boko Haram appears to have ranked highest in the profile of violence in Nigeria, Niger Delta violence, including a wide range of less rooted and dynamic militia units that spread across the nooks and crannies of Nigeria, no doubt, contribute enormously to the feeling of vulnerability amongst civilians as well as the experience of violence in Nigeria. Secondly, the characteristics highlighted by this trend are, that violence in the Northern part of Nigeria, has over time been, ongoing, persistent and gradually built up to a peak with the emergence of Boko Haram which introduced the suicide bombing pattern of violence to the country, thus taking violence to its elevated level, (ACLED, 2013).

Amid the increasing trend of violent conflicts in the country, some analysts identified signs of a sinister anarchy sown by the failure of successive government, the high level of corruption and urban-centred regimes, which over the years lost control over rural areas, (Best and Kemedi, 2005:1) as some of the reasons for the rise of violent conflicts. From the violence in the Niger Delta by restive youths, to the violence in North-East occasioned by Boko Haram insurgents, Nigeria's experience has been that of a gory tale. Adamawa, Yobe and Borno States have been regarded as the hot bed of the Boko Haram sect violence activities with increasing attacks, resulting in the declaration of State of Emergency in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states in May 2013 by the Federal Government of Nigeria.

Although violence in the Niger Delta has not been completely brought to a halt, there is however, a significant reduction in the magnitude of the violent menace in the region, following the success of Government amnesty programmes. The emergence of the Boko Haram bombing campaigns in the North-Eastern part of the country since 2011, has not only resulted in a geographical shift, in the worst case scenario, violence from the South-South geo-political region of the country, to the North-East geo-political region, but also imported a new genre of violence (known as suicide bombing violence) hitherto alien to the country. Furthermore, since the emergence of the Boko Haram sect, "the group's conflict profile is almost exactly evenly split between events involving other armed actors, and violence targeting civilians", (Best and Kemedi, 2005:1) The highest proportional level of civilian targeting in terms of associated fatality levels and overall events was in the year 2010. Also "in 2013, 60% of Boko Haram activity and over 74% of associated fatalities have involved other armed actors, while 40% has involved unarmed civilians", (Best and Kemedi, 2005:1). And "in spite of this intensification, the overall levels of violent events and of fatalities, actually fell in Nigeria over the course of the month from April and 2013's peak in March", (Best and Kemedi, 2005:1). Early 2014, however, experienced a rise in Boko Haram attacks largely through gunshots and bombing of targeted places. However, from mid-2014, there appeared to be a shift from bombing to the seizing of

towns and territories in the North-East by the sect, as the Nigerian military kept battling to reclaim such towns and territories.

Gender-based violence often occurs on a daily basis in one place or the other in various parts of the country. From North to South, East to West, domestic related violence as well as electoral or political related violence, including structural violence dot the landscape of Nigeria. However, while electoral or political related violence often manifest and intensify during electioneering periods, domestic violence on the other hand is not period defined, as it cuts across all ethnic groups in the country and occurs across time and space. Systemic or structural violence, occasioned by infrastructural decay, following years of failure in governance also appears to spread across the length and breadth of the country.

Like gender-based violence, school-based violence appears to be generally distributed across the six geo-political zones in the country, but the recent attacks on schools in the North-East geo-political zones by the Boko Haram sect, introduced another pattern of violence orchestrated by external influence.

2.6 Consequences

There is a link between women's higher predisposition to HIV and violence against women. In Nigeria, as established by a Sero survey conducted in 2003 by the Ministry of Health, 57 per cent of the 33 persons who tested positive to HIV were women. For fear of violence, women are often unable to negotiate safer sexual practices with their partners, and this increases women's vulnerability to HIV if their partners are not faithful. Sexual violence against women and girls, otherwise described as 'sextortion', often traumatises its victims and exposes them to various health hazards such as unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions and the infection of sexually transmitted diseases such as the deadly HIV/AIDS virus. Also, civil disturbances such as

ethnic and communal clashes greatly affect women. The confusion that results during and immediately after periods of violent conflicts disrupts sources of livelihood and the socio-economic activities of women. Their spouse's, son's and brother's, who usually constitute the combative arm of the population in times of violent conflict, are often injured or killed, while some of the women even ended up losing their lives exposed to all sorts of abuse including rape, (Fagbemi and Nwankwo, 2002; UNESCO, 2003).

Gender based violence has also seriously affected girl child education in Nigeria. For instance, violence such as using girls as house helps, forced marriage and child labour (Okeke, Nzewi and Njoku, 2008) have deprived a number of girls from enjoying their fundamental human right's relating to access to education. Besides, access to education, there are also issues such as poor enrolment, absenteeism and poor attendance in primary schools and colleges/high schools. Aspects of culture relating to inheritance law, domestic responsibilities, forced marriage, sexual harassment and unintended pregnancy, tend to conflict with girl child enrolment and attendance in schools. As revealed by statistics, the enrolment percentage for the boy child has consistently been higher than that of the girl child in Nigeria, and only 43 per cent of the total enrolments into primary schools enter secondary schools (UNICEF, 2003). This may not be unconnected to the belief in some quarters that it is a waste of time and resources to enrol a girl child for formal education, as she would eventually end up with a man in marriage sooner or later.

Gender based violence also has a negative impact on the mental health of a girl child which consequently impacts on her low performance in school. As explained by WHO (2010), "abused girls are more likely to suffer depression, anxiety, psycho-somatic symptoms". Furthermore, it stated that violence against the girl child affects her ability to learn, including her willingness to participate in school activities. In addition, violence such as being laughed at, kicking, oppression, slapping, unfair treatment and intimidation, amongst other negative behaviour

towards the girl child at school or at home, can result in her running away from home or school, consequently exposing her to serious danger, (Uwameiye & Iserameiya, 2013:223).

Absenteeism and dropping out of school, is a common consequence of violence against the girl child. According to UNICEF (2010), six per cent of female children were absent from school due to physical violence. Further analysis showed that in Northern Nigeria in 2010, more girls (7%) than boys (2%) were absent from schools because of domestic violence. There is a link between absenteeism and dropping out of school, as regular absenteeism most often leads to dropouts in schools. Violence is one of the major reasons for the alarming rate of female dropouts in primary and secondary schools in Nigeria. Other reason for dropping out of school includes poverty and mindsets by parents that only a boy child deserves to be fully educated.

One extreme negative consequence of domestic violence is the death of the victims following excessive battering. This tragedy often results in the increase of orphans and single parent's in society. This does have a psychological and emotional impact on the children who are the products of the marriage. There is no gainsaying that children often learn from what happens around them, hence there is a likelihood that a child whose parents always fight may, from what happens around him, pick up the habit and continue the cycle of wife-beating when he is married. Domestic violence breeds ill-feeling among couples and generates negative externalities that affect the fibre of society at large. Domestic violence essentially denies women equality before the law and reinforces their subordinate social status. Men use domestic violence to diminish a woman's autonomy and sense of self-worth. States that fail to prevent and prosecute perpetrators of domestic violence treat women as second-class citizens and send a clear message that the violence against them is of no concern to the body polity (Abama, 2009:32). Gender based violence is as much a serious cause of disability and death among women of reproductive age, as cancer, and appears to be a greater cause of ill health than malaria and traffic accidents put together. In addition, the prevalence of gender based

violence has also negatively affected women participation in development projects, (Arisi, 2011:377). In fact, “violence against women is an obstacle to the achievement of the objective of equality, development and peace” (Population Reference Bureau, 2000:3).

The oil bearing communities of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria have largely been at the receiving end of the negative effect of oil exploration and violence in the Niger Delta region. These areas have over the years been subjected to harrowing experiences following the pollution of water, air, and land. Economic activities such as farming and fishing have been disturbed by oil spillage accidents that often occur in the area. In addition, forests and freshwater in the delta are contaminated by crude oil waste and dump, including regular spills, (Oteh, et al, 2012:14). Few cases include, an ancestral lake located in Eni land, in Uzere in Isoko, which hitherto, was a rich source of fish and income for the indigenes but is now lifeless as a result of oil spillage. Also, in Otugwe IK, one of the Ijaw villages situated in Bayelsa state, a 16 km underground shell pipeline burst in June 1998 with a resultant discharge of about 800,000 barrels of oil into the area, which led to the spillage poisoning the “community’s water supply and fishing ponds which steadily began to kill the raffia palms that have been the community’s economic mainstay. Furthermore, in the absence of a suitable water supply, the people drank the polluted water for over a year, and this resulted in people contracting life threatening diseases and a myriad of deaths” (Oteh, et al, 2012:14). These varieties of structural violence, have over the years, confronted several other oil bearing communities in the Niger Delta. The experience of Eyama-Elleme in Ogoni land is an age-old pathetic ordeal in the Niger Delta as the people drank from a contaminated stream. The contaminate water was due to a shell pipeline which ruptured in the village in the early 1960s. “The spill which caused a large explosion in the area has remained untreated because shell denied responsibility for it, even though, it continued to leak crude oil in the underground water sources and surrounding streams. Many privately-dug wells in the area have been abandoned after dangerous high levels of pollution and contamination were found in them, (Oteh, 2012:14). Many people lost their lives and several hundreds of others were injured in an inferno that broke out following a leakage in

NNPC pipeline in November 1998 in Jesse Community in Edo state. The victims of the fire break out were left uncompensated by Government who alleged an act of sabotage in a scenario that saw the Government threatening to incarcerate the saboteur.

The Niger Delta is largely characterised by oil spillages and gas flaring which destroys natural resources and contributes to environmental degradation in the region. The oil spillage of Shell Petroleum Development Company in Ogbodo Isiokpo community in Ikwere Local Government Area of River State, reported in June 2001, produced a strange ailment that claimed four lives among its people, as a result of environmental pollution caused by the trans-national oil companies operating in the area. In the same vein, seven people were reported injured in a gas explosion in central Savajert (*South-South Express*, July 19, 2001:8). “The human development implications extend to the harm done to the healthy growth and development chances of children who are unable to go school and the additional constraints on human and social capital”, (Niger Delta Report, 2011), as poverty overwhelms the region that provides the wealth of the Nigerian society.

The attacks on oil installation in the region often resulted in losses of monetary value running into billions of dollars. One such case was the loss of 631, 000 barrels per day from production as a result of militant’s attacks on oil installations. As contained in his statement three days after the attack, Daukoru, who was serving as Minister for Petroleum, stated that “since February 18th, 2006, we have lost somewhere around \$1billion”. Stressing that between \$750 and \$800 million has been lost by all the stakeholders, and that the loss had an effect on the budget of Nigeria for that year, which he said was \$15billion, and that with \$1billion already gone within the first quarter of the year following the attack, one could imagine what would happen to the budget. Furthermore, in a statement contained in *Punch* newspaper dated March 21st, 2006, he stated that, “the production loss, which is more than 26 per cent of the

nation's daily 2.4 million crude oil productions is estimated at an average loss of \$39.75 million per day at the rate of \$63 per barrel of oil".

The level of violence in the region in 2009 largely reduced the nation's output in oil production to about 1.7 billion barrels per day as against 2.6 billion per day in 2005, hence, bringing Nigeria second to Angola in oil production in Africa. The fast increasing environmental/ecological degradation resulting from oil spillages due to pipe line vandalisation was in its worst state. The violent activities of the Niger Delta youths led to the cutting of Nigeria's oil exports in 2006 by 25 per cent, and as stated by Nenadi Usman, Nigeria's Finance Minister during the period, the revenue loss amounted to about US\$4.4 billion, (Obi, 2009:105). Also, MEND attack on Shell, Agip and Chevron in 2007 resulted in a shut in of 27 per cent or 675,000 bpd out of estimated daily production of 2.4 million bpd, (Obi, 2009:106).

As contained in the 2007 Report of UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, at least 50 non Nigerian's were taken hostage in 2007, while about 70 persons were snatched in 2006. The victims were mostly foreigners working in the oil companies in the Niger Delta region. Victims of such experience's includes Americans, Europeans and Asian workers, and many of the victims only regained freedom following a concerted effort and pressure from Government and some members of the community. Furthermore, as contained in CSIC report, militant groups in the Delta abducted over 100 oil workers between January 2006 and March 2007 and largely used active ransom market engagement to boost their financial resources, (Obi, 2009:106) as they regularly promised the freedom of those held hostage on the condition of ransom payment. The increased cases of hostage taking therefore made the oil companies largely unwilling to dispatch personnel for the repairs of sabotaged or oil pipelines, which thus contributed to the "enduring shut-in of over 600,000 barrels per day (bpd) of oil production"(Ianncone, 2007:2) .

This unfortunate development of violence in Nigeria has been further worsened by Boko Haram's nefarious activities. The group, which early in 2012, gave an ultimatum to Christians to leave the Northern part of Nigeria has further compounded the woes of the already poor region of the country. The Islamic sect called on Northerner's in the Southern part of the country to return home and Southerner's in the North to return to the South following their threat to continue their attacks against the Christians and southerners who live in the Northern part of the country. The fear generated by the aforesaid ultimatum has resulted in the exodus of many Southerner's from the region. Among those who have started relocating away from the North, following the consistent attacks on Christians by Boko Haram sect, are the Igbo traders. The said traders, including other citizens of the Southern part of Nigeria have begun to migrate to the Southern part of the country. The exodus, which has reached its peak, was further occasioned by the continuous warning by the sect that non-Northern indigene should flee the region. According to a statement credited to one of the returnee's, Mr Okpala, a native of Umuideke village in Anaocha LGA, of Anambra state, who had spent 28 years in Maiduguri, "though they are equally killing their people, their targets are Christians, especially people of Igbo extraction and the Yoruba. They kill people every day that was why we decided to return home. Apart from killing the Igbos, they have written letters to some of us saying we should relocate to our states immediately", (The Nation, June 12, 2012:60). Reacting to this dreadful development, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) stated that the wanton killings in the North was an 'invitation to civil war', and it is unlikely that Nigeria could survive another civil war, even as the wounds and distrust that emanated from the 1967 civil war have yet to be fully transformed.

There is also the economic implication of the insecurity in the Northern region following the Boko Haram bombing. In a statement available in the Punch newspapers dated 19th June, 2012, Dr. Babangida Aliyu, the Niger State Governor stated that "the spate of explosions currently rocking the North, may be part of a well-coordinated attempt to cripple the economy of the region". The insecurity in the region has no doubt had an adverse effect on business and other

socio-economic activities in the region, bringing it down to a dismal level, even as investors appeared to have relocated away from the Northern part of the country, thereby weighing down investment in the region. Also, palpable fear now grips many inhabitants of the North following attacks and reprisal attacks which have raised fears and suspicions among the people, even as properties worth billions of naira, including precious lives, have been lost to the violent menace being orchestrated by the Boko Haram in the region. This development also led the Director-General of NYSC, Brigadier-General Nnamdi Okore-Affia to direct corps members posted to Kaduna, Plateau, Bauchi, Kano and Gombe states to be redeployed to other states. Also, following series of Boko Haram attacks, many people in the area have deserted the area and fled to neighbouring states and countries for safety. According to a report released on the 24th of January 2014 by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNCHR), at least 6,000 people have fled Adamawa, Yobe and Borno to neighbouring Cameroon and Niger Republic. The said report which was released at the UN Headquarters further stated that several people had been killed, with many villages completely razed.

Plateau State has the highest number of displaced people as a result of clashes between Christian and Muslim communities. Increase in the number of displaced persons is one of the consequences of the deeply entrenched culture of violence in the said state and Nigeria at large. For instance, the July 7-8 2012 mayhem (see section 2.3) not only led to the deaths of many people but also resulted in the displacement of a number of them. According to the head of International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) in Jos, “the violence that took place on the 7 and 8 July 2012 between the mainly livestock-herding Fulani and the Farming Berom community in Riyom and Barkin Ladi near Jos caused dozens of casualties and forced more than 5,500 people to flee their homes”, (ICRC, 2012:14).

The increasing number of people in Plateau State traumatised as a result of indiscriminate killings is alarming. The ordeal has also led to an increase in the number of orphans in the

Nigerian society while a number of others live in fear of attack and reprisal attacks. The Tiv/Fulani violent conflict has led to the breeding of distrust between the two ethnic groups. The crisis slowed down economic activities in the areas especially among the Tiv people, who since the inception of the crisis in April 2011, have continued to live in fear following a likely unpredictable attack from the Fulani. This development has negatively affected farming business among the Tiv people, while the Fulani herdsmen seem also to be negatively affected. The violent conflicts resulted in the loss of hundreds of lives and properties worth millions of naira, while criminal activity is on the increase in the area.

Among the consequences of the 1995 Aguleri and Umuleri violent conflict, was the state of insecurity in the communities and the fear it promoted within the region. Communities that

were largely affected include Aguleri, Umuleri, Umuoba-Anam and other communities within the neighbourhood of Anambra East Local Government Area. There were a number of hoodlums, robbers and street urchin in the areas occasioned by mercenaries hired during the war by the warring communities. Most of these groups of people, seemed to refuse to return to where they came from even after they had been paid off by those who hired them for the war. Rather, they stayed back and were collaborating with criminals, jobless school leavers and dropouts in Umuleri, forming gangs that engaged in theft and using arms and ammunition used during the violent conflict to terrorise and rob members of the communities. The criminal gangs grew in strength between 1996 and 1998 and engaged in several armed robbery operations in Umuleri. The gangs soon began to expand with more jobless youths joining them.

Loss of life and property largely characterised the Ife-Modakeke violent conflicts. Though at present there appears not to be any physical violence between the Ife and the Modakeke, psychological bitterness still exists. This has made it difficult for the two ethnic groups to relate freely and even inter-marry or marry one another at ease.

Political violence in Nigeria increased astronomically since independence in 1960, leading to deaths and destruction of valuable properties. Election-related violence, according to Ho"glund & Jarstad, (2010:1) "is a sub-category of political violence which deserves special attention from the policy community". Societies whose political landscapes are largely dotted with electoral violence, often suffer massive human rights violations, economic downturn and crises associated with democratic institutions and processes. Acts of electoral violence include physical and/or psychological harm, which are often directed against electoral actors, events, facilities, materials (Fischer, 2002:4; UNDP, 2010b:4) and perceived political enemies.

High school violence and violence in some other citadels of learning has, in addition to creating violent contexts in school environment's that allow space for cultism and recruitment of younger youths into militia groups, also largely negatively affect learning and academic excellence and the progress of many schools. It has created room for examination malpractices, failure and dropping out from school.

2.7 Summary and conclusion

In a nutshell, there is no doubt that the level of violence in the country is alarming, and a number of causes, including the trend of such violence as well as the consequences, have been pointed out in the foregoing chapter. There remains an urgent need to expedite efforts towards the containment of violence in the country. It is against this backdrop that the next chapter explores the various attempts made by Government and Non-Government players towards the prevention of violence and building of peace in Nigeria.

Chapter 3: Efforts to prevent violence and build peace

3.1 Introduction

In what seemed like desperate attempts to contain the increasing level of violence in Nigeria, a number of steps were taken by Government and non-Governmental players. Though, it is generally believed that Non-Governmental players stepped up to complement the Government's steps in tackling the violent menace in the country, it remains to be seen ,whether the steps taken by the Government and Non-Governmental organisations, were indeed complementary to one another. This chapter, therefore, explores the efforts by Government and Non-Governmental players, at preventing, or at the very least, minimising violence and aiming to rebuild peace in the country.

3.2 Government efforts

There have been many attempts by Government to manage conflicts in Nigeria. Of all the various attempts, including the use of the judiciary and panels of enquiries, Government has mainly deployed her energy to the use of force as seen in the frequent use of the police and the para-military security system, as well as the military, in managing violent conflicts in the country.

Since the inception of the fourth republic in Nigeria in 1999, there have been two attempts to use National Dialogue settings to address the grievances confronting the nation. During the Olusegun Obasanjo regime, a National Political Reform Conference with about 398 delegates was inaugurated on February 21, 2005 to address salient issues confronting the nation. According to Obasanjo, the conference was about designing the most appropriate and relevant institutional mechanisms for managing our diversity. The conference had selected respected individuals as members and was chaired by Justice Niki Tobi. Unfortunately, the National Political Reform Conference of the Obasanjo regime disintegrated, following the walkout staged

on June 14, 2005 by the South-South delegates and stayed away from further proceedings over the contentious derivation principle. The South-South delegates from the oil-rich zone of Nigeria had demanded an irreducible minimum of 50% derivation, but however, accepted 25% derivation in the interim.

The current President of Nigeria, Goodluck Jonathan, announced in the 2013 Independence Day nationwide broadcast to the nation the willingness of his Government to convoke a national dialogue. As a follow up to this, Jonathan appointed a 13-member Presidential Advisory Committee on National Dialogue headed by former Senator Femi Ofurounmu. The panel was tasked to advise Government on the framework of a national dialogue by consulting widely with Nigerians. The National Dialogue setting itself was however created in March 2014. The National Dialogue setting under the chairmanship of Justice Idris Kutigi was initially designed to last for three months. A total of 492 delegates were nominated to the conference. These delegates were drawn from different parts of the country and represented various groups and affiliations in the country. The decision to create the structure was borne out of the urgent need, on one hand to address the problem of violence and insecurity occasioned by the activities of the Boko Haram sect, and on the hand to address several other structural imbalances that have inflicted structural violence on Nigerian's. These national dialogues were necessitated by conflicts arising from structural imbalances and direct violence in the country. The main contentious issues in Nigeria, that have been generating grievances and conflicts, include various cases of direct violence, rotational presidency, derivation principle/resources, control/fiscal federalism, devolution of powers and quota system policy, among others.

The first main attempt towards addressing the predicament and grievances of the Niger Delta people could be traced back to the establishment of the Willink Commission of Inquiry by the Colonial Government in 1957, to investigate the fears of the minority and how to allay those fears. In 1958, the Commission reported that "the needs of those who live in the creeks and swamps of the Niger Delta are very different from those of the interior". The commission, in its conclusion, stated that "a feeling of neglect and a lack of understanding was widespread..." and

further emphasised that “the area is poor, backward and neglected”, (*Niger Delta Report* 2006:11).

Following the Willink Report, the post-independence Government created the Niger Delta Development Board (NDDDB) in 1961. The body failed to address the problem of the region, as clearly stated in Willink Report. The failure led to the establishment of the Niger Delta Basin Development Authority (NDBDA) in 1976. The body did not only fail dismally, but even got entangled in organisational problems right from its inception, as none of the appointees into the Board of the organisation was an indigene of the Niger Delta.

On coming to power in 1979, former President Shehu Shagari created eleven River Basin Development Authorities (RBDA), among which included, the Niger River Basin Development Authority, the Anambra-Imo River Basin Development Authority, and the Benin-Owena River Basin Development Authority as well as the Cross River Basin Development Authority. The River Basin Authorities also had little impact, as those appointed onto the Board of the structures by the Federal Government, where Politicians who saw their positions as a window of opportunity to share, what they called the ‘national cake’ rather than committing their time to the substance of their appointments.

In what appeared, like another façade of attempt, the Babangida led administration in July 1992, established the Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC). The body was given “the statutory responsibility to receive and administer, in accordance with the confirmed ratio of oil production in each state, the monthly allocation of the Federation Account”, (*Niger Delta Report*, 2006). This was meant to attend to the rehabilitation and development of mineral producing areas, as well as, to tackle the ecological problem following oil exploration in the area. Upon its creation, three per cent of the Federation Account was

allocated to it, but this was however, raised to six per cent in 1995, and between 1993 and 1995 about 17.42 billion naira (over US \$135 million) got into the pulse of the commission.

However, like the previous bodies, OMPADEC could not make any meaningful impact in the Niger Delta region. Its failure, according to the Chief Executive Director, was partly due to lack of data for planning purpose, lack of means to cope with swollen demands following years of physical neglect and deprivation of the region, including inadequate funding of the commission by the Government, further stating that the decree that established OMPADEC mandated it to receive three per cent of the Federation Account. Ironically, this was the three per cent it was receiving from the net revenue of the Federation Account. The commission which was characterised by profligacy and extravagancy winded up with abandoned projects as its legacy.

Following the return to democratic regime in 1999 with former President Olusegun Obasanjo at the helm of affairs, the expectation of the Niger Delta people heightened with the establishment of the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) by the Obasanjo regime, who in December 2000 inaugurated the NDDC Board. During the event, Obasanjo stated that the body has the potential to proffer a lasting solution to the socio-economic plight of the region. In her quest to attain its mandate, the board immediately went ahead to identify her area of focus to include, the development of socio-physical infrastructures, technology, human development, economic/environmental remediation and stability as well as the pursuit of a peaceful environment that would allow tourism to thrive, including the offering of support to a buoyant culture, (Niger Delta Report, 2006:12). Furthermore, unlike other previous bodies, the NDDC came up with a master plan, as the body was structured to receive her funding support from the Federal Government, the Oil Companies in the region, Ecological Fund, and member states of the Niger Delta. However, between 2001 and 2004, the federal Government accounted for 78.03 per cent of the US \$341 million disbursed to the Commission.

Alas, like the story line of the previous bodies created by the government for the region, the NDDC soon began to bemoan funding problems, and also failed to meet the expectation and make a positive impression on the Niger Delta people, even as it was widely acclaimed that the local people never had any say on the composition of the body which only owed its loyalty to the Federal Government and the Oil Companies which created the structural violence in the region in the first place. This top-bottom approach to development planning and implementation was not able to offer a lasting solution to the region's predicament.

Sequel to his election, and eventual inauguration as President and Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the late Umaru Yar'Adua enlisted the Niger Delta as one of the cardinal agenda's for his administration in 2007. In, what seemed like working towards the realisation of his Government's plan for the region, the Umaru Yar'Adua administration in September 2008, created the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs to meet the infrastructural developmental needs, as well as promote community empowerment in the Niger Delta region. It can be recalled that corruption both in Government and in the various structures created by Government was one of the salient factors that led to failure of the organisation in meeting its target objectives. The continuous presence of violence in the region, despite aforementioned Government strategies, is a confirmation of what Piiparinen (2007: 355) reported as "consistency of the root causes of violent conflict in the context of democratic regime with a clear disconnection between policies and practice".

The late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua's Government also came up with an Amnesty programme in 2009. The Government in its declaration predicated it's amnesty package for the militant Niger Delta youths on "on the willingness and readiness of the militants to give up all illegal arms in their possession, completely renounce militancy in all its ramifications unconditionally, and depose to an undertaking to this effect", (Nigerian Tribune, March, 14, 2012:18). The amnesty programme, as it were, was designed to guarantee freedom from

prosecution of the Niger Delta militants, and by October 2009, most of the key militia leaders accepted the Government Amnesty offer (USIP, Special Report, 2011:2), which had as part of its package disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) process including a monthly stipend payment.

The amnesty programme, which was largely embraced by majority of the militants, lasted for two months, from August 6 to October 4, 2009 and the Government stated that there was no extension for the Amnesty programme, and that grave consequences awaited anybody who took to violence in the Niger Delta. This development resulted in what seemed like a transient cease-fire, thereby reducing the situation of direct violence in the region, but insecurity persisted. The Yar'Adua Government, to further consolidate its commitment to the transformation of the Niger Delta, created the Ministry for Niger Delta Development. The Ministry was saddled with onus to manage the development of the Niger Delta region.

While early progress appeared to have been made to reduce direct violence following the personal involvement of the late former President Umaru Yar'Adua, progress was however stalled as a result of the illness that took him to Saudi Arabia for treatment. During the six-month political logjam occasioned by his absence, "a presidential amnesty committee was set up, but all that could be said about the committee was its establishment of procedure to pay a monthly stipend of \$430 to the 20, 192 registered erstwhile Niger Delta militants, (USIP Special Report, 2011:2).

Following the death of President Umaru Musa Yar'adua, President Jonathan stated that the Niger Delta was one of his top priorities. As a follow up to that, Timi Alaibe who was appointed by President Jonathan as coordinator of the amnesty programme initiated by late Umaru Musa Yar'adua government, organised a two-week militant 'reorientation training' camp. The training was conducted by a US organisation working in partnership with an indigenous Non-

Governmental organisation in Nigeria. In his comment, Timi Alaibe emphasised that graduates would be matched with further study and jobs, (USIP Special Report, 2011:2). In spite of what seemed like his enthusiasm, no credible work plan was immediately produced by the Government to address issues of demobilisation, complete disarmament and human insecurity, which are basic to the attainment of genuine lasting peace in the region.

The Senate, on the 30th July 2009 approved 10 billion naira for the committee implementing the Amnesty programme and each militant who surrendered, was bid to receive \$433, and by October 5, 2009, two months into the programme, an estimated 451 weapons, including AK-47s and rocket launchers were turned in, (web reference 29). However, at the expiration of the Amnesty program, no detailed information on the total number of weapons turned in, was made public by the Government. According to Timi Alaibe (former special adviser to the Government on Niger Delta Affairs) the militant groups were made to participate in the demobilization and reintegration processes through non-violence and a conflict resolution program. Some of them were also sent for training outside Nigeria. It was generally believed that not less than 10000 militants participated in the Niger Delta Amnesty Programme.

Since 2009, the “chances for converting the amnesty into something more than a short term cease-fire appeared to have been eroded “ (USIP Special Report, 2011:2), and there seems to be a re-emergence of direct violence in the region such as kidnapping of industry including MEND-JTF and the resurfacing of gun battles. There has also been an increase in cases of sea piracy since 2010, followed by a series of armed raids on an offshore oil platform in November 2010 (USIP Special Report, 2011:2). This indicates that the Government is yet to succeed in her attempts to address the Niger Delta plight as all her programmes so far appeared to have been directed away from tackling the root causes of the delta grievances.

Another attempt at confronting structural violence in the Niger Delta was seen in the dynamics and politics of revenue allocation. It could be recalled, that the issue of cross-subsidization i.e. the richer South would subsidize developmental endeavour in the poorer North, was at the root of the 1914 amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorate by Lord Lugard. However, the 1946 creation of the Philipson Fiscal Commission by the colonial administration could be regarded as the first efforts to define the basis and levels of sharing revenue in Nigeria by the component units or region in the country. The Commission proposed that the derivation principle should be adopted as basis for fiscal federalism. By this, sharing was to be based on the proportion each region contributed to the central Government. Hence, in the 1948 - 1949 and 1951-1952 fiscal years, derivation was the only criterion for revenue allocation, and such derivation principle was maintained at 50 per cent between 1946 and 1960. In the arrangement, 50 per cent of minerals proceeds including oil was allocated to the source region, while 30 per cent went into a distribution pool for all regions to share, and 20 per cent went to the Federal Government, (Niger Delta Human Development Report 2006:14).

The Petroleum Decree No. 51 of 1969, promulgated by former Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, transferred the ownership and control of all petroleum resources in any land in Nigeria to the Federal Government, thereby denying individual, commodities, local and even State Government of ownership and control of any land containing minerals. Also, between 1969 and 1971, the Gowon Administration reduced from 50 to 45 per cent derivation for an oil producing state, and thus increased the Federal allocation by the 5 per cent, as the country was under the siege of civil war at that time.

The Obasanjo Military Government of 1976 to 1979 made the distinction between onshore and offshore proceeds, beefing up the Federal Government onshore proceeds share to 80 per cent, leaving only 20 per cent of the onshore proceed share to oil producing state, while all offshore proceeds went into distributional pool. The Government was also responsible for awarding a

paltry one per cent to the oil producing state, which Alhaji Shehu Shagari Government, that succeeded Obasanjo Military Government, raised to 1.5 per cent, while Babangida Military Government increased it to three per cent in 1987, and this continued into Abacha Military Government that later set up the Constitutional Conference to resolve the country's political imbroglio at that time. The Constitutional conference recommended 13 per cent, which, though accepted by Abacha, was not readily implemented till his death that threw General Abdulsalam into power.

On returning to power as democratically elected President, Olusegun Obasanjo set up the National Political Reform Conference in 2005. The Conference recommended the raising of the derivation to 17 per cent, but was rejected by the Niger Delta delegates to the conference as they insisted on 25 per cent with a phased review to 50 per cent. This was not accepted by other delegates, and this further fomented political polarisation along oil producing and non-oil producing lines, and the eventual collapse of the Conference. Also in March 2014, Jonathan's Government inaugurated a National Confab in an effort towards finding a lasting solution to the mirage of problems confronting Nigeria. The confab wound down its activities in August 2014. It is, however believed, that "a credible and equitable revenue allocation formula represents a viable way of lessening the tension, agitation, and perception of unfairness, if not total disillusion in the Niger Delta". In addition, "the implementation of a viable programme for rapid human development would be a lot easier to achieve with a revenue allocation formula that the people of the Niger Delta consider equitable and acceptable" (Niger Delta Human Development Report 2006:15).

The Government has, over the years, used the military approach in the management of direct violence in the region. To this effect, the Government constituted a special military task force known as Joint Military Task Force (JTF). The use of JTF to engage the Niger Delta is in line with

the long standing Government tradition of the use of violence against violence which often ends up in more violence as it does not really address the root causes of the problem.

For many years, the use of violence by the Government through security agents branded as Joint Task Force (JTF) 'Operation Paulo Shield' in the management of the violence in the Niger Delta worsened the security challenges in the region. The use of security agents to manage the situation is not restricted to the Niger Delta region but extends to other parts of the country including the Northern part where the Boko Haram has operated. Following Boko Haram's emergence, the Federal Government of Nigeria inaugurated the Presidential Committee on Security Challenges in the North-East zone in August 2011. The said committee submitted its final report to the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. As contained in the report, the committee requested President Jonathan to consider the granting of amnesty to members of the Boko Haram sect who may wish to surrender their arms to the Government. The committee also accused the Judges for aiding Boko Haram's activities by setting arrested members of the sect free on technical grounds.

However, a White Paper released on the findings and recommendations of the committee by the Federal Government, underlined the unanimous opinion of the members that the judiciary be sensitised in order for it to be mindful of security implications of granting bail to terror suspects. Following the finding, the Federal Government resolved to soon take necessary steps at reviewing the relevant laws to address the challenges. The committee, which identified the judiciary as one of the major obstacles to fighting Boko Haram's menace corroborated their claim with the case involving the discharge of Mohammed Yusuf on two different occasions by the Abuja court, stating that, the heroic welcome accorded him on his return from police custody further attracted more members into the sect.

Other recommendations by the committee, are that the Federal Government should direct the security agencies to focus on politicians who funded and used the groups that later metamorphosed into Boko Haram, as well bring them to justice. Furthermore, the committee urged the Federal Government to engage in constructive dialogue with the sect's leadership, but that Government should negotiate with the group from a position of strength by allowing security forces to dominate the negotiation's vicinity, and that the dialogue should however be contingent upon the sect's renunciation of violence and surrendering of their arms. Also, it recommended a tighter border control through the use of sufficiently trained, funded and equipped security and paramilitary agencies in order to stem the smuggling of arms and ammunition, including explosive materials into the country. The Immigration Service was also urged to reinforce security in border areas to prevent the import of illegal aliens who may be aiding and abetting insecurity in the zone, and that such aliens, be quietly eased out of the country notwithstanding the ECOWAS protocol of free movement of Goods and Persons in the country's border communities and their kith and kin in contiguous countries.

In addition, foreign nationals, identified to be residing in the country illegally, or who have possible links with criminals and extremists, be profiled and repatriated to their country of origin in the event of persistency of the aliens illegal activities, and that Government should consider the idea of temporarily closing the North-East border as well as organise a summit with the affected countries with a view to finding a way out of the situation.

The committee also recommended that the trial of the police personnel, who were responsible for the extra-judicial murder of Mohammed Yusuf and some of his followers, be accelerated and publicised, and that the Government should set up a judicial commission of inquiry into the alleged atrocities perpetrated by some members of Joint Task Force (JTF), as well as review the Rule of Engagement (RoE) in order to reflect the low intensity nature of the operations of the military in Maiduguri, and in other areas of their operations, while the JTF was also urged to win

the hearts and minds of the people. Furthermore, the committee recommended the replacement of the present troops with new ones from other units, preferably those familiar with the terrain and the people's socio-political and cultural values, while immediate de-radicalisation of the sect members, who expressed willingness to renounce violence, should be effected by the security agencies with immediate effect as well as have them embrace the Government's offer of an 'olive branch'.

While multi-dimensional approaches of carrots and sticks, which involve the use of force (military) and dialogue committees, among others have been deployed by Government at tackling the terrorist attacks by the Bok Haram terrorists, the situation appears not to have largely abated, after not less than three years of battling to halt the violence menace by Government and Non-Governmental players. Government has also employed the court option, as it has been charging to court, those arrested following their involvement in Boko Haram's insurgency. In a statement released on the 21st November, 2013, the Attorney-General of the Federation and the Minister of Justice, Mohammed Bello Adoke (SAN), stated that the Federal Government had secured 11 convictions (in court) of Boko Haram's members in the last one year. While the military continued their offences against the terrorists, Government, at the same time, set up the Presidential Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolution of Security Challenges in the North. The said committee, which at different occasions attempted to open up dialogue with some of the Boko Haram sect member's also recommended that Government works out a scheme of compensation and rehabilitation for victims of the Boko Haram attacks. Government agency's such as the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) have also been on the ground to support the resettlement of some of the displaced people (due to Boko Haram attacks), before their return to their communities. To further consolidate its assault on the Boko Haram Terrorists, the Nigerian Army established special operations command to fight terrorism. According to the Army, the command will focus on counter term insurgency and counter terrorism. While emphasising that the air force would not compromise in its dealing with the insurgents, the Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshall Alex Badeh on the 21st November, 2013, in Makurdi, Benue state, stated that Boko Haram have nothing to do with religion.

The US Government has also been supportive in the effort to address the security challenges occasioned by the Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria. In addition to designating the three key leaders of the sect as global terrorist's, the United States Department also announced on June 10, 2013, a \$7 million bounty for information that could lead to the capture of Abubakar Shekau, the leader of the Boko Haram sect. It was initially believed that the two-pronged approach of enforcement and dialogue adopted by the Nigerian Government would make Boko Haram see reason. Unfortunately, it has not exactly turned out to be so, hence compelling the Government to take further steps to proscribe the Boko Haram organisation on June 4, 2013. This was followed by the United States designation of the Boko Haram and Ansaru as Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs) on November 8, 2013, even as some Nigerians believe, that only a comprehensive approach by the Nigerian Government to counter these groups through a combination of law enforcement, political, and developmental efforts, as well as military engagement, would help root out violent extremism in the country.

The management of the ethno-resource conflict between the Fulani herdsmen and the predominant Tiv farmers has been another challenge to Government, especially at the State level. Benue and Nasarawa State Governments, have jointly been working together towards a lasting resolution of the conflict. At different times, Government set up committees to look into the conflicts, while she has also used the tool of arresting culprits, including leaders of the two sides of the divide, with a view to influencing them to bury their hatchets and live together as one people. Government has also, in the past, called the warring factions into dialogue.

In a renewed effort towards bringing an end to the conflict between Fulani herdsmen and the Tiv Farmers in Nasarawa and Benue states, a special peace meeting was put together by Benue state Governor – His Excellency Gabriel Suswan on the 30th of May 2012 in Benue State Nigeria. Those who attended the meeting included, the Sultan of Sokoto – Alhaji Saad Abubakar, the Tor Tiv, the Emir of Gombe and other traditional rulers of Benue and Nasarawa States extraction. There was also a delegation of the Nasarawa State Government, Fulani community in Benue, Fulani Cattle Breeding Association, Tiv Cultural Association in Taraba, and

auxiliary Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Makurdi- Rt. Rev. William Avenyo and the Bishop of the Church of Nigeria Anglican Communion – Rt. Rev. Nathan Nyon.

At the meeting, the stakeholders resolved that a person that pilfers a Fulani cow should be treated as criminal. Also, warnings were handed over to the Fulani herdsmen, to refrain from taking laws into their hands by attacking the Tiv, and that they should rather report their cases or grievances to the host traditional ruler in the event of the Tiv breaching the directive, not to pilfer with their cows. Other decisions taking at the meeting as contained in the *Daily Independent* newspaper dated May 31, 2012 included:

- An immediate ceasefire call, and that both the Fulani herdsmen and the Tiv Farmers should demobilise their militias at the border areas, and that they should also stop carrying dangerous weapon

- An appeal that those who sustain or incur losses from both sides of the group during the clashes should endeavour to forget the past.

- That the traditional rulers from both sides should emphasise the use of dialogue, so as to create and foster better understanding of the issue at stake, as well as putting as utmost priority, the constitution of conflict resolution committees at all levels.

- Statements by the stakeholders in their communiqué, that both the Tiv and the Fulani must live in peace, and whoever breaches the peace

should be handled as a common criminal and be so dealt with in accordance with the law of the land.

These resolutions were contained in the communiqué signed by Secretaries to both Nasarawa and Benue State Governments. As resolved in the meeting, a committee of three traditional rulers, with each representing the border areas of Nasarawa and Benue States, should be constituted, in order to ensure the resolutions of the meeting be duly implemented. In addition, the traditional rulers of Gwer-West Makurdi, Guma (Benue) and that of Kwandera, Adudu as well as Akparasa (Nasarawa) were directed to meet immediately for that purpose. May 3rd was set aside for the reception of the report of the joint committee set up by both Nasarawa and Benue states at Yelwata, even as the committee set up by the Sultan of Sokoto was directed to commence sitting and have its Report submitted to the Sultan in good time for necessary action. Security agents from both Nasarawa and Benue States were equally directed to undertake a fact-finding operation, to identify the camps of the Militias, with a view to dislodging them, and that the security agents themselves should henceforth be more proactive to avert or prevent a reoccurrence of the conflict. Both the Federal Government and the National Assembly were, as a matter of urgency, urged to make provision for grazing areas and animal tracks, in order to reduce the incidents of conflicts between the herdsmen and the farmers. Governor Gabriel Suswan, was however, commended by the Stakeholder for convening the meeting, even as they directed that Fulani Ardos should be appointed where there are none, so as to create and facilitate easy communication.

In the case of gender based violence, Government often resorted to the use of the police and court system, in managing the few gender violence cases that it got her attention attracted to, while many others, are left unattended to by the Government. There has also been an approach involving the enactment of legislation, to contain gender based violence in the society, but how well these legislations are implemented is another thing entirely. For instance,

there was the passing into law of 'gender based violence prohibition act' in Ekiti State, and it is believed, that such a development would ensure the protection of the rights of Ekiti women and girls.

Human rights abuse is another aspect of violence in Nigeria. Following his election as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in 1999, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo on the 14th day of June 1999 announced a seven-person commission. The Panel which was christened Human Rights Violations, Investigation Commission (aka Oputa Panel) was spearheaded by Justice Chukwudifor Oputa. The said Oputa Panel, was charged with the responsibility to investigate human rights abuses in Nigeria since the last military handover to civilians .

The Panel submitted its interim report to President Obasanjo on 21st of May 2002, while on 28th May 2002, the main report of the Panel was submitted to President Obasanjo in Abuja, Nigeria in 60 large boxes. However, the report of the panel never saw the light of the day as former military President, General Ibrahim Babangida, on the 3rd of June 2002 filed a suit at the Federal High Court, asking it "to stop President Olusegun Obasanjo from implementing the report of the Oputa-led Human Rights Violation Investigation Commission". Former Director of military intelligence, col. Halilu Akilu and Brig. General Kunle Togun also joined in filing the suit. The defendants in the suit included, President Olusegun Obasanjo, Attorney General of the Federation and Justice Oputa and his Commission. Babangida, on the 3rd of February 2003 got a favourable judgement from the Supreme Court, stating that the Panel has "no power to summon witnesses outside the Federal Capital Territory", and that "the 1999 constitution made no provision for tribunals of inquiry". The said judgement foreclosed the prospect of having the Report of the Panel released by the Federal Government.

Power-sharing, has been largely employed in the management of conflicts, especially ethnic related conflicts. This is occasioned by the fact that distributional issues of resources, political

offices, employment, etc., have featured prominently at the root of most violent conflicts in Nigeria. Power-sharing is operational in three dimensions, vis-viz political, territorial and economic dimensions. While the political dimension is concerned with how political and bureaucratic offices are distributed, the territorial dimension is focused at exercising autonomy by different levels of Government on the ground's of federalism or in relation to regional autonomy. The economic dimension is basically centred on rules in connection to the distribution of economic resources, controlled by the State among ethnic groups.

The year 1979 marked the first major steps to enshrine power-sharing in the country's constitution, and since then, special and specific provisions have been made available in the constitution. The federal character principle is the most salient power-sharing arrangement in Nigeria's constitution. It assumes to guarantee the representation of ethnic groups in political positions, appointment into public services, and the allocation of national resources. The manner at which resources' accruing to the nation, from oil exploration from the Niger Delta is allocated has been largely controversial for some time now in the country, as aforesaid.

Over the years, Government has regularly adopted the use of mobile police, military, curfew, propaganda, judicial panel, compensations and punishment as well as the State's management of the violent conflict in Nigeria. The reports following the various panels and inquiries, set up by Government to look into the various violent outbreaks, are still to date, yet to be implemented. Examples included, the Babalakin Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Bauchi State civil disturbances, the Karibi Whyte Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Kafanchan disturbances, Niki Tobi Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Plateau State disturbances, Justice Sankey Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Wase and Langtang disturbances, Justice Disu Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Plateau state disturbances, Prof. Tamuno Panel of Inquiry on National Security, and Justice Uwase's Electoral Reform Committee. The failure of the Nigerian Mobile Police, to manage conflicts when conflict's erupt, have often occasioned the need for

Government to deploy the military with the instruction to 'shoot on sight'. These developments often result in serious human rights violations and an escalation of violence (Ibeanu, 2006:5). The imposition of a curfew and the application and utility of propaganda by Government to douse public tension, are part of the regular strategies of the Nigerian Government for managing conflict in the country.

Furthermore, the judicial system has not been helping matters, as it is characterised by delays in dispensing justice. The foot-dragger approach, of handling cases in court, and the delays in arraigning of accused persons in court, have not only led to delays in delivering justice, but also contributed to the overcrowding nature of the Nigerian prisons. According to 2011 report of Amnesty International, 70 per cent of the about 48,000 detainees in the prisons are pre-trial detainees.

The Thomas-Kilmann model, which centred on the dimensions of assertiveness and cooperativeness, is connected to the above. While assertiveness is committed to the satisfaction of personal concerns, cooperativeness on the other hand is focused at satisfying collective concerns. Both dimensions – i.e. assertive and cooperative dimensions, jointly result in methods of conflict management described by avoidance, competition, compromise, accommodation and collaboration. The assertive and cooperative dimensions are both low in avoidance, hence resulting in failure to manage violent conflicts. Accommodation has more of cooperation than assertiveness, which results in partial management of violent conflicts, while competition is richer in assertiveness than cooperation, as such, often characterized by the indiscriminate application of power by a group, at the expense of the other, in conflict management processes. Both the assertive and cooperative dimensions are low in compromise and collaboration, and are respectively intermediate, resulting in concessions and a desirable outcome in the management of conflict.

Following the aforementioned theoretical postulations, the conflict management styles of the Nigerian Government, therefore involves the use of accommodation, avoidance and competition approaches. Generally, the endeavour of the Government at managing violent conflict has yielded no appreciable outcome even as she consistently entertain coercive methods that dismiss local concerns. In sum, it is important to, at this juncture, recall the USAID's argument in 2005 regarding the capacities of the Nigerian Government to manage conflicts which according to it, 'is weak'.

Generally, the institutional arrangement for managing conflicts, since the inception of Nigeria's fourth republic in 1999, could be classified into, the human rights approach, the multi-cultural approach, and the power sharing approach. While the human rights approach is concerned with the enactment of the bill of rights in the constitution with its attendance guarantee of assurance of equality, freedom and non-discrimination so as to allay the fears of ethnic minority groups, as well as to, reduce discrimination against them as contained in chapter 3 section 41-54 of the bill of rights in Nigeria' constitution, the multicultural approach is focused on the issue of ethnicity. The mechanism handles ethnicity through attempts designed at separating the State from the stronghold of a specific ethnic nationality, in addition to the recognition of the cultural rights of minority groups as reflected in language and educational policies in Nigeria. However, this approach is not so deep-rooted in Nigeria, due to the fact that distributive questions (besides religious issues) rather than cultural issues are the key drivers of tensions in Nigeria, hence opening channels to the concept of power-sharing.

The Aguleri and Umuleri conflicts were concerned with a land resources dispute between the two aforementioned communities in Anambra state. Efforts deployed by Government towards the management of the conflict, dated back to the colonial era. The colonial administration employed the use of brutal force and extensive violence in addressing the conflict and in relating with the people. The colonial Government resorted to the use of force, absolutism and arbitrariness which could be seen in reaction to the peoples' perception of the Government as a foreign one, which lacked legitimacy despite several laws made by the colonial Government. In

line with the policy of ‘unobstructive withdrawal’, the colonial Government also employed ‘litigation’ as conflict management option for the protracted crisis between Aguleri and Umuleri, and as such, got the communities entangled in a cycle of litigations and counter-litigations.

Both the colonial and post-colonial Governments shared a common hallmark of confronting violence with violence, via the use of security agents, in the management of the conflict between Aguleri and Umuleri. Like the colonial Government, the post-colonial Government often waited till violence broke out and then deployed policemen to quell the crisis. This was seen in the 1964, 1995 and 1999 clashes between the Aguleri and Umuleri. The policemen sent to manage the conflict were often ordered to ‘shoot at sight’. In the end nothing was really done by the Government to reconcile, re-integrate and build peace among the people. The post-colonial Government like its colonial counterpart also resorted to the use of litigations.

Following the violent conflict that occurred in 1995, a Judiciary Commission of Inquiry was instituted by, the then Military Governor of Anambra State. The Judicial Commission of Inquiry was given the mandate to investigate the crisis, and chaired by Justice Moses Nweje while the office of the said Governor served as Counsel and Secretary of the Commission.

The Commission’s findings on the conflicts contained in the White Paper indicted Aguleri. The submission of the Commission as contained in the *White Paper* is as follows:

The Commission found that the armed conflict was hatched by the Aguleri Representative Congress. Several baits were thrown to lure Umuleri to a physical combat. Some of these were the Aguleri / Motor Park project at Agu-Akor in 1994, the written response of Aguleri Representative Congress to the Local Government

On Umuleri, the report noted that,

... the Commission found that the Umuleri General Assembly...was not readily inclined to violence as their Aguleri neighbours. This disposition explained why they petitioned the Government each time there was a friction between their community and Aguleri.

The implementation of the White Paper, was however, forestalled following a change in leadership of the state as Col. Mike Attah – the military Administrator who constituted the panel, was however, replaced by Wing Commander Emmanuel Ukaegbu, who was not that interested in implementing the White paper. Furthermore, the Aguleri community denounced the White paper and sought court injunction meant to restrain the Government from implementing the White Paper.

These developments infuriated the Umuleris as they felt humiliated and this led to a reprisal attack on Aguleri in 1999. Following the 1999 violent conflict, the Chinwoke Mbadinuju led civilian Government that was in power then, again constituted a panel of inquiry with the mandate to investigate the conflicts. Unfortunately, Mbadinuju's Government, like his predecessor, did not act on the panel's recommendations.

Regarding the Warri conflict, there were a number of court cases in an attempt to determine the ownership of Warri. The various litigations were, at the instance of the warring communities of Itsekiri, Urhobo and Ijaw. The legions of litigations appeared to have favoured more the Itsekiri than the Urhobo, as the Itsekiri appeared to win both radial and possessory ownership of all lands in Warri except the Okumabge layout, where the Urhobo enclave in Okere had the possessory rights, while the Olu only had the radical title. On the litigations involving Sapele area, the Urhobos won possessory rights over 510 areas of land as contained in the case file WACA41/43, while in 1925 the Itsekiris won title over 1800 acres of land in Obotie and was reaffirmed 2008. At Ugberikoko and Ajimele in Sapele, the Itsekiris also owned tract's of land. In sum, the Itsekiri and Urhobos partly owned the town of Sapele and Warri. The tussle

over ownership of these towns remained a major source of conflict and acrimony among the Urhobos, Itsekiris and even the Ijaws.

Modakeke and Ife have been embattled in an age-old fratricidal war. Early attempts at intervening in the conflicts could be traced to the traditional rulers of the communities. Intervention by Government's at the State and Federal levels has largely been through the use of force and setting up panel(s) or committees of inquiry. As regards the use of force, various regimes or Governments have often employed the use of the police to quell violence and manage violent situations in the area. On the use of committees, the Olusegun Obasanjo's Government, that lasted from 1999 to 2007, set up a peace panel which was headed by Olabode George, a retired naval commodore. The Olabode George Peace Panel into Ife-Modakeke's conflict's recommended, among others, that a separate local Government area be created for the Modakekes, in order to put to an end the recurrent experience of blood shedding between the warring communities.

The delay in the implementation of the committee or panel's report, after months of coming up with recommendation's, became another trigger for conflict in the community, as the Modakeke initiated move to create for itself a local Government area, as well as appointing a chairman. The situation, was however, arrested by the police who timeously intervened by dispersing the youths who were already gathering and throwing stones. By and large, the report of the said committee was never implemented.

Also, prior to Olusegun Obasanjo's administration, the Abacha led military Government in 1996, went ahead to create a local Government in the area, Ife East with headquarters in Enu Owa. Unfortunately, the local Government never functioned for even a day, as the action was greeted with crises following the violence orchestrated by youths and adults alike in Ife, which triggered reaction by the Modakeke. The creation of the local Government, which the Government had hoped would bring the conflict to an end, alas, led to wanton destruction of lives and properties in the area. At different times, there appeared to be attempts by the monarch of Ife – Oni of Ife, and that of Modakeke – Ogunsua of Modakeke, to call for a

ceasefire in a time of crisis in the area, but the question has always been how committed they were.

In sum, a common approach in managing violent conflicts in Nigeria by Government is the use of the police, military and other security agents.

3.3 Non-governmental efforts

Sequel to the failure of successive Governments to effectively safeguard human lives and ensure sustainable peace in the country, a number of Nigerian's and Nigerian communities resorted to the use of vigilante, charms and various sorts of spiritual approaches, while the non-State players, such as civil society organizations, adopted some other forms of conflict management approaches. In addition to direct intervention in conflict situations, many non-Governmental players deployed strategies such as non-violent campaign's, sensitisation program's like public lectures, organising forums and meetings to brainstorm way forward, making clarion calls and lobbying among others with a view to curbing the violent menace in the country.

For instance, sequel to the rising spate of violence occasioned by Boko Haram's insurgency in the Northern part of Nigeria, various non-Government players have been convening different meetings with a view to brainstorming on how to effectively tackle the problem. The Northern States Christian Elders Forum (NORCEF) rising from an emergency meeting called on the Federal Government to support a national conference. The Northern Christian elders from the 19 Northern states, who held their meeting in Kaduna, stated that it was high time the National Assembly supported the immediate convocation of a national conference to address the challenges confronting Nigeria. According to the statement published in Guardian newspapers

dated May 7th 2012, Mathew Owojaiye, chairman, and Iliya Yusuf, secretary, the Northern Christians need the restructuring of Nigeria. They want the six geo-political zones to become regions with, a little alteration here and there, according to the wishes of the people, and that each zone will manage its resources and pay tax to the Federal Government, as it was in 1960, 1963 constitution's. "The Federal Government will take it's hands off of education, agriculture, water resources, industries, mineral resources, research and technologies, health, power generation, women affairs, youths and sports, work and housing. The Federal Government will be solely in charge of defence, foreign affairs, customs and aviation. The region and the Federal Government would share judiciary, the police and information ministry. All the Federal parastatals and ministries that siphon trillion of naira every year will be scrapped".

In a related development, the Arewa Christian Elders, stated that the adoption of true federalism would make "wastage and outright looting of funds to be a thing of the past" adding that "each region will develop at its own pace and the Federal Government will get less than 30 per cent of what it currently earns, and that this arrangement, will make taking power at the centre or at the federal level unattractive", (Guardian, 2012:2). Emphasising that every Nigerian is culpable of dereliction of civic and patriotic duties to his or her country, and that, this is the right time to demand a proper restructuring of Nigeria along the path of true federalism, for each time there is a delay, the life of the country is being endangered, while also compromising its future. Former President Obasanjo, however, recommended dialogue and public enlightenment of the citizenry, in tackling the insecurity in Nigeria, (Guardian, 2012:1).

In the case of gender-based violence in Nigeria, non-Government players have often employed the use of rallies and campaigns to boost the sensitisation and fight against violence against women and girls in the country. One of such instances was the March 9, 2012 solidarity rally in Lagos, which was organised as part of the 2012 Women's Day celebration. The event, which saw hundreds of women and children take to the streets, was organised against the backdrop

of the increasing cases of women and girl child abuse in Nigeria. Some of the inscriptions on the placards carried by the protesters, read 'Women's Right Now', 'Greed of Leaders, Guard the Future of Girls: End Corruption. The protest was organised under the theme, 'Fix the girl, and shape the future.

Some other non-Government players have also deployed the use of public lectures to educate and stimulate the fight against sexual and gender violence in Nigeria. For instance, frowning at the rising cases of sexual abuse in the country, an NGO – Media Concern Initiative for Women and Children (MEDIACON), as part of her advocacy efforts and activities to address the issues of sexual violence in Nigeria and Africa, organised a public lecture on sexual offences against adults and children. The event, which was organised in Lagos, drew stakeholders to deliberate and chart a way forward for making progress in the fight against sexual abuse, particularly against those under age.

Also, the Ipas Reproductive Health Cluster, an international NGO, has been largely involved in championing efforts at protecting women's health in addition to advancing their reproductive rights. In a forum which drew experts to discuss the solution to violence against women in Nigeria, the organisation's representative and country Director, Dr Ejike Oji, during his presentation on the topic, 'The Paradox of Our Times: maternal health, sine qua non to development' asserted that the public forum was organised against the backdrop to "give voice to the call for the passage of 'Violence Against Person Prohibition Bill', as well as call for the reform of 'Abortion law' and to sensitise the public on abortion issues" in Nigeria, (Nigerian Compass, 2012:20).

Ipas also conducted a six year retrospective study, in order to ascertain the causes of emergency treatments in clinics and hospitals. The study revealed that "out of all cases in the study, sexual violent cases constitute 13 per cent of cases that subject women to emergencies.

Furthermore, it was revealed that 49 per cent of such sexual violent cases were perpetrated or carried out against children below nine years old, while in the 80 per cent of the 49 per cent were cases of sexual violence perpetrated against female children below three years” (*Nigerian Compass*, 2012:20).

To further boost her sensitisation efforts, Ipas went ahead to mobilise and sensitise various women groups, such as National Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ), The Young Women Christian Association (YWCA), The Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA), Umuada Igbo Women, and the Nigerian Medical Students Association (NIMSA), among others, on the causes of violence. Besides, Ipas engaged in lobbying and advocacy activities aimed at sustaining pressure on the Legislature to pass the Bill which proposed “an act to eliminate violence in private and public life, prohibit all forms of violence including physical, sexual, psychological, domestic, harmful traditional practices, discrimination against persons and provide maximum protection and effective remedies for victims and punishment of offenders” (*Nigerian Compass*, 2012:20).

The Forum, organised by Ipas, also brought to fore the exigency of promoting the enlightenment of the Police, in order to increase their understanding of their role and what they need to do in the context of violence against women. Other issues shared in the said forum include, the need to address matters, such as changes in the cultural issues relating to stigmatisation of victims of sexual violence as well as the culture of silence which often prevents victims of rape and domestic violence from reporting their cases.

The World Health Organisation Report (2011) further x-rayed the urgent need to put all hands on deck to transform violence against women in Nigeria. As revealed in the report, undue burden has been placed on the health care services as a result of violence against women. The

report further stated that, various studies have now established nexus between poor treatment of women and international violence. According to the study “one of the best predators of intra and international violence is the maltreatment of women in the society”, (*Nigerian Compass*, 2012:20).

On religious violence, some non-Governmental players also evolved various strategies to reverse the trend. For instance, the Nigerian Inter Religious Council (NIREC) which operates under the co-chairmanship of the Sultan of Sokoto and President-General of the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) and the President of Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) has been at the forefront in efforts towards religious harmony and peaceful co-existence between the Christians and the Muslims. The Council works with various sectors in Nigeria, including the traditional rulers, states, Governments, etc. to intervene in religious motivated violence especially, though not limited to it. On their part, the traditional rulers are also largely involved in local peacemaking in their various domains using the traditional mechanisms.

Also, organizations such as Human Rights Monitor, Human Development Initiative together with United States Agency for International Development office of transition initiative, have been involved in organising a series of advocacy workshops which have, at different times, brought together ethnic communities of Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba, and others. The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and other Ecumenical groups, like the Anglican Synods have been persistent in calling Nigerian’s to exhibit religious and ethnic tolerance, as well as allow religious amity to reign between Christians and Muslims. The association has also been involved alongside the leadership of the Muslim Association of Nigeria in putting together inter-religious conferences to bring Christians and Muslims together to forge a common ground on how to live together peacefully.

The post-colonial era witnessed the involvement of several town unions and community based civil society organisations in the intervention of Aguleri and Umuleri conflict. This was however, prompted by the increasing need to ensure the facilitation of community development in addition to the failure of Government to resolve the conflict. The 1995 and 1999 violent conflicts were the most serious and protracted conflicts in the history of Aguleri and Umuleri conflicts. The contributions of the town's unions in the resolution of the conflicts was also significant during these periods.

Following the destruction of lives and properties that accompanied the 1995 and 1999 violent conflicts between the Aguleri and Umuleri, the elites under the auspices of ARC and UGA reached an accord at the end of the 1999 violent conflict on the modalities or ways to end the crisis between the warring communities. The accord which was christened 'Aguleri/Umuleri Peace Accord', proposed the creation of new Anambra East Local Government Area and Aguleri Local Government Area. While the headquarters of the new Anambra East Local Government Area was proposed to be located at Umuleri, that of Aguleri Local Government Area was to be located at Aguleri. It further proposed that Otuocha, which was serving as the headquarters of Anambra East Local Government Area at that time, should cease to be headquarters and be shared between Aguleri and Umuleri. The arrangement was expected to make it possible for the two warring communities to exist in separate local Government areas. However, following Government delay in attending to the proposal and opposition to the creation of the proposed local Government by a faction of the town union led by, the then Eze of Aguleri, the ARC and UGA took to another option which involved the delineation and sharing of the controversial lands.

Also, women's organisations were involved in the efforts at managing the conflicts. Among the women' organisations that worked towards restoring peace between Aguleri and Umuleri included, the Oluokala in Umuleri, Anglican Women Organisations in Aguleri and Umuleri, AWDA, Catholic Women Organisations in Aguleri and Umuleri and Out Umuada of Aguleri and Umuleri. These organisations used various ways, especially traditional forms of conflict resolution, to pursue their objectives. Besides, Oluokala and AWDA also employed the practice

of fasting and praying in their search for peace between Aguleri and Umuleri. The Umuada Association was another influential group that explored ways to achieve peace in the communities. The Umuada Association is common among Igbo communities in the South-Eastern part of Nigeria, and commands enormous respect in members' communities of birth. The influence of the group is such, that even conflicts between individuals, couples, families, clans and villages, are often referred to the group for resolution. Its decisions on any issue are final and binding on the stakeholders in conflict. The intervention of the group prepared ground for a ceasefire and the negotiation of peace between the warring communities. The Ohanaeze Ndi-Igbo, is another well known civil society organisation that played a key interventional role in the conflict between the Aguleri and the Umuleri local communities. The Ohanaeze Ndigbo is a pan-Igbo cultural-political group founded by Igbo political, intellectual, business and cultural elites as a platform for re-defining the Igbo position in national affairs. The Ohanaeze organised several peace meetings with communities in Awka and visited the communities. It also initiated move to secure a temporary truce in the fighting for about two weeks. Unfortunately, lack of consolidation of the process led to the resumed violence.

Another civil society organisation that played prominent interventional role in the Aguleri Umuleri conflict is the Anambra East Peace Council. The mid-July 1999 inaugural meeting of the organisation was held at the Onitsha North Local Government headquarters at the instance of Chief (Dr) Kelly Nzekwesi, the traditional ruler (Igwe) of Igbariam and under the auspices of the Anambra East Council of traditional rulers and leaders of thought, kick-started the process of intervention into the said conflict. The Anambra East Peace Council group was composed of the traditional rulers of Nando, Nsugbe, Aguleri, Umuleri and Umuoba as well as other prominent members of the three feuding communities and their neighbours. The aim of this group was to utilise the traditional means of settling disputes.

The key steps taken to ensure the return of peace by AEPC include:

- They pledged co-operation with the Araka committee

- They called for immediate end to hostilities and return of persons displaced in the conflicts to their homes
- They set up a process of traditional Oath taking (nghu iyi) and covenant (iko mme) to end the feuding and shedding of blood.

The Eri Brothers Association is another civil society organisation that became largely involved in the efforts to resolve the conflict between the Aguleri and the Umuleri. This group exploited the cross community bond that existed between the Aguleri and Umuleri to intervene, as it is believed that they are of common descent.

Also, the Churches played a critical role in resolving the conflicts between the Aguleri and the Umuleri. Churches such as the Catholic, Anglican and Pentecostal Churches were widely involved in resolving the conflict between the Aguleri and Umuleri. The role of the Church was particularly intense in the 1999 crisis and its aftermath, as they consistently offered prayers for the safety of the people and many displaced people also took refuge in Churches. Even in the aftermath, the churches were actively involved in peacemaking processes. Priests of both the Anglican and Catholic churches prayed for Christians during the anti-war Oath taking in April, 2000. Crusades were also organised at Otuocha by Churches to pray for an end to the conflict and lasting peace.

The conflict between Ife and Modakeke is one of the most protracted conflicts in Nigeria that lasted for decades. Timely interventional attempts in the conflict could be traced to the early traditional rulers in Ile-Ife (i.e. the Oni of Ife). However, in recent times, non-Governmental players, such as USAID/OTI among others played key roles in renewed efforts to resolve the conflict. The interventional process of the USAID/OTI was in three fold – media campaigns, separate training workshops on conflict machination and mitigation and joint training on reconciliation and forgiveness.

The aspect on media campaign started on the 15th of May 2000 with radio and Television Jingles and was aimed at sensitizing members of the two communities to the need for the cessation of the hostilities. It re-orientated them to peaceful co-existence and the negotiated

settlement of disputes. It included a 2-day workshop that lasted from 20th to 21st June, 2000 on conflict reporting for 50 Journalists in Osun state. The training exposed them to the sensitivity and ethics of conflict reporting. Participants were taught to understand factors that either escalate or de-escalate conflicts of which conflict reporting is crucial.

The aim of the training activity was to expose the two sides to the best methods for handling the Ife-Modakeke crisis, to impart conflict mitigation and mediation skills to critical stakeholder groups in the two communities, to create awareness and sensitise stakeholders to the consequences of violent communal conflicts and to generate a corps of conflict mediators.

Interventional methods also included:

- A thirty-week radio and Television jingles (six slot per day) on peaceful co-existence, tolerance and communal
- Essay competitions for Ife and Modakeke Secondary School Pupils with the theme 'the role of the youths in conflict prevention.
- Thirteen weekly television and radio talk shows

After the first intervention, there was also a follow up intervention. The stages of the second intervention involved separate advocacy and sensitisation visits to critical leaders (market, transport, youth and village) in the two communities, as well as the Ooni of Ife, Ife Chiefs and Ife Baales (on Ife side) and the Ogunsua of Modakeke and Modakeke Chiefs (Modakeke side). Four separate training programmes were organised for both sides for village heads, for youth leaders, for professional groups and for community leaders.

The two training programmes were held simultaneously between 10th and 20th July 2000. The Ife Development Board (IDB) facilitated the Ifewara training while the Modakeke Progressive Union (MPU) was in charge of the Osogbo training. Hence, the Ife Development Board and the Modakeke Progressive Union played important roles in the Ife-Modakeke crisis and, as such, remained a potent element in the transformation of the problem.

The interventional process involving Joint Training on Forgiveness, Reconciliation And Transformative Leadership was also far reaching. The project created the basis for bringing the Ife and the Modakeke together for the first time since the violent hostilities that started between 1999 and early 2000. The said workshop, which was held in Ibadan, was built on the achievement of the Ifewara and Osogbo workshop. It was designed to bring the two people together to work through the conflict in their communities well as to introduce the people to the leadership styles that could support a positive and peaceful transformation in Ile-Ife. The project was facilitated by Conflict Resolution Stakeholders Network (CRESNET) South-West zone.

At the commencement of the meeting, the Ife people were to introduce the Modakeke people and vice-versa. At the end of the whole exercise, the peace advocacy and monitoring committee was saddled with the huge task of consolidating the gains of the intervention and keeping faith with the agreement.

Another ethnic conflict in Nigeria that also drew the attention of non-Governmental players was the conflict between the Urhobo and the Itsekiri. The Urhobo and the Itsekiri ethnic groups in Delta state are neighbours who, over the years fought themselves over the ownership of Warri, as well as on the issue surrounding the title of the Olu of Warri.

The roles of the civil societies and/or civil society organisations, in the management of the conflict between the Urhobo ethnic group and the Itsekiri ethnic group, cannot be underestimated. The first known active civil society intervention in the conflict was the Academic Associates Peace Works (AAPW) , a non-Governmental organisation.

The Academic Associates Peace Works (AAPW) approach took a social dimension that appeared somehow holistic. The main idea, was to bring the warring factions together on neutral grounds, create friendly atmosphere and bring them into dialogue outside of the influence and reach of the elites' of the warring communities. AAPW organised training and seminar programmes for different categories of persons in the warring communities.

These included:

- Training of mediators, training of Warri Youth Leaders (the Youth of all parties in dispute), training for community leaders, peace education training, training of elders and training of local government officials.
- The need to embrace peace and to emphasis more those things that bind them (warring group) together rather than those things that separate them was the central focus/theme in the training exercise
- The concept of 'Warri our land' was created during the training programmes. The idea was to offer a sense of belonging to the parties in the conflict and was also expected to help reduce the fears and anxiety expressed by some youth leaders including fears of marginalisation, negative images of extinction, domination, exclusion, oppression etc., that bedrocked their reactions and has been exploited largely by the elites in their communities to serve selfish ends.

There was a general change in the mindset of the trainees as they collectively accepted the concept of Warri our land. After training programme there were various follow-up and enlightened visit made by AAPW. The concept of Warri our land eliminated the old dilemma of settlers versus indigenes.

International civil society groups such as USAID, USIP, OTI, etc., were also involved in finding the peace process in Warri. As part of their action plan the AAPW conducted a case study in 1999 and the findings were analysed on the basis of needs and fears.

Table 6.3: Needs and fears of the various stakeholders regarding the conflict in Warri

MAJOR PARTIES	NEEDS	FEARS
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Ijaws	Land, political relevance, local government, security, recognition, development	Disrespect of traditional ruler, marginalisation, oppression, exclusion, negative image
Urhobo	Freedom, respect, land, political relevance, local government, recognition of traditional ruler	Marginalisation, oppression, exclusion, negative image, disrespect for traditional rulers
Itsekiri	Land, respect for traditional ruler, security, development freedom	Extinction, domination, exclusion, marginalisation, disrespect for traditional rulers & for court orders
State Government	Political stability & peace, revenue	Economic sabotage, national fragmentation
Multinational companies	Profit, security	Insecurity, economic sabotage
Common ground	Local, political relevance	Marginalisation, oppression, disrespect, insecurity

It was from the outcome of the training project, that the mediators developed the concept 'our land' (Imobighe et al, 2002). 'Our land', as a concept, was to promote the idea of collective ownership of Warri land by the warring communities. Also workshops were organised for the youths. These were held in November 10-12, 1999 at Gordon Hotel, Ibusa, Asaba 30 youths, with at least ten from each ethnic group, were trained with the mind-set that when the youths are orientated, the fighting would stop. The youth leaders were trained in skills of conflict management, and were opportune to analyse their own conflict and look for mutually

agreeable solutions as well as assist the youth leaders in developing an action plan to implement these solutions (Imobighe 2002:100). Between 24th and 25th November, at the Petroleum Training Institute (PTI) in Warri, a similar workshop was organised for the community leaders.

The Bassa-Egbura conflict was one conflict that echoed largely especially in Nassarawa state of Nigeria. Non-Governmental players, especially civil society organisations, played a leading role in the intervention process of the conflict, in addition to the critical roles of religious organisations as well as that of the Red Cross. Apart from the usual and immediate humanitarian services offered by religious groups and the Red Cross in the Bassa-Egbura conflict, civil societies like the Kaduna based Non-Governmental organisation (NGO) known as Strategic Empowerment Management Agency (SEMA) including USAID/OTI sponsored the conflict resolution project, and Centre for Peace Initiative and Development (CEPID) third party intervention effort, largely helped to bring the conflict under control.

The Strategic Empowerment Management Agency (SEMA), actually initiated and facilitated the idea behind the 2000 resettlement programme, for which the Government later stepped in, as progress was made with the two communities culminating in the 'Abuja Accord'. Also, in July 2001 there was a third party intervention by USAID/OTI sponsored conflict resolution outfit and that of the Centre for Peace Initiative and Development (CEPID). They mainly offered mediation training for the stakeholders themselves, and as such re-opened channels of communication and empowered the conflicting parties to resolve their differences themselves. This is however, a task of post-conflict peace-building which is a long term and continuous process. Kaduna state is one of the States in Nigeria that has experienced a number of violent conflicts. The Zango-Kataf conflict is one that cannot be easily forgotten. The conflict attracted a number of civil society groups coming up with various activities aimed at ending it. Among those whose activities have imparted positively on the reconciliatory move was USAID/OTI in conjunction with Strategic Empowerment and Mediation Agency (SEMA). Others include, Even Development Project (EDP) and Inter-faith Mediation Centres (IMC), etc. They organised seminars, workshops, symposia and jingles on radio and television (both in English language

and in Hausa language). Other interest groups, like the British Council, Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF), Inuwar Kano, Dutse Emirate Council, and the Catholic Diocese also contributed immensely to the restoration of peace in the state. In their respective ways, the group provided relief materials, mediation services and training for different levels of stakeholders.

The USAID/OTI Nigeria, Kano regional office provided support for training a wide segment of the society including politicians and policy-makers. This was done in collaboration with some local NGOs, particularly the Even Development Projects, (EDP). USAID/OTI, in collaboration with EDP also organised an elaborate retreat programme for the appointed Emirs and Chiefs in the state.

The method of Conflict management workshops was utilised by Even Development Project (EDP) as one of its intervention strategies. Lead papers presented by relevant persons during the workshop, touched on real and existing issues in the Kaduna conflict, such as religion and ethnicity. The contents of the papers were used as framework for identifying solutions to the problem. These were followed by skills acquisition trainings. All the parties were involved in the project that cut across language, religion, ethnic and other possible factors.

EDP sourced and distributed relief materials directly to the victims and used the occasion to suppress the ill-feelings of the people towards one another. The special training workshops were conducted in a neutral venue, i.e. in Kano state and not in Kaduna state where the conflict took place. This helped to create conducive ground to deliberate and negotiate ways out of the social conflict. The EDP disseminated the outcome of the intervention programmes, paid adverts and radio programmes, and as such opened the way for the wider section of the society to be involved in the peace-building process.

The intervention achieved a greater involvement of decision-makers in the resolution of conflict and crisis. The EDP-USAID/OTI workshop for peace and reconciliation advised the Government “to set up a peace and reconciliation commission, for dialogue and enlightenment, improve the security network in the state, restructure the civil service to remove apparent imbalance’s in the system and reform the judicial system to guarantee equity and fairness”.

The Hausa/Fulani-Sayawa conflict in Bauchi state is one conflict in the North-Eastern state of Nigeria that was largely polarised with religious pigments. Like in the experience of several other conflicts aforementioned, civil society organisation's and members of the civil society played far reaching intervention roles aimed at bringing the conflict to an end. The two religious bodies, namely the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI) were the key civil society groups that played key intervention roles. However, it is important to clarify here, that even their roles were criticised by both conflict parties on the basis of partisanship, especially considering the fact that the conflict had religious undertones. It was also gathered that the involvement of the civil society did not translate to any meaningful role in the State.

Within the framework of the fragile socio-political environment of Bauchi state, the efforts of the NGOs, and secular and religious groups at organising reconciliatory activities, open community meetings and other activities for free and transparent public exchange between the parties in conflict, did not meet its desired goals due to illiteracy, poverty and over-reliance on the Government and the power wielding elites'. Traditional rulers and the youth organisations in Bauchi and Tafawa Balewa also failed to use their positions in creating avenues for compromise and consensus building among the people.

3.4 Overall assessment

In spite of the efforts by Government and NGO players, it is clear that a great deal has to be done to rescue Nigeria from the grip of violence. It cannot be gainsaid that over the years the current approach that engages the use of force by Government security agents has not helped achieved sustainable peace. The US Department of State (2008) assertion that the spate of insecurity and threats to lives and properties in Nigeria in 2011 is alarming, in spite of the increasing visibility of the Nigerian state mobile police and military in the management of internal conflicts, further corroborated the argument that the use of force as seen in the

deployment of Government security agents, cannot help bring about the needed social change and sustainable peace in Nigeria. Since the current efforts have not proven very effective, there is the need for a new approach to be considered and adopted.

It is against this background that the next chapter reviewed the place of non-violent actions in bringing about the needed non-violent change in the country.

Part III: Non-violent change

Chapter 4: The processes of non-violent change

4.1 Introduction to relevant theories

Peace-building programming is built on numerous assumptions about how interventions contribute to peace. Peace-building work is usually based on “approaches and tactics that are

rooted in implicit theories of change”, but that very often “such theories are sub-conscious and unstated” (DAC 2008; CARE UK 2012, 3). A theory of change, according to Vogel (2012:9) ‘is a set of beliefs and assumptions about how change happens. It looks at “the different interpretations (assumptions) about how and why that sequence of change might come about”. In its simplest form, a theory of change can be stated as, “We believe that by doing X (action) it will achieve Y (progress towards peace)”. A theory of change clearly articulates the intended activity (the ‘if’ part), and the expected change it will bring about (the ‘then’ part or parts).

Hence, the theory of change in respect to the study on peace clubs in this research can thus be stated as follows: if peace clubs are created in schools and result in students being trained in peace and non-violence via this platform, this will help achieve positive attitudinal change of the students and bring about some measure of social change in the schools. The type of theory of change employed in this study is individual change theory. It assumes that peace comes through transformative change of a critical mass of individuals, their consciousness, attitudes, behaviours and skills. This can be achieved through training, trauma healing, dialogue and encounter groups, personal transformation and consciousness-raising workshops or processes.

The theory of power is another theory deployed in this study, especially as it concerns the non-violent campaign for the creation of infrastructures for peace such as a local peace committee and a ministry of peace as well as creating peace clubs, a peace service academy and a centre for peace and the rehabilitation of displaced persons. Power, in respect to this study is described as the entire ‘influence and pressure which a group has to maintain itself and implement policies (Sharp, 2002:2) with a view to bringing about social change, progress and general wellbeing in the society. The capacity to take charge of situations, mobilize and organize people and institutions for some or other particular activity is a measure of such power. Sharp (2000:13) sees power as an integral part of non-violent struggles, and means the totality of all influences and pressures including sanctions available for use in maintaining itself,

implementing its policies, and conducting internal and external conflicts to a group or society. Helvey (2004:2), however, clarified that the clear understanding by those seeking change of the nature and sources of power, determines what changes and how changes would be effected in a social system, and that to truly grasp the role of power in conducting non-violent activism, that it is very important to look deeply into the nature and dynamics of power that both the opponent and the group involved in non-violent action possesses.

To this effect, Sharp (2003:18) identified two models for the description of the basis of power in society. These are monolithic power and pluralistic power. Helvey (2004:2) posited that the monolithic power theory operates within the assumption that the holder of the power determines how such power is to be exercised, while the people are entirely dependent upon his or her goodwill and support as well as his or her decisions. In an attempt to capture the description using a pyramidal shell analogy, which pictures constant structure with power solely concentrated at the top, Helvey further stated that while the occupier of such power may change for a number of reasons, his or her power base or structure however remains unchanged and fixed, and that such changes could even be through election which the ruler influences to his or her favour in order to continue to hold on to power, and “the coercive power of the State under this model is viewed as the primary and legitimate means of enforcing compliance”.

Haven shared insight into the monolithic power model. It is important to emphasise, at this juncture, that non-violent activism embraces the conceptualization of power within the context of pluralistic model and it is within this understanding that the strategies for the implementation of group plans for social change are defined. The pluralistic model of power theory sees power as pluralistic and fragile, as power is seeing to belong to the people and the society at large. As such, the leader may only exercise power within the limits the people in general allow, and leadership is conducted only with the consent and cooperation of the people

and the society at large. The most valuable aspect of pluralistic power model is that since power was provided by the people, the people can as well withdraw the power if the need arises.

It is within the context of pluralistic model of the theory of power that this study is anchored. The participatory action team conceptualizes power in the light of the pluralistic model and as such, sees the people as the source of political power. In light of this, the participatory action team shall work with a cross section of Nigerian's to create infrastructure for peace as well as conduct a non-violent campaign with the aim of creating peace in the country.

For years, use of a non-violent action campaign has featured prominently in political life. However, recent years have recorded an increase in its use by several movements leading to significant socio-political reforms or social change. The choice of non- violence in this research is not unconnected to the view of Gene Sharp's concept of pragmatic nonviolence as the "most effective method available in the circumstances", and in the principled or ideological non-violence viewpoints of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. that seeks to "deal with the causes, rather than the symptom" of the problem in question. Hence, pushing the rationale for its usage, to rest on the joint conviction that it works instrumentally and that it is right ethically, (web reference 2).

In addition, as a weapon, non-violence is accessible to all and does not seek to alienate the opponent including the third party. Thus, it can be used to bring everyone on board. It has the potential to end cycles of violence and counter-violence, open windows of opportunity of conversion, and can draw media focus on the issue at stake as well as often producing a constructive outcome.

4.2 Non-violent social movements

According to Tilly (2003:262), “social movements involves a series of contentious actions or performances, displays and campaigns by which people especially, a collective group of people make collective claims on others”. In the view of Godwin (2006:3), social movements are “conscious, concerted, and sustained efforts by ordinary people to change some aspect of their society by using extra-institutional means”. While acknowledging the important role of the ordinary people in social movement, the influence of the elites in further adding value to the process, including those external to the country, cannot be under-estimated. For Tilly, social movements are a “major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics” (Tilly, 2003:262).

There are various types of social movements, and a number of differences in respect to their commitment, type of change, target, methods of work and range, also exist between these various types of social movements. [Reform movements](#) advocate changes of certain [norms](#), custom or [laws](#) that are not acceptable or no longer acceptable to the people in general, e.g. trade unions, green movements, etc. Radical movements, by contrast, are committed to fundamental changes of or in the social [value systems](#), e.g. the [American Civil Rights Movement](#), the [Polish Solidarity](#) (Solidarność) movement, the [South African shack dwellers'](#) movement [Abahlali base Mjondolo](#), etc.

4.3 Non-violent action for social change

According to Sharp (2010:14), ‘non-violent struggle is the most powerful means available to those struggling for freedom.’ Freedom not only from the grip of dictatorship, but also from the grip of governance characterized by corruption and greed, marginalization, obnoxious policies, economic inequalities, human insecurities, and above all violence. The Nigerian experience, in the era of military rule, was a combination of both the grip of dictatorship and that of governance characterized by the aforementioned features. While the nation has moved from the era of dictatorship to a more democratic political system, not much has changed in terms of the social presence of endemic factors such as corruption and greed, marginalization,

social and economic inequalities, human insecurities and violence. Hence, the need for ongoing non-violent social actions strategically planned and implemented to create infrastructures for peace and the resultant non-violent social change in Nigeria. Sharp (2010:17) has emphasized that 'achieving a society with both freedom and peace is of course not a simple task. It will require great strategic skill, organization, and planning, and above all, it will require power. Strategic and skillful planning of a non-violent struggle is vital in defining the trajectory to freedom. 'Non-violent struggle has been waged on behalf of a myriad of causes and groups and even for objectives many people reject. It has also been used to prevent as well as to promote change' (Sharp 2003:4), and "the issue at stake has been diverse ranging from socio-economic to ethno-religious, humanitarian and political matters and have range from trivial to the fundamentals".

Non-violence can be applied personally as a way of life, or collectively as a method of transforming conflict and building societies of peace. In their quest for social change, practitioners of non-violence use diverse and creative methods. They have sought social change through educational campaigns and letters to Government's, civil disobedience and non-violent direct action, and through communication via mass media. Non-violent campaigns also apply a huge array of creative protest actions and mass non co-operation and non-violent interventions with the aim of redistributing power in society.

Revolutionary non-violence aims to create conditions for just, peaceful and sustainable societies that meet the needs of all people. At its core is the recognition that we all have a shared human identity and that life is valuable in and of itself. In modern times, non-violence has been a powerful tool for social protest. There are many examples of non-violence challenging social norms.

Contrary to popular belief, nonviolent campaigns are more effective than violent ones. In comparing the two, Stephan and Chenoweth (2008) drew up a set of 323 violent and non-

violent resistance campaigns between 1900 and 2006. They developed specific criteria for classifying campaigns as violent or non-violent and for judging their success, limited success and failure. Their main findings were that non-violent campaigns achieved a success rate of 53% compared with 26% for violent campaigns; furthermore, non-violent campaigns took an average of two years to achieve success while violent ones took eight years.

It is important to state that important distinctions exist between non-violent social change and the non-violent overthrow of a dictator. Non-violent social change is focused at the wellbeing and humanitarian considerations of the people. It seeks to promote human security, advance the removal of institutional frameworks and obnoxious laws that run against the security, welfare/wellbeing of the people as well as actions that exposed them to human induced danger while at the same providing better alternatives. Also, non-violent social change is often planned, gradual and sustained until the needed change is non-violently attained. Non-violence has been adopted and applied by several movements for social change which do not focus on opposition to war, (UN, 2008:1). Some examples include the banning of landmines and cluster munitions, banning of chemical and biological weapons, the struggle to win civil rights for African Americans in the United States led by Martin Luther King Jr., and the campaigns of non-violence in the 1960s to protest the treatment of farm workers in California led by César Chávez. More recently, the non-violent campaign of Leymah Gbowee and a group of women was instrumental to the achievement of peace in Liberia following a 14 - year civil war (the 2008 documentary film *Pray the Devil Back to Hell*, also contain this story, etc. On the other-hand, the non-violent overthrow of a dictator is focused at bringing about change in political leadership. It often elicits more repressive reactions from the dictator against the non-violent group who seeks to remove him or her from power. Generally, non-violent social change action can be spontaneous such as experienced in Egypt and Tunisia, or planned such as the campaign to ban landmines.

However, some of the cases involving the use of a non-violent struggle to bring about social changes include the democratic struggle in Tibet, Zimbabwe, Iran, Belarus and Burma. Sharp (2003:5-7) further documented the use of non-violent struggle in conflicts involving religions, economic and international political matters, as well as struggle against slavery and colonial rebellion. Although the ways a non-violent struggle works differs widely, from case to case, Sharp (2003:10) identified two crucial or special processes that may be present in certain non-violent struggles, but not all. These are an ability to defy and at times to reverse the effect of repression and an ability to undermine and sever the source of power of the opponent.

The two approaches to non-violence include, 'principled' and 'pragmatic' approaches. 'Principled' approach is emphatic on human harmony and a moral rejection of violence and force or coercion, while pragmatic approach views conflicts as normal and the rejection of violence as an efficient means or way of confronting or challenging power (Weber, 2003:250). Gene Sharp however, argued that non-violent action should be used for 'pragmatic' rather than for religious or ethical purpose, and that the two approaches are different in their motivation, assumptions and implications but according to Weber (2003:264-265) principled non-violence, generates in practice, while a pragmatic approach get things done, and may even foster a non-violent way of life.

Sharp has noted that between yielding and waging an armed struggle, it is the third most realistic alternative of strategic non-violent struggle for pursuing political change. He described it as "Non-violent struggle that has been applied according to a strategic plan that has been prepared on the basis of an analysis of the conflict situation, the strength and weaknesses of the contending group, the nature, capacities and requirements of the technique of non-violent action, and especially the strategic principles of that type of struggle", (Sharp, 2003:38).

To progress in a strategic non-violent approach in the building of peace structures in Nigeria, the participatory action research group for the study, 'must emphatically move the idea or concept of the strategic non-violent approach or struggle from theory to practice if political and social change must be brought about' (Helvey, 2004:25), and there is also the need to work towards influencing the strengths and loyalties in three areas. Firstly, the group must seek to

continually increase her strength and the strength of her supporters. Secondly, the group will gain strength as she opens up to active participation from members of the civil society similarly affected by the problem of a culture of violence that permeates the length and breadth of the country. Thirdly, the nature of non-violent struggle will make it possible for the group to win ample support, even among members from the other side of the divide, including those in Government. 'Complete and sole dependence on a non-violent approach commonly begets sympathy to the group or participants involved in the struggle. The ability to get support even, from the side of the opponents, including the third party, offers the capacity of influence to the non-violent group.

Some of the key principles of non-violent social change, according to Helvey (2004:25), are:

- Life-affirming: This is concerned with life or social setting that is supportive and promotes the upliftment of the people
- Compassionate/loving : This is concerned with a society that cares and shows concern about the people as well as showing adequate understanding as regards the good and bad conduct of her members and be willing to advance the virtue of forgiveness.
- Egalitarian: This is concerned with the advancement of a society that is humane and humanly supportive and at the same time never allows one person to fall behind another.
- Cooperative: This describes a society that promotes communal sharing through the encouragement of the spirit of give and take among her populace.
- Democratic: That is to advance a social system that is equally responsive to desires, needs, yearning and aspirations of her members alike.
- Joyful: This is to ensure a social system that works for all and where love and laughter abounds.

In addition, it opposes the destruction of lives, hatred and nonchalance, oppression and domination, injustice, war and violence, terrorism, poverty, rape, racism, authoritarianism, sexism, classism, etc.

Generally the concept of non-violent social change is operationalized within certain assumptions, such as, the belief that people are important, that if given a chance, people are able to handle the affairs of their lives in a manner that is good, that people are able to decide what kind of society they want for themselves.

The guidelines for action are important in forming an agreement among members of the non-violent group on the details of behaviour that is acceptable during non-violent action. These guidelines are also so share with other groups in alliance or coalition for the non-violent struggle. The general agreement and acceptance of these guidelines, creates greater insight on what is expected of everyone in the action. The availability of such a clear set of criteria makes it easier to know who belongs to the action in order to avoid sabotage. As such, those who do not conform to these arrangements must not be incorporated in the action, as this will result in a discordant tune in conducting the action, and eventually frustrate the engagement.

Advance clarification to members of the non-violent group and the opposition as well as others, especially the third party that the group action will be non-violent, while also spelling out as such and in exact terms, what that means including acting in such manner and ensuring that everyone's actions are in line with that manner This makes it easier to deny accusations of violent behaviour and blackmailing from the opponent and therefore be able aids in building a reputation as being non-violent and trustworthy.

4.4 Methods available to social movements

The range of methods for effecting social changes in the society, as summarised by Schutt (2010:136), are presented in table 4.1.

Table 4.1 General methods of building social change

Method	Description	Assumption	Appeals to	Primary Users	Main Strengths
Physical force	This involves using threats of physical harm to coerce people	It based on the assumption that people are better influenced via physical threats	It appeals to context involving control, confrontation, security, status, hierarchy	Includes security agents military, police, intelligence agencies, militants, militias, armed rebels, unionists, thugs and gangsters	Effective for individuals, groups, or organisations with most strength or power
Political Force	It involves using	It based on the assumption	It appeals to status,	Political Authorities	Often backed or supported

	<p>political authority for policies implementation or enforcement</p>	<p>that the people will follow along if authorities change</p>	<p>hierarchy and attention</p>		<p>by law. It appears democratic and moral, & its relatively good in the enforcement or implementation of decisions</p>
<p>Economic Force</p>	<p>This involves use of political or physical force as well as hire agents or personnel in policies implementation</p>	<p>The use of economic offer or threats sway or influences people better</p>	<p>It appeals to control, hierarchy & material possessions</p>	<p>This includes corporate organisations, organized crime syndicates and the rich</p>	<p>Efficient, moral, and appears democratic as well as effective at enforcing decisions</p>

Advertising, propaganda	Propaganda persuade & convince people by repeatedly bombarding them with the same message	Assume that people are influenced or swayed via repeated & sufficient emphasis on same thing	Control	Corporate organisations, business, politicians, & people	Often quite effective
Engineering	Change or transform the physical or social surrounding of people in such a way that affect & influence their views	Adaptation of perspective to the surrounding is possibility	Rationality, control	Urban planners, & corporate managers, as well as management consultants	Good at rectifying destructive or inefficient surrounding
Rational	Persuade	Assumed	Rationality,	Scholars,	Effective at

persuasion	people via arguments based on facts & research	that human beings are rational & experience mind change amidst evidence that are reliable	autonomy	lawyers, activists, & lobbyists	finding out the root causes of something, & can bring out relevant data or information
Emotional	It appeals to human consciences or ideals	Individuals are better swayed via emotional appeals to their conscience or ideals	High ideals	Nonviolent activists, religious & spiritual individuals	Uplifting & attends or focuses on the positive
Emotional appeals to fear,	It appeals to people's prejudices or	Invoking peoples' fears & prejudices	Directness, anger	Lobbyists, lawyers, militant &	Delve or tap into emotions' gut, effective

anger, & hatred,	fears & anger	is The best to Sway them.		activists	in mobilizing people
Fellowship & personal support	Frequently creates a warm communal environment of people	Kindness & community can sway or influence people to resolve their conflicts amicably	Love, warmth and joy	Religious or spiritual persons, therapists & activists	Largely uplifting, & creates cool & good feelings in people, also effective in bringing individual that are new together
Nonviolent Confrontation	Mobilises people to tackle or address social problems by	Nonviolent confrontation breakthrough emotional blocks & can effectively or remarkably	Directness, confrontation	Nonviolent activists	Effective, uplifting, and empowering

	confronting the social problem directly in a non-violently way	influence & sway people			
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As indicated in Table 4.1, the means for bringing about social change include the use of physical force, political force, economic force, advertising or propaganda, engineering, rational persuasion, emotional appeals to ideals, emotional appeals to anger, hatred or fear, fellowship and personal support, and non-violent confrontation. Physical force involves the use of pressure, force and threats of physical attack, to conduct the needed change and it rests on the belief that people are better influenced if they are physically threatened or attacked. This approach usually appeals to those who are in control of security, such as the military and the police, as well as violent groups.. This approach is dangerous, in that it breeds violence and promotes bloodshed, which is unhealthy for human and societal development. The utility of political force is usually traced to those having political authority, and they utilize their political power and authority to implement policies. Status (such as position, wealth and charisma, etc.) and hierarchy in power holding or authority are important considerations here, and this means often draws its might/power from legislations. The mean associated with the application of economic threats, focuses on the hiring of people to execute policies or programmes, and drawing from the assumption that people can be influenced on the grounds of economic considerations. This tool is usually welcome by those who control the economic power of the societies such as the wealthy people and corporate organizations. It is however anti-democratic and elitist in nature.

The use of advertisements and propaganda is centred on the idea that people can be persuaded through repeatedly bombarding them with the same thing. This means can be controlled and it is often used by corporate organizations and politicians. It is very effective but manipulative in nature, as well as undemocratic as it can be used to buy people over against their natural intentions. Engineering, as a means, seeks to modify people's socio-physical ambience to influence their view, drawing from the assumption that people will normally adjust the perspective to their environment. This tool is commonly applicable to urban planners, corporate managers and management consultants. It relies on expertise and specialized knowledge and gathers its effectiveness in correcting destructive or inefficient vicinity. Rational persuasion drives its objective through arguments anchored on research, facts and figures, believing that reliable evidence changes people's minds. This method is often appealing to scholars, lawyers, lobbyist and activists as it is far reaching in digging down to the root causes and exposure of vital information. However, it is only available to people with specialized knowledge in the field and it is also time consuming, analytical and detached. The approach involving the use of emotional appeals is directed to the conscience and ideals of people, capitalizing on the assumption that emotional appeals and ideals have great tendency to sway people. This method is readily utilized by religious and spiritual leaders as well as non-violent activists. While emotional appeals to anger, hatred or fear method appeals to people anger, fears and prejudice drawing on the assumption that people can easily be swayed by invoking their fears or prejudice. The means is readily applied by lawyers, lobbyist and militant activists. The fellowship and personal support approach, operates on the assumption that kindness and communal relationships help people to resolve their conflicts, and as such, the method is focused at bringing people together in a warm and communal setting and appeals to the sentiment of harmony.

It is readily used by therapists and activists alike. In the same vein, non-violent confrontation is also readily applicable to activists, especially non-violent activists and it is effective, uplifting and empowering. It seeks to mobilize people to confront the problem non-violently, drawing from the assumption that non-violent confrontation can cut through emotional blocks and sway people remarkably.

Change must be conducted in a way that is in line with what the group wants. The group needs to ensure that the actions actually bring results in progressive change. To achieve this, the entire action must be clear and comprehensive and the information dissemination must be adequate and be done well in advance. There should also be an adequate number of supporters on the ground. Also, the actions need to be visual, simple and direct, as well as timely and largely domestic or close to home. The current position or issue on the ground must be exposed and should be connected to how harmful it is to the people and how it violates the principles that are largely embraced by the people.

The non-violent group, must thereafter, present a more viable alternative and justify why such an alternative is superior to the one it is advocating against. The group should also endeavour to capture the summary of the messages in a picture, as this help to convey a clearer message to those who are yet ignorant of the content of the campaign. The group must strive to ensure that people feel comfortable with its actions and conduct, and should commence with moderate tactics and demands that are simpler, and then consolidate as the support increases. Also, the actions must stay consistent with the ends. i.e. 'actions and ends consistency concept' is respected, and such actions must also be viewed as socially acceptable behaviour.

The group needs to incorporate respected and prominent persons to support them, and there must be detailed explanation on the need and reasons for the actions. The actions need to effectively challenge the status quo or established order and compel or trigger a response to it. It is sensible to come up with plausible demand that is capable of undermining the status quo, and thus advance structural change that engenders more democratic participation and supports more rational decisions as well as uplifts people and promotes human security and humanitarian needs. The action may also advance an atmosphere that inspires and encourages people to question authority as well as think for themselves, trust their own opinions and act according to their own consciences (empowering).

4.5 Specific methods of non-violent action

Three categories of methods identified by Sharp (2010:79) are protest and persuasion, non-cooperation and intervention. According to Godwin (2006:3), protest refers to “the act of challenging, resisting, or making demands upon authorities, power holders and/or cultural beliefs and practices by some individuals”. Of the aforementioned categories, protest and persuasion fits into the objective of this research, as methods to advocate for alternative approaches represented in infrastructures for peace to institutionalise peace in Nigeria, in the context of the failure of the current approaches by Government to address the problem of violence in the country. The method brings to public view and awareness what the non-violent group is challenging the Government with (p. 34), with a view to garnering more support for the group’s actions. Sharp (2010:70-81) listed 78 methods of non-violent campaigns or actions, as categorized under protest and persuasion, within which context this research is designed to be carried out. These include the following:

- Formal statements; this includes group or mass petition, public speeches, signed public statements, letters of opposition or support, declaration of indictment and intention, declarations by organizations and institutions.

- Communication with a wider audience; this involves the use of leaflets pamphlets and books; slogans, caricature and symbols; records, radio and television; banners, posters and displayed communications; newspapers and journals; skywriting and earth-writing.

- Group representation: includes, group lobbying, deputations, picketing, mock awards, and mock elections.

- Symbolic public acts: involves prayer and worship, display of flags and symbolic colours, protest disrobing, wearing of symbols, delivery symbolic objects, symbolic lights, paint as protest, symbolic sounds, display of portraits, symbolic reclamations, new signs and names.

- Pressures on individuals: involves vigils, “haunting” officials, fraternization, taunting officials.

- Drama and music: includes performance of play and music, humorous skits and pranks as well as singing.

- Processions: involves parades, pilgrimage, marches, motorcades and parades.

- Honouring the dead include mock funerals, homage at burial places, and demonstrative funerals.

- Public Assemblies: involves protest meetings, teach-ins, and assemblies of protest or support and camouflaged meetings of protests.

Other methods, such as non-cooperation and non-violent intervention although, not necessarily going to be adopted as methods to be employed in this research, are however

effective in bringing about social change. Helvey (2004: 2004:36) described non-cooperation as “withdrawal of cooperation”. Its objective is to make governance tedious for the Government, drawing from the fact that, no Government can survive without the support or the cooperation of the people. It often involves the use of strikes to conduct non-violent campaigns. Non-cooperation is further subdivided into social non-cooperation, economic non-cooperation and political non-cooperation. Social non-cooperation is essentially centred on boycotting or shunning officials and supporters of the opposition or regime.

The people cut them off from social interactions, and as such, refused to involve them or associate with them on any social issue. In the case of economic non-cooperation, the intention is to pull down the economic incentives of the regime or opposition, since Government’s depend on revenue to carry on with their services. This may include non-payment of tax, strike, etc that generally lead to economic instability. Political non-cooperation, is however, focused at the rejection of the authority of the Government, regime or opposition, which is a victim of the non-violent campaign, thereby, affecting the regime’s primary source of power. The use of declaration’s and manifesto’s, as well as other documents, to express the rejection of the authority of the regime, including its legitimacy, is utilized in the conviction of the people that the regime has lost its right to exercise authority. This is then consolidated by the use of civil disobedience to further frustrate the Government into disintegration. Specific methods of non-cooperation compiled by Sharp (2010: 79-86) are contained in table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Methods of non-cooperation

Ostracism of persons	Non-cooperation with social events, customs	Withdrawal from social
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	&institutions	system
Social boycott, selective social boycotts, non-action, ex-communication, interdict	Suspension of social & sport activities, boycott of social affairs, student strikes, social disobedience, withdrawal from social institutions	Stay-at-home, sanctuary, flight of workers, collective disappearance, protest emigration (hijrat)

Methods of economic boycott

Action by consumers	Action by workers & producers	Action by middlemen	Action by owners & management	Action by holders of financial resources	Action by governments
Consumer's boycott, non-consumption of boycotted goods, policy of austerity, withholding of rent, refusal to rent, national consumers' boycott, international	Workmen's boycott, producers' boycott	Supplier's and handler's boycott	Trader's boycott, refusal to let or sell property, lockout, refusal of industrial assistance, merchant's "general strike"	Withdrawal of bank deposits, refusal to pay fees, dues & assessment, refusal to pay debts or interest, severance of funds & credit, revenue refusal, refusal	Domestic embargo, backsliding of traders, international seller's embargo, international buyer's embargo, international trade

consumers' boycott				of governments money	embargo
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Methods of economic non-cooperation via strikes

Symbolic strikes	Agricultural strikes	Strikes by special groups	Ordinary industrial strikes	Restricted strikes	Multi-industry strikes
Protest strike, quickie walkout (lightning strike)	Peasant strike, farm workers' strike	Refusal of impressed labour, prisoners strike, craft strike	Establishment strike, industry strike, sympathetic strike	Detailed, limited, selective, & slowdown strikes, strike by resignation, working-rule strike, reporting "sick"(sick-in)	Generalised strike, general strike

A method involving combinations of strikes and economic closures is regarded as 'economic shutdown'. The method of political non-cooperation involves the rejection of authority, and it is often carried out by withholding or withdrawal of allegiance, refusal of public support, as well as, literature and speeches advocating resistance.

Other examples of citizen's non-cooperation with Government, includes boycotting of legislative bodies, boycotting of elections, boycotting of Government employment and positions, boycotting of Government departments, agencies and other bodies, withdrawal from Government educational institutions, boycotting of Government-supported organizations, refusal of assistance to enforcement agents, removal of own signs and place-marks, refusal to accept appointed officials, and refusal to dissolve existing institutions. Citizen's alternatives to compliance, involves reluctant and slow compliance, non-obedience in absence of direct supervision, popular non-obedience, disguised disobedience, refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse, sit-down, non-cooperation with conscription and deportation, hiding, escape and false identities and civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws.

Action by Government personnel includes selective refusal of assistance by Government aides, blocking of lines of command and information, stalling and obstruction, general administrative non-cooperation, judicial non-cooperation, deliberate inefficiency and selective non-cooperation by enforcement agents and mutiny. While domestic Governmental action often involves quasi-legal evasions and delays, and non-cooperation by constituent Governmental units, that of international Governmental action, usually includes changes in diplomatic and other representation, delays and cancellations of diplomatic events, withholding of diplomatic recognition, severance of diplomatic relations, withdrawal from international organizations, refusal of membership in international bodies and expulsion from international organizations.

Non-violent intervention is the third method described by Sharp. It basically focuses on disrupting an established structure, policy, etc., and the establishment of new ones. The status quo receives more direct challenge by this method and it is more assaulting and repressive than other methods afore-described. Helvey (2004:40), further stated that acts of intervention can debilitate and possibly hasten the collapse of the pillars of support of the target object or structure, if is guided by a well suited strategy and plans.

4.6 Strategic planning for nonviolent social change

The design and adoption of an effective strategy can strongly influence the success of non-violent struggle (Sharp, 2003:19). Strategic non-violent action, involves engaging in non-violent struggle, in a manner that ensures the freedom of the people from the challenges they are confronted with. It increases the chances of success and enables the non-violent group to channel their strength in the direction of their set goals and objectives (Sharp, 2003:19). Strategic planning commences with clear or obvious objectives drawn from policy goals. Its efficacy is anchored on plans with “clear intent, keeping mission consistent with capabilities, providing attention to detail, and anticipating responses by the opponent” (Helvey, 2004:76). Hence, it is important to calculate the course of action required to effect a transition from the status quo to the desirable future state (Sharp, 2010:40).

Sharp (2003:19-20) emphasises that the non-violent group must have a correct understanding of the entire context in which the non-violent struggle operates and their action is directed to. Also the group must be able to recognize the natural distinction between where the group is and where the group desires to be, including that the group must be able to evaluate possible obstacles to the attainment of its set goals, as well as factors that facilitate their actions. It must be able to assess both the strength and weakness of their opponent(s) and that of the third party must also assess the advantages and limitations of the latent or possible course of action it chooses to adopt, and must select from its existing list of alternatives or options, a viable course, or rather come up with a different one entirely. The group should be able to identify a general action plan, which will eventually inform the actual method and tactics of operation for the realization of the key goal, i.e. steps required to implement the strategic plan.

Sharp (2003: 20) has named grand strategy, strategy, tactics and methods as different levels of planning and action.

4.6.1 Grand strategy

Sharp described grand strategy, as the general idea that coordinates, drives and directs the entire resources for the attainment of the objective(s) of the non-violent group and/or the opponent. It involves an evaluation of the justification for the plan of action, factors that may sway the situation, and the choice of the technique for the operation, as well as the allotment of tasks and resources for the struggle (2003:20). Strategy is basically focused on how to achieve the set objective(s) in the best way. It is the rolled out plan for the practical action, designed to distribute, adapt and apply the means available for the realization of the set objective. It is the key conception of how to develop the campaign, in a way that promotes the compatibility of the various components connected together, so as to achieve the desired objective for the struggle. It is operated within the context of grand strategy and considers the result of each action, as well, as involves the designs wider action plans and considers what is/are required for the attainment of success with the chosen technique

4.6.2 Strategy

The key considerations for the design of strategy for non- violent action according to Sharp (2003:21) include the following:

The objective(s) of the group: It is important for the group's objectives to be clearly spelt out, as this will guide and help the group to be focused and streamline their actions towards achieving their set objective and goal. Hence, identifying the objective(s) of the group and spelling it out clearly, is a significant starting point in non-violent advocacy.

The objective(s), resources and strength of the opponent: It is also crucial for the non-violent group to examine or investigate the objective, resources and strength of the opponent and compare the findings to theirs. This will help the group to know whether the group is able to sustain their struggle, given the resources and strength of the opponent. It will also give the group an idea of how much resources and strength is needed to counter that of the opponent,

as well as guide the group on how it implements its plan to achieve her objective, given their knowledge of the opponents' objective(s).

The place and role of third parties: The support of the third party is important in the non-violent action of the group. However, it is important for the group to clearly define the place and roles of any third party in the non-violent struggle for social change. The said definition will help to establish when, how and where the third party support should come to play, as well as what the third party brings into the non-violent action, including who the third party is.

Courses and means of action of the opponents: It essential for the non-violent group to identify the courses and means of action of the opponent in the non-violent action. This knowledge will help the non-violent group to plan and implement strategies to neutralise or counter the courses and means of action of the opponent.

Courses and means of actions of the non-violent group: In the same vein, it is significant for the non-violent group to evaluate the course and means of action of the non-violent group itself. This will enable the group to know what is available to them and what should be introduced to effectively neutralise or counter the opponent's course and means of action against the non-violent group, and go ahead to win the struggle.

The techniques and requirements for success, including dynamics and mechanisms of change: It is important for the non-violent group to develop techniques required for achieving success in the nonviolent struggle. Also, the group need to examine the dynamics and mechanisms of change with a view to applying the right techniques and mechanisms to bring about the expected social change.

4.6.3 Tactics

Tactics and the method of non-violent action are crucial in the implementation of the strategy. Tactics can be described as a narrow or limited plan of action, which is anchored on the idea of how best to use the means available to advance a given struggle, in order to attain, as part of a broader strategy, the restricted objective. It is concerned with limited action within the framework of strategy, which in turn is operational within the context of grand strategy. Tactics

are best suited for shorter time duration, applicable in a smaller area in terms of geography or institution, and by a limited number of people, as well as for narrow objective. Sharp (2003: 21), noted that a tactic is comprehended within the overall strategy of a campaign and how the group shall act in a given situation, as well as being largely concerned with the application of a method of action of the non-violent group. Methods can therefore be described as a particular “means of action within the technique of non-violent struggle” (Sharp, 2003:22).

4.6.4 Methods

These have already been discussed in section 4.5.

4.7 Case studies of international nonviolent campaigns

Non-violent campaigns/struggles have been employed over the years to advocate for social justice. Some of the cases involving the adoption of non-violent approach include the anti-nuclear movement, the environmental movement, the Indian nationalist struggle against the British rule, the resistance of Nazi Occupation and rule in Norway, Denmark and Netherlands from 1940 to 1945, the struggle against racial segregation in 1950s and 1960s by the American civil rights, the ending of apartheid and the collapse of Soviet control over eastern European satellites. Two recent campaigns will be discussed in detail.

4.7.1 The Campaign to Ban Landmines

The ‘Ottawa process’, or the negotiation of the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention, brought to fore a ‘new model of diplomacy’ involving NGOs and Governments in a cooperative working relationship. The International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), commenced in 1991 “when representatives of two NGOs - the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation in Washington DC, and Medico International in Frankfurt, began to commune with a view to cooperating to organize support for specific mine victim assistance projects” (Mekata, 2000:145). According to Thomson and Reuters Foundation (2013:1), it was until 1992, that the movement to outlaw the weapon on landmine and cluster munitions fully took off, following the formation of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) by a group of humanitarian activists.

The ICBL adopted a non-violent action (see section 4.6) approach in its campaign and advocacy to ban the use of anti-personnel mines. The ability of ICBL to build a network of hundreds of organizations (Hubert 2000:8) into its non-violent campaign was critical to the success of the project. The flexibility in the network or structures adopted by the network of organizations involved in the campaign, created space for the organizations to adopt strategies suitable to their unique environments.

The multi-dimensional approach to the campaign added colours to the quality of the advocacy, as it drew the attention of NGOs, individual experts, the ICRC, and states, including multi-lateral organizations as participants in the campaign. Furthermore, the network included human rights, humanitarian, children, peace, disability, veterans, medical, mine action, development, arms control, religious, environmental and women's groups.

The various groups regularly share political strategies, campaign activities, achievements and ideas on how to address challenges. More importantly, “instead of being each other’s adversaries, Government’s and civil society decided to work together toward achieving a common goal” (Brinkert, 2003:784). Some of the specific non-violent campaign methods as explained in section 4.6, mechanisms and strategic planning (see section 4.7) implemented in the campaign to ban landmines, include “preparation of expert studies, mass promotional material, lobbying of Government from below, and representation at or around inter-governmental conferences”, Hubert (2002: xi). The multiple strategies (see section 4.7.2) utilized in the campaign, included a combination of knowledge-based effort at persuasion and lobbying, while protest and persuasion remained the general non-violent methods adopted for the campaign (See section 4.6.).

The campaign generally shared the quality of credibility (i.e. drew from practical experiences of experts working on mine issues), co-ordination (unity of action), pressure and persuasion (enhanced decision-maker awareness of the magnitude of the issue), division of labour

(exploited comparative advantages of various organisations involved in the campaign), building from below (employed regional meetings & grouping for grassroots access), and building partnerships between humanitarian advocates and states sympathetic to the cause. The organizations involved in the campaign, had both legitimacy and experience required to bring about the right strategies for norm compliance. The campaign successfully forged alliances with like-minded groups and states to propel the campaign to maximum success.

The conclusion on the Convention of certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), which opened space for further diplomatic initiatives, which states and civil society organizations readily capitalized upon, and the willingness of political leaders in the core states of the campaign to take diplomatic risk, for instance, the announcement during a strategy conference in October 1996 by Lloyd Axworthy, the then Canadian Foreign Minister, of the proposal to sign the convention to ban anti-personnel mines at the end of 1997, helped provided the required impetus for the campaign. Furthermore, the ability to draw on the taboo against biological and chemical weapons was so significant in bringing to fore the mine ban norm, failure of which, would have resulted in difficulties in the construction of similar norm for anti-personnel landmines.

In addition, rather than that of disarmament, the position of the campaign against anti-personal mines, was framed as a humanitarian issue, hence giving room for the norm to be built on existing humanitarian principles, and according to MacFarlane (2000:5) “the humanitarian imperative is best served, not by avoiding the political process, but by consciously engaging it”. One striking part of this aspect was the flexibility at which different organisations found various bases to support the campaigns, drawn from their own organisational mandates. For instance, HRW and the ICRC regarded “landmines as a human rights and humanitarian law issue, while groups such as Medico International, Physicians for Human Rights and Handicap International saw it as a medical and public health issue, while others, such as the Vietnam

Veterans of America Foundation, saw it as a matter of dealing with the consequence of war in a social and developmental sense”, (Anderson, 2000:150).

Furthermore, the tactic (see section 4.7.3) of ‘moral leverage politics’ (Clarke, 2008:6-7) of producing a “shaming list” (“The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly”), which enlisted the countries that produced, stockpiled and/or used landmines, was an impressive one for the campaign as many Government’s initiated lobbying to have their countries included on the “good” list. This drew more support for the campaign to ban landmines, as well as strengthen the ICBL tactic of shaming to induce norm adoption. The moral leverage was further strengthened by the use of symbolic politics that involved the utility of visual tools such as the creation of shoe piles, representing the lost limbs of landmine victims to underscore the humanitarian impact of landmines, (Clarke, 2008:6-7). Finally, the simple easily understood message – a complete and comprehensive ban, of the campaign, nothing more and nothing less, further added value to the whole work.

Finally, another interesting dimension of the humanitarian advocacy is connected to the campaign messaging, the nature of the objective and the ways issues were framed, (Cave et al., 2006:63). ICBL coined a simple and easily understood message a complete and comprehensive ban, nothing more and nothing less. While national campaigns focused the twin objectives of increasing public awareness on the danger of mines, and lobbying of Government officials to support complete ban, the effective use of “visual media including travelling photograph exhibits, video highlighting the impact of mines, and televised documentaries” (Cave et al., 2006:32) were not unrecognised as viable tactics (see section 4.7.3) that contributed to the success achieved.

The issue of landmines caught the attention of many people around the world. The growth in the consciousness and need among Individuals and NGOs to ban Anti-personnel Mines

informed the ICBL. The 1990s marked the climax on global call to ban anti-personnel mines. During the peak periods in the calls, there was uncontrollable use of anti-personnel mines in intra-state conflict and the laying of mines overwhelmed their clearance from the environment despite the fact that the CCW protocol II was already in existence and many more civilians were being killed by the landmines during conflicts and post conflict periods. This led to the formal launching in October 1992 of International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) by Handicap International, Human Rights Watch, Medico International, Mines Advisory Group, Physicians for Human Rights, and Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation. The ICBL's committed attention to domestic campaigns and raising NGO's consciousness on the issue as well as encouraged national campaigns in different countries in order to share their strategies and activities. These events coincided with the call to ban Antipersonnel Mines by United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The first comprehensive meeting organized by ICRC on the landmines issue in 1993 attracted humanitarian organizations, military experts and war surgeons.

The initiative in the United States was heralded alongside with other NGOs by Senator Leahy, who also wrote to Handicap International France to keep pressurizing the French Government to call for a CCW conference to review protocol II, (Mekata 2000: 149). With support from other civil societies, Handicap International succeeded in having France announced in February 1993 that it would request CCW review conference. The 1993 UN General Assembly forty-eighth session, led to the adoption of a resolution calling for a review conference of the CCW. Belgium, however became the first country in the world to ban the production, stockpiling, trade and use of anti-personnel mines. While Belgium imposed a ban in March 1995, Norway follow suit in June 1995 also. Handicap International played key role in promoting Belgium parliamentarian consciousness and action on the issue. The 1995 CCW conference was held in Vienna and concluded without amending protocol II, but however, reschedule a meeting of technical matters in January 1996 and the Review Conference in March 1996. The opportunity offered by the Review Conference was capitalized upon by the ICBL in lobbying the Government delegates

with a demonstrated expertise and confidence, and this further helped to fortify the relationship between Government's and NGOs in addition to consolidating the credibility of ICBL on the mines problem.

Following the signals that CCW negotiation may, after-all not succeed in securing a comprehensive ban on landmines, a spirited effort in favour of the ban began to build up from the outside, while increased interaction between Government and civil society within the context, further opened up co-operation between pro-ban Government's and ICBL during Ottawa process. The first NGO-Government meeting, however came up in January 1996 in Geneva at the instance of the Dutch campaign, and in October 1996, Canada hosted a Government meeting with a focus on how to ban, and to forge a ban agenda in Ottawa. In attendance, were about fifty Government and 24 observer States, the ICBL, UN agencies and the ICRC. Lloyd Axworthy invited participants of the Ottawa meeting to return to Ottawa in December 1997 to sign a treaty, and also expressed the willingness of Canada to work with ICBL in open partnership.

The September 1997 Oslo meeting which came up ahead of the December meeting, provided a forum on whether there should be a total ban on landmines, or whether States that were not yet ready for a total ban be accommodated in the new treaty ? This opportunity afforded countries like Japan, the United States and Australia, to attempt a modification to the text, but the core group of States supporting the ban resisted such efforts, leading to the withdrawal of the proposal of the United States at the very last minute, which then led to the adoption of the text in September 1997. The Mine Ban Convention was then finally signed by 122 countries in December 1997 in a special ceremony in Ottawa. By 2007 about 155 countries had signed the Treaty. ICBL has been relentless in her proactive and ongoing engagement, and this has contributed to the growth of the mine ban community to 159 members in 2012 with South

Sudan and Tuvalu joining the treaty in 2011, while Finland acceded in January 2012, (Monitor, 2011:3).

4.7.2 Campaigns to ban cluster munitions

The approach to the campaign to ban cluster munitions, could be said to assume a similar pattern to that of anti-personnel mines. The Cluster Munition Campaign (CMC) imitated the ICBL basic structure, in that, it also has a semi-hierarchical structure with a campaign coordinator and a steering committee drawn from selected member organisations that constitute the CMC members. There is also no central office or permanent secretariat for the said structure saddled with the onus to manage the campaign.

The said hierarchical structure, coupled with unity of purpose, helped to promote coherence in CMC communication strategy. Furthermore, the characteristics of the movement and the issue, allowed CMC to reframe cluster munitions as humanitarian one's rather than military terms (Clarke, 2008:11), and as a weapon type with serious humanitarian and socio-economic impact, (Cave et al., 2006:1). The success of these strategies (see section 4.7.2) was in the short term manifested in the reversal of the British government's position on the issue of cluster munitions ban, which in May 2008 recognised the 'unacceptable harm to civilians' by the weapons, against its initial stand, which opposed the full ban of cluster munitions. The strategy, which also caught the acceptance of many other States, culminated in the adoption of the Convention on Cluster Munitions in 2010.

Like the ICBL, the CMC also adopted multiple mechanisms, which amongst others, included the use of mass promotional materials and the preparation of expert studies. The multiple strategies (see section 4.7.2), further included lobbying, and knowledge based efforts among others, while protests and persuasion was the non-violent method adopted for the campaign.

The expert meeting put together in 1994 by the ICRC on certain weapon systems and the execution of mechanisms in international law, to deal with the cluster munitions, marked the beginning of the journey towards the prohibition of cluster munitions. However, Government interest and proactive approach in handling the humanitarian effect of cluster munitions and other ERW did not pick up until appreciable collaboration between NGOs and ICRC was established. The use of cluster munitions in Kosovo and the increased consciousness of the humanitarian effect of ERW further spiced up the mobilization and activism. The explosive remnant of war posed a big challenge for those working in post conflict areas, and it also became more obvious that the ERW problem in Kosovo, was more evident than in places, such as Sudan, Iraq and Afghanistan, (Human Rights, 2002), and was even seen in some places as a greater humanitarian problem than landmines.

This development contributed to the momentum built up among NGOs, with the influential ones during the Mine Ban Convention calling for a moratorium on the use of cluster munitions. These NGOs also published their impacts, alongside other remnants of war, as done by the case of the ICRC (Human Rights Watch, 2002). The ICRC meeting in Nyon Switzerland in 2000 drew attendance of Governmental experts and other experts. The meeting's goal was to be incorporated in the 2001 Geneva's second review conference of the CCW (ICRC, 2000) talk on the explosive remnants of war. This creative blending of field-based evidence and political campaigning, as well as lobbying, perfectly fitted into the framework of CCW. The Netherlands, together with 24 other co-sponsoring States, came up with a proposal during the December 2000 preparatory committee meeting ahead of the 2001 Review Conference, that the issue of explosive remnants of war, be addressed at the conference (Wiebe 2003:101-102).

Landmine Action and Mine Action Canada are two NGOs that worked together from 2001 to 2003, with support from ICRC, to raise awareness or consciousness about ERW among other campaigners, on the margin of landmine meeting. There was also support to awareness raising

by informal Australia papers which “highlighted the post-conflict problems caused by UXO and cluster munitions”, (Herby and Nuiten, 2001: 195) There was also the launching of other campaigns, including “clear up” campaign in the United Kingdom – Landmine Action and the Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund, and a global petition for a call for action on cluster munitions, as well as other explosive remnants of war (ERW).

The involvement of more NGOs on the matter, led to the formation of a loose coalition in April 2003. The coalition, christened Cluster Munitions Coalition (CMC), was officially launched in November 2003 in an event organised in Hague, and hosted by Pax Christi Netherlands and funded by Dutch Government. This event, together with the Irish Government funded 2003 conference in Dublin on explosive remnants of war and development by Pax Christ Ireland, however, became the first clear interaction on the issue between Government and NGOs.

The campaign, received support from the Dutch Government as it began annual meetings in the Netherlands with selected NGOs and State representatives, even as states were also invited to be part of a series of informal meetings, which the NGO’s put together. Others, who were also part of the meetings, were the Human Rights watch, Landmine Action and Mines Action Canada. Protocol V was, however adopted in 2003. Of immense value in the education of States on ERW, was the field-based research which the NGO’s, United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross, injected into the process, while individuals also played important roles too. The then, Australian Ambassador (Ambassador Luck), and Indian Ambassador (Ambassador Rakesh Sood) played vital roles in ensuring goodwill among States so as to achieve a reasonable outcome on ERW, (Randin and Borrie, 2005: 100). Vital in the securing of relevant protocol, was the role of the then Netherlands ambassador and the CCW coordinator, who brought about divergent State positions. The protocol was viewed as a significant addendum International humanitarian law, and its efforts to mitigate the negative impact, resulting from unexploded and abandoned ordnance.

The campaign to ban cluster munitions, which started in 2003, eventually culminated in the adoption of the Convention on Cluster Munitions (CCM) in 2007. However, it wasn't until 2010, that the Convention on Cluster Munitions entered into force, while that of anti-personnel mine ban treaty, entered into force in 1999. Among the parties to the Convention on Cluster Munitions, Spain was the first signatory to complete stockpile destruction. She was also a party to the Amended Protocol II on landmine and Protocol V on explosive remnants of war. The effort of the Cluster Munitions Campaign at universalising the Convention on Cluster Munitions (CCM), has continued to gather momentum, and as at 2011, 15 signatories ratified the CCM, while three non-signatories acceded. This development therefore, brought the total number of 'states parties' to 67 at the end of 2011.

4. 8 Summary and conclusion

This chapter explored non-violent action for social change and case studies of international non-violent campaigns. It emphasised the place of methods of non-violent actions, such as peaceful and persuasive protest in bringing about non-violent change. It further drew attention to the important place of strategic planning in non-violent action, as well as underscored the need not only to combat non-violent ill-discipline but also to largely employ non-violent strategic planning in conducting this study.

The campaigns to ban anti-personnel mines and cluster munitions are clear cases of international non-violent campaigns that shared similar strategies, tactics and structures in the conduction of their international advocacy. The campaigns indeed showed that consistency and persistency are not only important attributes, but also largely rewarding in terms of achieving the needed result. The adoption of The Convention on Cluster Munitions in 2010 represents a fruitful reward emerging from the campaign to ban cluster munitions.

In a renewed effort towards ensuring continuous progress and synergy building, both the International Campaign to Ban Landmine (ICBL) and the Cluster Munitions Campaign (CMC), in 2011 started operating under one structure. In both campaigns, the framing of the international advocacy into a humanitarian issue, including the level of coalition among the stakeholders, as well as the strategies and tactics adopted for the campaign, constituted major steps towards the successes of the projects, and according to Clarke (2008:5), “the success of trans-national advocacy campaign in the realm of human security is strongly correlated with the substantive characteristics of the issue itself, the individual and structural level attributes of the advocacy coalition involved, and the dynamics of the partnership between this coalition and like-minded state actors”.

Chapter 5: Infrastructures for Peace

5.1 Introduction

Peace is assumed to be an ideal state of being, and depends on the fulfilment of various peace needs, such as, freedom of violence and social harmony among others. According to Dress (2005:1), peace needs a perspective that combines a system approach with a functional approach to peace. While a “system approach to peace focuses on the way individual components of infrastructures for peace relate to the whole goal of peace in the society, that of a functional approach, highlights infrastructures that are actually functioning in the service of

peace at all levels of society” (Suurmond & Sharma, 2013:9). The various peace needs, it is assumed, can be addressed by peace services and thus prevent violence. However, the appropriate type of peace service is dependent on the actual peace need. Since it is also assumed that ‘peace service delivery is the business of infrastructures for peace’ (Suurmond & Sharma, 2013:2), it has become more needful to deploy adequate attention to building infrastructures for peace in our society in order to effectively curb violence in our communities.

Infrastructures for peace, have been defined as the “structures, resources, and processes through which peace services are delivered at any level of a society”, p.3. Infrastructures for Peace have also been defined as “a dynamic network of interdependent structures, mechanisms, resources, values, and skills which, through dialogue and consultation, contribute to conflict prevention and peace-building in a society” (UNDP, 2010). There are various attempts by different scholars to situate the understanding of the term infrastructures for peace. In the *Berghof Handbook* for instance, ‘peace infrastructure’ as a term that was used to describe the totality, an overarching infrastructure, while the term ‘components’, ‘peace structures’ or ‘elements’ were used to refer to the parts of that peace infrastructure. However, as contained in Brand-Jacobsen (2013) recognised in Hopp-Nishanka (2013b:56), infrastructure for peace “refers to the sum of its elements as well as the single parts of that system”. Also, in Suurmond & Sharma, (2013:3), the term ‘infrastructures for peace’ (lower case) was used to indicate the parts while ‘Infrastructure for Peace’ (upper case) with the acronym I4P, used to indicate their sum.

These attempts to establish terms in a relatively new area are expected, and as an emerging area infrastructure for peace is now largely being unravelled as a cutting-edge approach to ensuring a sustainable peace in many societies.

Furthermore, a further attempt has been made to classify infrastructures for peace into formal and informal types. According to Suurmond & Sharma (2013:3), “formal infrastructures for peace have a physical structure, a degree of organisation, stability, mandate, resources,

training, and are recognised as such by their beneficiaries, or “users”. Examples of such infrastructures for peace include local peace committees, conflict resolution committee, community mediation committees, peace radio stations, zones of peace, peace agreement monitoring mechanisms, and religious institutions. On the other hand, informal infrastructures for peace, are those that, “emerge on an ad hoc basis, do not require a physical structure, and operate without funds” as in the case of many traditional dispute resolution mechanism.

Peace can be planned, and the creation of infrastructures for peace is critical to planning peace. Such planning is required to handle the expected rise in conflicts occasioned by climate change and other triggers. In fact, The World Bank’s *World Development Report* for 2011 focused on the challenges of addressing protracted fragility and highlights the extended period of time required for meaningful transformation, and the necessity in this context of “inclusive enough coalitions” that can generate the collective political will for reform. The internal bargaining required to sustain these coalitions, highlights the necessity for infrastructures for peace, (Kumar and Haye, 2011:14). At the grassroots level especially, infrastructures for peace such as local peace committees share immense potentials in the intervention and prevention of conflicts at the local community levels. However, in general infrastructures for peace may be created to mediate intra-state or intra-communal violence, and through drawing upon local resources enable Government’s and communities to resolve conflicts via a problem-solving approach. It is also about “giving peace address” (Hopp-Nishanka, 2012:1). Infrastructures or peace has become even more imperative in contemporary times. This may not be unconnected to the growing negative impacts of climate change, even as experts have continued to predict an increase in violence in many communities due to the increasing effect of global warming.

An infrastructure for peace is a standing peace structure for building peace and the prevention of violence. Establishing a national infrastructure for peace could include: “adopting a cooperative, problem-solving approach to conflict, based on dialogue and non-violence, which includes all stakeholders; developing institutional mechanisms, appropriate to each country’s

culture, which promote and manages this approach at local, district and national levels” (Van Tongeren, 2011:45).

Infrastructure for peace may be in the form of a community-based structure emerging from local or national civil society, as in the case of local peace committees, national peace forum, or Government structures such as Ministries and Departments for Peace, Peace Secretariats, Peace Councils, or regional and international organizations like BCPR, MSU, PBC, PSO within UN system, the Good Offices section in the Commonwealth Secretariat, or in other formats, such as early warning systems, training institutes and academies, and traditional community-based conflict handling capabilities, (Van Tongeren 2011:1). Infrastructures for peace share the potential and the capacity to mediate inter-state violence, or by using environmentally friendly skills and resources to enable Government’s and civil societies to resolve intra-state violence. It has been viewed as a functional network that would span, like a spider’s web across the division of the society and beyond, and that would ensure optimum collaboration and coordination. Its exigency, in many societies, today may not be unconnected with the expert prediction of an ever increasing number of intra-state violent conflicts in the world, following the damaging effect of climate change to the global society.

Its capacity for conflict intervention, has been brought to bear in many cases. For instance local peace committees are increasingly recognised for their conflict interventional and transformative roles. It has also been defined as a “conflict intervention structure that integrates both traditional and modern conflict intervention mechanisms to prevent, manage or transform intra-ethnic or interethnic conflicts” (Adan and Pkalya, 2006: vii). Some examples of places where infrastructures for peace such as local peace committees have been used in intervening in conflict include, Nicaragua in the late 1980s, South Africa in the period between 1991 and 1994, Kenya in 1993 through 1995, and in Ghana in 2003. UNDP supported infrastructures for peace, have also successfully intervened in conflicts situations in Guyana, Bolivia, Timor-Leste and Ecuador. Hopp-Nishanka (2012:8) identified three ways for which infrastructures for peace contribute in this direction to include:

- Tackling violence through conflict management, violence containment and de-escalation
- Tackling violence via the process of conflict settlement, such as negotiation and dialogue
- Tackling the structural causes and the need for systemic transformation

Hopp-Nishanka (2012:8) further identified early warning mechanisms and mechanisms to monitor and implement ceasefire and peace agreements, as ways by which infrastructures for peace can potentially help to intervene in conflict. Also, the inherent ability of infrastructures for peace, to promote reconciliation and building of trust, including the building of the capacities of conflict parties, as well as create space for dialogue which among others aid knowledge transfer and promote mutual understanding, further makes infrastructures for peace valuable tools for conflict intervention and transformation, and as posited by Odendaal (2010:3), infrastructure for peace acts through “dialogue, promotion of mutual understanding and trust-building, as well as inclusive, constructive problem-solving and joint action to prevent violence” , intervene and transform conflict.

Trust is an important part of relationship transformation. Potential actors and personal transformation, is often a product of trust cum confidence building and improved relationships between stakeholders in conflicts. The inherent ability of Infrastructure for peace to help build trust and confidence, makes it essential in personal transformation and in the transformation of potential actors. Also, it’s conflict transformation capability can be traced to its inherent potentials to build the capacities of conflict stakeholders, in addition to its capacity to promote their active participation in the peace process and other forms of dialogue. According to Hopp-Nishanka (2012:8), it “brings stakeholders and their constituencies together, change agents and creates space for joint problem-solving as well as creates, consolidate and maintain a network of transformative actors” .

Furthermore, it has been said, that infrastructure for peace promotes knowledge transfer and capacity building, however, if it helps find compromise, it potentially results in issue

transformation, if on the other hand, it contributes or helps brings about a change of goals of conflict parties or stakeholders, then, it potentially leads to actors transformation, (Hopp-Nishanka, 2012:19). In the same vein, to achieve structural transformation, there is the need for institutional building. Institutional building when “affecting the asymmetric power balance between conflict parties” (Hopp-Nishanka, 2012:10), leads to structural transformation, and as posited by Ojielo (2007:6), “the example of Ghana where institutional building, reconciliation efforts and working towards a culture of peace come together, indicate several avenues of conflict transformation”.

In addition, the efficacy of infrastructure for peace in the transformation of violent conflicts has been exemplified in the experience of South Africa, Ghana and in Kenya. Infrastructure for peace, in addition to its inherent nature of providing a platform, also gives standing address to peace efforts. Kofi Annan had explained in 2006 progress report on the 2001 report on prevention of armed conflict, that; “essentially, the aim should be the creation of a sustainable national infrastructure for peace, that allows society and their Government’s to resolve conflicts internally and with their own skills, institutions and resources” (UN, 2001:16). Also, in 2002, at the first standing conference on stability, security and development in Durban, African leaders endorsed a Resolution designed to advance their commitment towards taking full responsibilities and to create national institutions to manage violent conflicts, and to work in partnership with civil society organisations. Corroborating this, the World Development Report (2011:188), further emphasised the crucial need for “national efforts to build an institutional infrastructure for conflict prevention and prevention and risk reduction”. In the same vein, the spirit of the message was eloquently expressed in the 2009 Secretary-General of United Nations *Report on promoting mediation and its support activities*. Paragraph 52 of the report reads

Given the promise it holds for states to resolve inter-group tension without recourse to violence, the development of national and local mechanisms for addressing grievances and reducing tension through mediation, facilitation and dialogue has received surprisingly little attention. Recent efforts by the Inter-Agency Framework Team for Conflict Prevention and the joint program of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Department of Political

Affairs on building national capacity for conflict prevention to place peace and development advisers on UNDP offices to build national and local capacity and mechanisms have begun to redress it. Although this work goes beyond mediation to include other processes, one promising approach is the development of a national architecture for dispute resolution through national, regional and district peace councils to provide mediation and prevent local conflicts from escalating and spreading. Given the African Union's call for all its members to establish, by 2004, national institutions or mechanisms for prevention, management and resolution of conflicts at community and national levels, much remains to be done" (United Nations, 2009).

A crucial step in this direction saw the UNDP coming up with Experience-Sharing Seminar on 'building infrastructure for peace in 2010 in Kenya'. The seminar focused on experience sharing of what works and does not work, as regards the formulation of violent prevention strategies and mechanisms and projects to develop peace infrastructure, as well as to inform and support the design of new initiatives in selected countries. The laudable work of the Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery (BCPR) of the UNDP, as well as the joint programme of UNDP/BCPR in conjunction with UN Department of Political Affairs (DPA) on 'Building National Capacities for Conflict Prevention', have unequivocally helped in advancing the process of building infrastructures for peace in various countries. At present, it supports the creation as well as conducts dialogue leading to the development of infrastructures for peace in about thirty countries, and as noted by Kumar (2011:5), "it is indeed possible to equip local actors to resolve conflicts, prevent violence and build consensus over contentious issues in an inclusive and credible manner"

The fact that, a comprehensive approach through infrastructure for peace is required to build peace in our society, cannot be gainsaid. Kai Brand-Jacobsen used the medical health as analogy; by drawing to mind what effective infrastructure exists in the health sector, and what infrastructure is needed in peace-building for effectiveness. In its argument, the World Health Organisation (WHO) reasons that 'just as health provision needs institutional structures to support it, so does peace. Presenting a comparative analogy, the WHO stated that "violence can be prevented and its impact reduced, in the same way that public health efforts have

prevented and reduced pregnancy-related complications, workplace injuries, infectious diseases and illness resulting from contaminated food and water, in many parts of the world. The factors that contribute to violent responses, whether they are factors of attitude and behaviour or related to larger social, economic, political and cultural conditions can be changed.

Infrastructure for peace is a critical emerging tool for hybrid peacemaking, and developing it constitutes a distinctive method of such hybrid peacemaking. Contemporary examples indicate the possibility to equip through training and capacity building national and local actors to “resolve conflicts, prevent violence, and build consensus over contentious issues in an inclusive and credible manner” (Kumar and Haye, 2011:18). This approach or method is cost effective. For instance, the results in Guyana, Bolivia, Ghana, Kenya, and Timor-Leste were achieved with approximately \$15 million, (Kumar and Haye, 2011:19) which is miniscule compared with the costs of armed conflict.

Gaining insight into the case of Ghana, it is obvious that a handful of infrastructures for peace, usually emerge within the context of the exigency, to bring a devastating violent conflict to an end. Between 1980s and 2000, the Northern region of Ghana witnessed 23 conflicts which climaxed to the killing of the King of Dagbon and some of his elders in 2002. Following this development, the Northern Regional Peace Advocacy Council (NRPAC), was created by the regional Government, as a mechanism for conflict resolution and mediation required to address the issue of trust among factions, in order to promote the restoration of confidence and relationship among the people. The Government’s decision to extend the peace council concept to other parts of the country was occasioned by the success of the NRPAC. The members of the said Ghana’s peace structure were drawn from representatives of different stakeholders including individuals with a respected profile in Ghana.

The Ministry of Interior, however, issued the national architecture for peace, otherwise christened National Peace Council in May 2006. The body played a key role in making sure that the 2008 election in Ghana went peacefully and the transition process involving the transfer of power was smooth. Following its creation in 2006, the “Ghana’s national peace architecture,

became the first official African national programme for peacebuilding, as it matched the Resolution of African leaders at the 2002 First Standing Conference on Stability, Security and Development in Africa, which proposed a resolution that each country establish a national framework to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts” (Odendaal 2010:56).

It can be recalled, that prior to the said resolution of African leaders, South Africa had created the National Peace Accord in 1991 with the aim to address violence in the country. The structure opened space for political parties to negotiate South Africa’s political future, and was adjudged successful in that it offered a template for a peaceful transition in 1994 from apartheid to post-apartheid South African society.

The UN, has been practically involved in building and providing support for infrastructures for peace. Some of the UN assisted infrastructure for peace according, to Kumar and Hays (2011:15-17) included, UNDP supported Social Cohesion Programme in Guyana which aided the country’s 2006 violence free election, the UNDP assisted National Peace Council in Ghana which mediated a peaceful political in the country, UN discrete assisted internal negotiation in Bolivia in 2008, leading to a consensus on a new constitution, a UN Interagency Initiative assistance over the period of 2004 – 2009 to stabilise Ecuador’s Northern border region with Columbia, which was initially overshadowed by Refugee gang violence and illicit trafficking. The UNDP support for a national effort to reach consensus on a new constitution in 2010, as well as its assistance for civil society to implement an early warning and response system, UN assisted training for a network of community mediators that aided the return and resettlement of 13,000 families by 2010 in Timor-Lester thereby triggering the Government’s current efforts with UNDP, to create a Department of Peacebuilding.

Others are UNDP assisted confidence building efforts of Oblast Advisory Committees (OAC) at the provincial level and Local Authority Advisory Committee at the District level, the equipping of Political Parties Registration Commission (PPRC) by UNDP ahead of the Sierra-Leone’s 2007 election, including its support for the deployment of local level mediators, as well as sustaining the advocacy for peace. The UN supported national church-led platform that, mediated among

the key political players in Lesotho, following the potential violent tension in mid-2011, which consequently mediated a successfully negotiated end to the deadlock.

To implement a cooperative, problem solving approach to conflict on the basis of negotiation and non-violence, key stakeholders in the country are relevant to drive the machineries of the infrastructure for peace. Also, an institutional mechanism which is suitable and unique to each country culture and context is essential in the management of this approach at various levels, and as stated by John, the idea is to build a bridge between civil society and Government to work together to develop national peace infrastructure and to develop models from the inside out, bottom up, top down and all around.

5.2 Peace committees

The services offered by peace service providers working in the infrastructures for peace, are regarded as peace services. The goal is often to address peace needs. Some of the services include counselling, dialogue facilitation, mediation and other indirect services such as education and training, as well as information provision and monitoring. Suurmond & Sharma, (2013:4) further distinguishes peace services into preventative peace services, curative peace services and palliative peace services. While preventative peace service providers seek to prevent violence, curative peace service providers help people to recover or heal from painful conflict. The palliative peace service providers work to reduce harm once violence has occurred. Increasing skills and knowledge in peace, including creating firm infrastructures for peace and contributing to the promotion of a culture of peace, are some the examples of preventative peace providers, while curative peace service providers include the roles of mediators, practitioners of conflict resolution and transformation and that of psychological trauma counsellors who assist in the healing of people's experiences due to painful conflict. That of the palliative peace service providers includes examples, such as, managing demilitarised zones and the conduction of shuttle mediation.

Suurmond & Sharma, (2013:4), in addition to listing some of the structures under the various types of peace services as seen below, further opined that preventative services can be offered

on a continuous basis while curative and palliative services are dependent on the peace needs at a given point in time. As such, while a stable country may focus more on preventative peace services, a conflict emerging or recovering from conflict may focus more on curative and palliative peace services.

Preventative:

Government peace units

Early warning/early response mechanisms

Peace intelligence bureaus

Dialogue platforms

Schools as zones of peace

Peace education and research institutes

Peace media agencies

Peace art exhibitions

Curative:

National dialogue platforms

Local peace committees

Community mediation committees

Truth and reconciliation committees

Dialogue facilitator pools

Psychological trauma counselling facilities

Religious institutions

Traditional conflict resolution mechanisms

Palliative:

Peacekeeping and monitoring missions

Zones of peace

Mediation platforms

Peace advisory bureaus

Peace movements

The part of the society that deals with the demand for peace needs, is regarded as the peace sector. This includes ministries for peace, national and international NGOs devoted to delivering peace services, donor organisations, committed to funding and delivering peace services, as well as other infrastructures for peace and peace service providers, that are established to deliver peace services. These infrastructures for peace can be planned or spontaneous, established by members of the civil society (the people themselves), or by national or international agencies and institutions (Suurmond & Sharma 2013:8) to respond to rising peace needs.

The National Peace Academy that has been established in the United States and Costa Rica, now also has a Peace Academy, among other places in the world. The participatory action research team for this study in collaboration with Nigerian Alliance for Peace have worked towards a stakeholders design summit for the establishment of Peace Academy in Nigeria. The Peace Academy is also an example of infrastructure for peace, and it can be created by Government or non-Government actors primarily, to promote peace-learning and peace-

building. It is believed, that violence is learnt, and as contained in Seville statement, man is not born violent neither is there a biological trait for violence, that makes humankind naturally gravitate towards acting violently, but it is a product of learning from the environment. Hence, if violence is learnt, then it can also be unlearned. This is where institutions such as national peace academy and other institutions dedicated to peace studies programmes become essential. A Peace Academy can play a key role in skills building, training and education robust in unlearning violence and in promoting peace-building, peace-learning, peace and non-violence, and by so doing contribute in no small measure in the institutionalisation of peace in our society at large. It has appeared increasingly difficult, in recent times, to pin down a clear definition of the concept of a peace committee. A working definition however emerged from a workshop put together in June 2005, by NSC and Oxfam GB in Nanyuki. The said workshop defined a peace committee as “a group of people whose broad job is to define parameters for peace.”

Other definitions that have also been advanced for peace committees (Adan and Pkalya 2006:13)

include:

- A conflict intervention structure that integrates both traditional and modern conflict intervention mechanisms to prevent and manage or transform intra-ethnic or inter-ethnic conflicts.
- A conflict mitigation and peacebuilding structure which integrates traditional and modern conflict interventions to address intra-and-intertribal tensions and conflicts.
- A community based structure and initiative to prevent, manage and transform intra and inter-community conflicts.

While a National Peace Committee is usually structured into a web that spans the entire State, District and Local Peace Committees, are focused and concerned with, a district or local

community. Local Peace Committee, is a general name, which is used to refer to committee(s) or structures of other kinds, that are formed with the intention to “encourage and facilitate joint, inclusive peacemaking and peace-building processes within its own context” (Odendaal and Olivier, 2009:2), either at the district, municipality, town or village levels. It is often branded with different names including, District Peace Advisory Councils; District Multi-Party Liaison Committees; Village Peace and Development Committees, Committees for Inter-Ethnic Relations, etc. Also, its implementation could be as part of national peace process, or by civil society organisations, in the context of a protracted violent conflict in many instances.

Local Peace Committees, represent conflict transformation processes that use basic local peace-building methods. These are processes that engage local players and use peace-building resources among others to defuse conflicts. They are also useful local peace-building instruments. A Local Peace Committee’s strategy, shares a special feature that emphasises dialogue, promotion of mutual understanding, trust and confidence building, constructive and inclusive solutions to conflict, as well as, joint action that is inclusive or involves all sides of the conflict aimed at reconciliation. The need to secure durable peace at the grass-root levels in a way that defines a bottom-top approach is one key rationale for a local peace committee’s implementation. In many instances the deep-rooted nature of conflict, at the grassroots or local level, does provide the foundation for conflict at national level and unless the root causes of such conflict at the deep-rooted level are dealt with, efforts at achieving lasting peace at the national level may be to no avail.

Local Peace Committees are mechanisms suitable for building peace at the grassroots level even under challenging circumstances. Their non-threatening space created for an inclusive search for mutually beneficial options to addressing problems in the communities, offers local peace committees, the said suitability for peacebuilding in any given circumstances.

The functions of local peace committees can include the following:

Violence prevention or reduction:

Local Peace Committees are very effective in reducing the level of violence in the communities. . Their efficacy can be further boosted amid adequate early warning, which allows for their timely meetings for collective preventative steps.

Dialogue:

Local Peace Committees are successful in the promotion of dialogue which helps to deepen mutual understanding. The importance of dialogue as “a central mechanism within the social integration -process” (UNDESA 2007: xv), is fast becoming well recognized and implemented. The purpose of dialogue is to uncover shared meaning and promote better mutual accommodation and understanding (UNDESA 2007: 3). Structured national dialogue processes were implemented in, for example, Guatemala and Nepal (International IDEA, 2007).

Problem-solving and community-building:

The ability of a local peace committee to facilitate processes of joint problem-solving, is certainly one of its greatest strengths, especially considering that in a context where coercive decision-making is counterproductive

Reconciliation:

Local Peace Committees are endowed with capacity to promote true reconciliation and violence reduction, as well as contribute to joint problem-solving. As Lederach (2005: 160) has pointed out, reconciliation is “dealing with the worst of the human condition, in an effort to repair the brokenness of relationships and life itself.”

Local peace committees may depend on support from outside. The quality of such a support system is a key ingredient of the success of local peace committees. The main areas of support needed often include:

Access to facilitation support

It is often necessary for local players to enjoy support from competent outsiders, who could work with the local peace committee, to mediate or facilitate problem-solving processes.

Training and orientation for Local Peace Committees

Training and orientation are very necessary to boost the capacity of members of local peace committees especially in the context of the emergence of local peace committee which, for many, is a paradigm shift from the aged traditional approach, as well as the authoritative style in the court system.

Access to peace-building resources

The ability of local peace committees to access funding and other supportive resources from the national and other levels could help to add value to efforts to address complex local processes, as well as boost an informed need for local peace committees, at local levels by all a sundry.

In sum, the overall or general role and goal of Peace Committee's, is to enhance the peaceful co-existence of various component groups within and between districts via dialogue, peacebuilding, mediation and negotiation as well as arbitration in the event of conflict scenario. The specific roles and responsibilities, according to Addan and Pkalya (2006:13), include the facilitation of peaceful dialogue and forums for reconciliation, to raise conflict awareness, and to coordinate peaceful initiatives.

Odendaal (2010) further listed the potential impacts of local peace committees as including:

- The enablement of communication between and among protagonists to deal with issues such as rumours, fears and mistrust among others, which are potentially destructive;
- The prevention of violence via collaborative monitoring, negotiation facilitation including cooperative planning for events which are potentially violent
- Local peace-making facilitating processes that could lead to local peace agreements

- Mediation of conflicts in order to achieve joint problem-solving
- Fortify social cohesion via Local Peace Committee facilitated dialogue
- Facilitating reconciliation
- Enable information flow at both local and national levels, so as to draw attention to local peace-building challenges at the national level.

Local Peace Committees are critical to making a major impact in the promotion of communal peaceful relationships and facilitating dialogues in communities. As posited by Odendaal (2010:3), Infrastructure for Peace acts through “dialogue, promotion of mutual understanding and trust-building as well as inclusive constructive problem-solving and joint action to prevent violence”, intervene and transform conflict. Local Peace Committees enable communication among protagonists, to address potentially destructive rumours, fears and mistrust; mediate ongoing or new disputes to achieve joint problem-solving; facilitate reconciliation; strengthens social cohesion via LPC-facilitated dialogue - a necessary precondition for sustainable, collaborative and inclusive governance; prevent violence via joint monitoring, facilitate negotiations and joint planning for potentially violent events, including enabling local and national information flow, so that local peace-building challenges can receive proper attention at the national level (Odendaal, 2010).

Trust is an important part of relationship transformation. Potential players and personal transformation, is often a product of trust cum confidence building and improved relationships between stakeholders in conflicts. The inherent ability of infrastructure for peace to help build trust and confidence makes it essential in personal transformation and in the transformation of potential players. Also, its conflict transformation capability can be traced to its inherent potential to build the capacities of conflict stakeholders, in addition to its capacity to promote their active participation in the peace process and other forms of dialogue. According to Hopp-Nishanka (2012:4), it “brings stakeholders and their constituencies together, change agents and creates space for joint problem-solving as well as creates, consolidates and maintains a network of transformative actors”.

Infrastructure for Peace capacity for conflict intervention has been expressed in various contexts in many countries. For instance, Local Peace Committees are increasingly recognised for their conflict interventional and transformative roles. It has been defined as a “conflict intervention structure that integrates both traditional and modern conflict intervention mechanisms, to prevent and manage or transform intra-ethnic or inter-ethnic conflicts”, (Adan and Pkalya, 2006: vii). Their capacity for conflict intervention, transformation and prevention, was brought to fore in Kenya in 1993 through 1995 and in Ghana in 2003 among others. A list of some Local Peace Committees include, National and District Code Monitoring Committee in Sierra Leone, District Policing Partnership in Northern Ireland, Local Peace Commission in Nicaragua, Committee for Intra-community Relations in Macedonia, National Peace Council in Ghana, Wajir Peace Committee in Kenya, etc.

6.2.1 Challenges facing peace committees

Financial challenges are the bane in the progress of some local peace committees. In the context of dwindling or inadequate funds to advance their work, some of these committees have been compelled by their prevailing unfavourable circumstances occasioned by insufficient funding to modify their structure, in order to attract funding support from donor organisations. The Wajir District Peace Committee that established a secretariat, Wajir Peace and Development Agency. The Agency has been registered as a Non-Governmental organisation (NGO), in order to be able to access external donor support (Adan & Pkalya, 2006:20).

Again, most external donors are less interested in funding long term projects, as they seem to only be ‘good at emergencies’. Even registered Peace Committees, are still confronted with challenges, in view of the fact that Peace Committees are peace-building structures that often focus on long term prevention and management of conflicts, (Jenner & Ibrahim, 2000:20). Peace Committees, indeed need funding support in any case, in spite of Jenner & Ibrahim (2000:21) assertion that “as long as you are dependent on the outside funding, the bottom-line is that you are in vulnerable position”, as such funding is often channelled into facilitative mechanisms.

Other challenges include, lack of a legal and policy framework, lack of volunteers amongst peace committee members, gender and age insensitivity in its membership and activities, ethnicity and political interferences, “lack of capacity to intervene in inter-district and cross-border conflicts, lack of an enforcement capacity and mechanisms for its resolutions, tension between traditional institutions of conflict management and the peace committees and uncoordinated structure and activities of the committees” (Adan & Pkalya, 2006:vii)

5.2.2 Peace committees and traditional institutions

The approaches and methodology of peace committees are modelled on the customary or traditional institutions of managing conflict, in any given community in question. The traditional approach places emphasis on local values and customs, and because it costs less than the court system, it is more affordable and accessible to local communities as well as more flexible in procedures and scheduling, and usually utilises local languages and symbols that come with greater clarity to the local people. Nonetheless, unlike the local peace committees, the composition of traditional peace institution is not sensitive to age and gender factors, as well as does not draw from modern approaches to addressing conflicts. The ability of local peace committees to blend the traditional approaches and the modern approaches in addressing conflicts, coupled with age and gender sensitivity in its composition, as well as its accessibility gives it a special vantage, over and above, other approaches of addressing conflicts.

Furthermore, as argued by many peace players, the philosophy behind the creation of peace committees was drawn from the exigency to “institutionalise and legitimise traditional mechanisms for conflict resolution, as well as to widen the constituency of traditional institutions, that were construed as insensitive to gender-age relations in modern conflict management systems”, (Adan & Pkalya 2006:8).

5.2.3 Merit of peace committees over traditional structure

Unlike the traditional structure, where community leadership and decision making obligations and mandates are restricted to male elders, Peace Committees draw members from various community representation including elders, women, youths, civil society groups, community

organisations, political leaders, Government and aliens, and as such, it is more inclusive and presents a superior structure, that values and recognises the role and contributions of various groups within the community.

Again, whereas successive structured steps and criteria such as age system, kinship/clan, often defines the membership of traditional structures that of a Peace Committee, is via a selection process. This approach helps to widen the “constitution of peace committees with a cumulative effect being the emergence of all-inclusive peacebuilding structure/approach/process”, (Adan & Pkalya 2006:15).

5.2.4 Types of peace committee

There are two categories of Peace Committees. The first one involves Peace Committees that obtain their mandate from a central process or national structure. Examples include that of South Africa, Macedonia or Northern Ireland, or Peace Committees that obtain their mandate from a national statutory body, like that of Malawi Electoral Committee or the Sierra Leone Political Parties Registration Commission. It could also be through the mandate following the decision of Government as seen in Ghana and Nepal.

Local Peace Committees with national mandates are often characteristically able to leverage collaboration from bodies that approved their creation. They are part of a nationally recognised process and enjoy a formal mandate. The mandates of such structures may vary from one context to the other, and may even be fairly general, which may be “to prevent violence” or “promote reconciliation” like in the experience of South Africa, or specific, as in the case of focus on policing in Northern Ireland (Neyroud and Beckley, 2001) or violent prevention during elections in Sierra Leone and Malawi. These types of peace committees, often draw their members from political parties, security forces, Government bodies and civil society, and are referred to National Peace Committees.

The second type of Peace Committees are those created by civil society initiatives, and are often products of locally facilitated processes, as well as lack a formal national mandate. This category represents the “bottom-up” approach, and is known as local or district peace committees. They reflect a stronger civil society presence, and usually present more space for volunteer members who share personal passion and capacity for peace-building.

While some local peace committees may focus on general issues concerning violent prevention, and the promotion of peace, as experienced in Burundi, Sri Lanka and Liberia, others may be created for a specific purpose, as was the case of cattle rustling in Kenya.

5.3 Infrastructures for peace: experiences from various societies

Kenya

The high rate and severity of conflicts in the pastoralist and agro-pastoralist community in Kenya in the late 1980’s and in the 1990s, first prompted the need for grassroots level peace-building initiatives. As posited by Adan and Pkalya (2006:3), "The realization that community members themselves are better placed to manage their own conflicts, was anchored on the inaccessibility of the formal judicial system and lack of trust in Government led conflict prevention interventions ...". The local peace committee in Kenya, which was established to tackle inter-ethnic conflicts, and that of cattle rustling in the Rift valley (Odendaal and Olivie, 2009:11), had its roots in the failure of Government to provide security and justice, including its inability to address communal challenges in the area. This was further compounded by the withdrawal of many NGOs operational in the district, (website 14). However, according to Juma (2000:19) the withdrawal from the district by the NGO’s turned out to be a blessing in disguise, as it opened space for the local people to turn inward for local initiatives. The committee’s legitimacy was anchored on traditional institution, but was however adapted to fit into the modern context. The Wajir Peace and Development Committee, which was the original local peace committee was largely successful because the process was fully locally owned and completely locally driven, (Odendaal 2010:14).

The Wajir Initiatives caught the attention of civil society players, to work together with a view to sensitizing the populace on the need and possibility for peace in the region. It drew the attention of the elders in the various clans in the area, to put together a mechanism for a mediation process, which eventually created space for civil society players to work with representatives of formal authority, especially the district commissioner and members of parliament. In the process of time, the peace initiatives were integrated into District Development Committees, which then became the Wajir Peace and Development Committee, with the district commissioner as chairperson. The model spread to the Northern part of Kenya, following the success of the Wajir Peace Development Committee, in the promotion of peace in the district. Sequel to this experience, the Government, as well as civil society organizations, saw ample opportunity to build peace through local peace institutions, such as local peace committees.

The Kenya's experience depicted a typical bottom-up process to the establishment of peace infrastructure. The creation of District Peace Committees in all the districts in Kenya, under the recommendation of the National Accord and Reconciliation Act 2008, was further informed by the post-election violence in 2007. Those districts that already had peace committees following the Wajir District Women group initiatives experienced less violence in comparison to other districts during the conflicts. This further emphasised the significance of promoting local capacities in building peace (Wachira, 2008:37).

In light of this, the Kenyan Government decided in 2001, to establish the National Steering Committee (NSC) on Peace-building and Conflict Management, and in 2004, the process for the development of policy on peace-building and conflict management was embarked upon by the office of the President, through the aforementioned National Steering Committee. Due to the 2007 post-election violence, the establishment of District Committees in all districts of Kenya was recommended by the National Accord and Reconciliation Act 2008, and in September 2009, the National Policy on Peace-building and Conflict Management, together with the lessons learned from post-election violence, was published by the Office of the President.

The Kenyan crisis, is an indication of how “quickly close friends and neighbours could turn against one another, and fell victim to the instinctive tribalism hidden much deeper within them” (Kofi Annan Foundation 2009:14). The District Committee, has so far demonstrated its capability to address inter-communal conflict, as well as promote violence prevention. An additional progress in the initiatives could be seen in the 2010 adoption of the constitution. The Wajir Peace and Development Committee have remained a model and an epitome of success since its formation. Following the success of Wajir Peace and Development Committee, Oxfam GB (2003) report documented detail information concerning the formation, successes and challenges of various peace committees. Adding his voice, Kofi Anan, the former United Nations Secretary-General, stated that intervening in violent conflict in Kenya has unequivocally helped in saving lives as well as created a breathing space for political progress (Kofi Annan Foundation, 2009:11).

As aforesaid, the Wajir Peace and Development Committee, can however be described, as one of the most successful infrastructures for peace, and has remained a model for conflict intervention and transformation especially at the communal level. The role of the Women in Wajir district who initiated the move to peace in 1993, following the violence that raged between the Kenyan-Somalis clan, that resulted to over 1200 deaths in four years further brought to light the importance of mainstreaming gender into peace-building activities. The Wajir initiative, bringing together of civil societies, that were largely engaged in the sensitization on the need for peace in the district, further underscores the importance of collaboration in conquering the evil and menace of violence in human communities. The initiative got the elders of different clans, incorporated into the mediation process, and after several meetings, they were made to sign a code of conduct christened ‘Al Fatah Declaration’. The process also involved the representation of formal authority.

The need to ensure a coordination of peace-making and peace-building activities as well as to sustain the continuous involvement of Government, led to the formalisation of the process. With time, the integration of peace initiatives into one structure brought Government, NGOs and citizens grouped together into one, leading to the emergence of District Development

Committee, and in May 1995, the Wajir Peace and Development Committee was formed, following the integration of peace initiatives into one structure that would bring about Government, Non-Governmental organisation (NGOs) and citizen groups together. The success recorded by the committee in the intervention and transformation of conflicts in the region, soon began to attract donor organisations, NGO's, and National Council of Churches, among others, to begin to establish several local peace committees, and the model spread to the Northern region of Kenya. This motivated the national Government to establish the National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management in 2001, with the aim to formulate a national policy on conflict management, and to coordinate various peace-building initiatives including Local Peace Committees, (Odendaal, 2010). Though share the same concept, Local Peace Committees are, however, varied in their mode of formation.

In Kenya, the Local Peace Committee was adjudged to be largely successful. The Wajir Local Peace Committee started a process that resulted to national agreement to establish Peace Committees in all districts of Kenya. The Local Peace Committees in the country succeeded in facilitating the Garissa Declaration, which was an agreement between the Government and the North-East Pastoralist clans, on procedures to tackle cattle rustling in the area. The experience represents a clear example of 'bottom-up law-making'. It could be recalled, that in spite of, the post-election violence that erupted in Kenya between December 2007 and March 2008, the Northern and North-Eastern provinces of the country were largely peaceful, as many believed that the relative peace and stability in the said provinces was partly due to the positive impact of Local Peace Committees in the areas.

Ghana

Drawing from a number cases of the success of local peace committees, one may want to submit that local peace committees are appropriate in the context of absence, failure or weakness of Government(s), whether at the national or local levels, however, the case of Ghana as provided by Ojielo (2008), seems to present an exception, in view of the fact that Ghana's decision to implement a District Peace Advisory Council, was not premised on Governance crisis (especially not at national level), but was more of her experiences with a

handful of intractable community-based and inter-ethnic conflicts. Also, the growing understanding of the concept of local peace committees, and its associated efficacy, has begun to expand its frontiers to include its application in the sustenance of peace, even in seemingly peaceful vicinities.

Ghana experienced 14 cases of ethnic community violence between 1990 and 2002. The Konkomba Nanumba war that occurred in Ghana between 1994 and 1995 led to the death of 5,000 people. However, following the 2002 violent break out in Dagomba kingdom, which claimed the life of the King of Dagbon and 40 others, the Government declared a State of Emergency in the region affected, and afterwards called on the UN system country to come to her aid. This development could be described as the genesis of the journey to the creation of infrastructure for peace in Ghana, as the UNDP responded by appointing Peace and Governance Advisor (Odendaal, 2010), to intervene and help douse the tension, following the said violent outbreak. Shortly after, with the support of UNDP, the National Peace Council (NPC) was established in Ghana.

Ghana is a clear example of how national and local conflict systems interconnect. One of the key impacts following the creation of National Peace Council (NPC) in Ghana is that it helped to ensure a peaceful election in 2008, including a smooth transfer of power in Ghana.

South Africa

Between 1990 and 1994, as apartheid came to an end, the desire to halt the raging violence led to the emergence of National Peace Accord of 1991, under which Local Peace Committees were created. These Committees worked between 1991 and 1994. South Africa could be adjudged to have succeeded in pioneering a peace structure during the year that preceded elections in 1994, building mechanisms at local and regional levels that effectively curbed violence escalation in the country.

Local Peace Committees may appear not to be so successful, given their main objective to prevent violence, as the number of deaths occasioned by political violence in the later days of the apartheid struggle increased from 2649 in 1992 to 3567 in 1994. However, all observers

concluded that the Local Peace Committees successfully prevented several potentially violent events, including the bolstering of local dialogue and problem-solving processes.

Sudan: The Collaborative in South Kordofan

The Collaborative is a network that is composed of Sudan and South Sudan local peace activists, and has been responsible for the coordination of efforts across the new border of Sudan and South Sudan. The network was established in 2006, following a meeting which Peace Direct and PACT facilitated. The network, has been largely involved in the building of at least 12 Peace Committees in South Kordofan in Sudan and South Sudan (Unity State). The members of the Peace Committees, established by the aforesaid network, are trained in conflict analysis and finding local solutions to conflict issues. For about three years the Collaborative network has been working to identify, coordinate and train local peace activities in communities.

DRC: North Kivu

Instrumental to local peace committee creation in the North Kivu in the DRC, is an NGO – Centre Resolution Conflicts (CRC). The NGO has served as a link between communities and local Government authorities in Eastern DRC, as well as the armed groups in the bush. It is strong in its focus on youth, and has been largely involved the creation of Local Committees for Peace, which provide non-partisan platforms for “consultation and analysis, reflection and action of grassroots communities around issues of reconciliation, security and participation in the management of public affairs”, including direct intervention in conflict issues, (Van Tongeren 2013). About a dozen local peace committees have been established by the said NGO, since its inception.

DRC: Barza Inter-Communicataire in North Kivu

The Commission de Pacification et de Concorde (CPC), was the pre-cursor to the Barza (van Tongeren, 2013). The CPC was established in 1997 by Kabila’s Government as a national body with provincial branches. It created ‘Peace Cells’ in various regions, which were composed of prominent individuals “who were working at grassroots levels by organising meetings between

and among leaders of antagonistic ethnic groups, and convincing small numbers of combatants to lay down their arms and reintegrate into the community” (VanTongeren, 2013).

DRC: The Hakina Amani Network and Local Peace Initiatives in Ituri

Following the request of various organisations for inter-community reconciliation program, Community Berazas emerged. The network was later christened Hakina na Amani, commenced its activities in 2004 and, was among others, composed of Episcopal Justice and Peace Commissions, human rights groups and a women’s network. Its goals include “the promotion of peace, protection of human rights, encouragement of citizen participation (to ensure a community governed by law and order), the opposition of identity violence and the positive transformation of conflicts through the expansion of its member’s intervention capacities” (van Tongeren 2013).

DRC: Village Peace Committee in North Kivu

The Village Peace Committee in North Kivu was established by an NGO, World Relief Congo. Firstly, the NGO initially carried out an assessment with a view to getting more specific information on the amount of ethnic groups and other groupings and leaders were residing in the village and who had the capacity to play an active role in the peace structure. Secondly, a conflict transformation workshop was organised, and elections for a Village Peace Committee was held. The representatives in the Village Peace Committee included the youth leader, local authority representative, Barza members, Church leader, School leader and members of civil society. They meet every week (van Tongeren, 2013).

Burundi: The Kibimba Peace Committee

The establishment of Kibimba Peace Committee in 1994 was a follow up of an initial training facilitated by the Mennonite Central Committee. The said peace committee initiated a process committed to facilitating communication between various groups in the community and it eventually restored normalcy to the community that was largely traumatised.

Uganda: Peace Committees in the Karamoja region

There are District Peace Committees in Karamoja and Acholi regions in the North of Uganda. The key roles, of the said peace structures include, “to prevent and resolve conflicts, assess the situation in the field and report or respond to an impending outbreak of violent conflicts, in addition to following up and recovering stolen or raided livestock.

Nicaragua

The Central America peace accord formally ended the internal wars that raged throughout the 1980s in Central America. Five countries were signatories to the accord. The National Peace Commission, region-specific commissions and a network of local commissions were established by the Nicaraguan Government. Religious leaders combined efforts in the South of Nicaragua, to establish small commissions of local residents, in order to promote dialogue between the Contra rebels and the Sandinista Government. The structure was involved in sorting out intra-community disputes, land conflicts and crimes. About 60 commissions were created by 1990.

Also, the International Support and Verification Commission of the Organisation of American States, was the second type of peace commission that was created as a component of the regional peace settlement. It commenced work in 1990, and initially had the onus to oversee the demobilisation of over 22,000 contra combatants in the country’s West and Northern regions. The International Support and Verification Commission instrumental in the establishment of 96 peace commissions by 1995, and these commissions got engaged in “mediation, verification of human rights protections, promotion of human rights and facilitation of community projects” (van Tongeren, 2013). The Peace Commission created space for dialogue within which citizens safely expressed their views.

Local Peace Committees are useful instruments for local peace-building. In Nicaragua several local peace agreements were carried out by Local Peace Commissions. The peace structures recorded tremendous successes, particularly in engaging Contra guerrillas who re-armed after cease-fire agreement. The structures also helped in easing their re-integration into the society when other attempts to deal with them came to no avail.

The Philippines

Following the fall of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986 as a result of the People Power Revolution, the new Philippine Government initiated talks with the rebel forces. The move led to the creation of the Office of the Peace Commissioner under the office of the President. The position of Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (PAPP), with cabinet ranking, was established under President Ramos, and was saddled with the responsibility to manage the comprehensive peace process and was assisted by a full time Secretariat (OPAPP). Government peace negotiating panels were established for negotiations with the rebel groups.

The establishment of a High Commissioner for Peace and Reintegration in the President's office and regional offices by President Uribe's led administration in Philippines, contributed to almost 47,000 persons handing their weapons in as at year 2008. Also, the contribution of civil society participants in the various parts of peacemaking and peace-building, helped to achieve greater buy-in at the local level, which eventually led to a lasting peace. The Ramos administration in Philippines, established the Office of the Peace Commissioner under the office of the President. Also, the position of the Presidential Adviser on peace process was created. The peace structures together with Government peace negotiation panels engaged the rebels/rebel groups in negotiation for peace.

Peru

The reconciliation process is ongoing in Peru following the bloody civil war that occurred in the 1980s among rural indigenous communities. The Ombudsperson office was created in 1993 as an autonomous public institution and was saddled with the onus to defend human rights as well as promote mediation and conciliation initiatives. A programme was launched by the Government in 2008 to prepare groundwork for a decentralised national system for prevention and constructive conflict management and transformation. The program was funded by international cooperation, and the central goal of the said program, whose funding was administered by UNDP, was to "institutionalise dialogue and peaceful mechanisms for channelling social demands timely and through democratic institutions" (van Tongeren, 2013).

In Peru, the Government structure, the National Office of Dialogue and Sustainability (ONDS), working in varying relationships with Civil Society Organisations, has been involved in programmes that aided in the establishment of broader capacity building throughout the country, although inconsistencies in Government approaches decrease or its impact. Given the positive impacts of infrastructures for peace, one cannot gainsay the fact that planning peace through the use of architectures for peace is critical to promoting conflict intervention and transformation for lasting peace in our society, especially amid the threatening effect of climate change for which experts submit may increase conflicts.

Columbia: Local Peace Communities

Infrastructures for Peace, such as Local Peace Communities, Peace Committees, Peace Laboratories, and Zones of Peace in the country, are well pronounced in some vulnerable zones of conflict in the country. The conflict involving the Government and various guerrilla groups, such as the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia) and ELN (National Liberation Army), could be traced to La Violencia, occasioned by the assassination of Gaitan in 1948. The development has left about 250,000 as casualties and millions of people displaced. The objectives of the aforesaid Peace Structures, include both the protection against surrounding violence, establish participatory democracy and to encourage local development including intervention in local conflict issues.

The history of the four decades of internal armed conflicts in Columbia triggered the creation of local peace committees in the country. The Local Peace Committees established institutions that created space for maximum participation in decision-making. According to van Tongeren (2013), a 'Constituent Assembly', open general assembly or Municipal Forums for all members of the community. The forums began to carry out diagnostic assessments with a view to determining the factors responsible for violence and poverty in the various communities and to come up with a development and peace plan for the community.

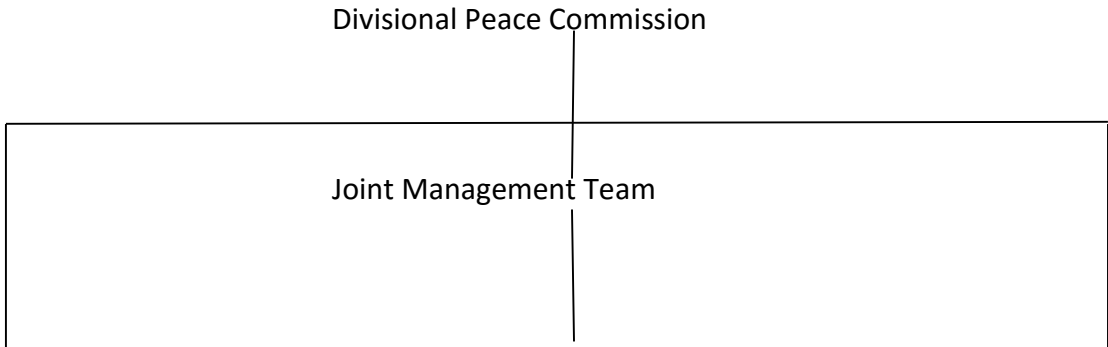
Peace Shuras in Afghanistan:

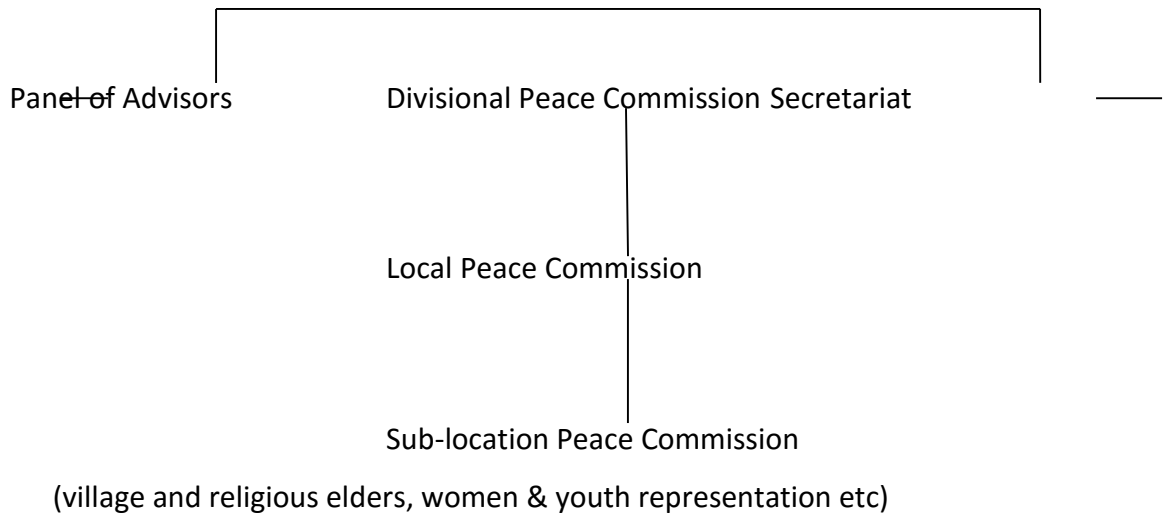
Several hundreds of Peace Shuras have been established in Afghanistan by NGO – Cooperation for Peace and Unity (CPAU), and Sanayee Development Organisation (SDO).

While CPAU reported to have established 500 Peace Shuras, SDO also reported to have established 530 local peace committees within 13 provinces. Members of Peace Shuras include community elders/leaders, school teachers, community youth, local businessmen and village mullahs (religion scholar).

The diagram below depicts the proposed leadership structure of peace committees following the report of the 2005 Nanyuki District Peace and Development Committees’ Terms of References (TORs) harmonisation workshop. The Joint Management Team was designed to be the technical, managerial and strategy organ in the structures, and was to be formed in all districts. The composition of the Joint Management Team includes NGOs, women, youth, Government, religious groups and Peace Committee Secretariat Coordinator. The Sub-location Commission is lowest in cadre of the structure and is to report to Divisional Peace Commission, which will also report to The Joint Management Team.

Fig. 5.1 Leadership Structure of Peace Committees





The Joint Management Team is also to relate directly with the panel of advisors and the secretariat in addition to the Divisional Peace Commission. The Joint Management Team finally reports to the Divisional Peace Commission. It be recalled that said meeting in 2005 came up with the decision to modify the District Peace and Development Committee to Development Commission, even as the meeting suggested the above structure for Peace Committee.

Some of the qualities to be considered in selecting people into peace committees according to (Adan & Pkalya 2006:47) include, honesty, integrity, impartiality and neutrality, fluency in local language, in addition to the points that such person(s) must be knowledgeable, be a local resident and a non-political office holder, as well as being accessible and available.

In view of the importance of communication as an effective tool for peace work, the said meeting also proposed as a significant aspect of the communication process, that minutes of meetings must be well documented and disseminated by the Secretariat, that the executive/secretariat should have monthly meetings, and that there should be quarterly meetings for the wider committee, as well as biennial meetings for members of the community. Others include weekly situational reports to the secretariat and recruiting and training of on the ground field monitors.

5.6 Infra-structure for peace and prevention of electoral violence

Election-related violence has become one of the greatest threats to development and democratic progress in many countries, especially in Africa. For many citizens in countries where electoral violence is prevalent, fear often heightens when periods of election draw closer and this can continue through periods of election and in post-voting periods. Electoral violence has often resulted in death, destruction of properties, human suffering, economic hardship and depletion of peoples' confidence in democratic institutions and processes. While, it is true that the effects of such violence could be weighty, prevention is however possible.

The three principles upon which effective conflict prevention depends are: early reaction to signs of trouble, reduction of the risk factors responsible for triggering violent conflict, and detailed efforts or exertion to ensure the resolution of underlying root causes of violence. Early signs of trouble involve the creation of early warning mechanisms or systems and organisational structure, capacity or institutions with mandate and capability to react in a timely manner. Close cooperation throughout the electoral cycle among electoral, conflict prevention, peace-building and security communities of practices, is required to neutralise the trigger factors of election-related violence. Long term commitment among these communities of experts to work cooperatively towards changing the landscape for the election is required to resolve underlying root causes of conflict. The creation of a collaborative platform critical to the facilitation of cross-organisational cooperation, is required in bringing all the relevant expertise together even from a single community of practice. It is within this context that the concept of infrastructure for peace becomes relevant in tackling the menace of election-related violence. According to Van Tongeren (2011:46), the approach of infrastructure for peace "acknowledges that sustainable peace needs a collaborative institutional framework between State and non-State players. It promotes peace-building and conflict prevention approaches that embolden collective ownership, including multi-stakeholders and societal collaboration, capacity-building and sustainability.

Kumar (2011:389) has linked peaceful electoral outcomes in Guyana in 2006, Ghana in 2004 and 2008, Sierra Leone in 2007, Togo in 2010, Kyrgyzstan in 2010, Solomon Islands in 2010 and the constitutional referendum in Kenya in 2010 to UN-backed initiatives of developing

infrastructures for peace which are aimed at fortifying national capacities for conflict prevention and transformation. A convincing example of how infrastructures for peace can effectively help to defuse tensions relating to election, was again brought to fore, in the 2008 Ghana presidential election. The National Peace Council was instrumental in helping to douse tensions and persuade the presidential aspirants to accept the result of the election announced by the electoral body. The National Peace Council was initiated in 2005 by the UNDP to “promote community dialogue and raise early warning on potential conflicts” (UNDP, 2010a).

In South Africa, architecture for peace, such as local peace committees were a key strategy employed to prevent violence from 1991 to 1994 during the transition from apartheid to new democratic dispensation. 260 local peace committees were created in towns and villages with a view to supporting the sustainability of a negotiated settlement including the organisation of an election that was relatively peaceful. The experience in South Africa provides another insight into how infrastructures for peace could be effectively utilised to prevent and mitigate electoral violence. The experience in Ghana in 2008 was however compelling.

Guyana conducted its first peaceful election in 2006 following years of election-related violence and tension. Critical to the 2006 peaceful election, was the creation of a media monitoring centre and code of conduct for media through the support of the Commonwealth Secretariat, including a UNDP-supported broad-based social cohesion programme, which helped to facilitate a national dialogue and agreements between and among political parties, in addition to the creation of a network of mediators that helped address local conflicts as well as douse tension in various communities in the periods before and during elections.

As aforesaid, experience in Kenya provides support for the efficacy of infrastructure for peace in mitigating electoral violence. During the 2008 election-related violence in Kenya, districts with peace councils recorded less incidents of violence compare to other districts without peace councils. The development motivated the Government to create district peace committees in all Kenya’s districts. Infrastructures for peace further gained momentum and strength the more as the 2010 constitutional referendum approached. Uwiano (‘cohesion’) Platform for Peace under the support of the UNDP by the National Steering Committee on

Conflict Management, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission, and PeaceNet Kenya, also contributed to the success of the referendum. Also involved in the platform were key government agencies such as the National Security Intelligence Service, Provincial administration, Administration Police, Kenya Police and Independent Electoral Boundaries Commission in “a unique multi-stakeholder conflict prevention, de-escalation and response strategy that emphasised preventative action, diplomacy and community dialogue” (Uwiano Platform for Peace, 2012: x). Since creation, the platform has remained focused and contributes to peace-building and conflict management including maintaining peace before, during and after 2013 general election in Kenya.

According to Kumar (2011:395) and Kumar and De la Haye (2012:14), some of the regular elements created via infrastructure for peace that contribute to peaceful elections include,

- National platforms or mechanisms for facilitating the building of political consensus building and mediating high level tension prior to or during elections
- Presence of conflict management and mediation capacities such as local peace committees at the local or district level
- Civil society engagement especially traditional leaders, religious leaders and youths in systematic advocacy for peace

The combination of these elements was instrumental to the success of the 2008 election and even the 2013 election in Kenya.

In sum, the creation of local and national infrastructures for peace which, also have as their mandates the coordination of early warning, prevention and mitigation of election-related violence, can help ensure that the impact of violence, including electoral violence, is avoided and effort towards peaceful election are maximised.

5.7 Ministries of Peace

A ministry of peace is a Governmental peace structure created at the cabinet level of the executive arm of Government. It is aimed at institutionalising peace and transforming a given society into a peaceful social environment. Before taking a deeper insight into the significant role a ministry of peace would play in Nigeria if created, it is however crucial to first reflect and learn from the history of past attempts to build peace by Government and non-Government players for peace in Nigeria. This history shows the need to unify diverse elements around a realistic immediate goal that is not simply a rallying point but also a step on the way to the broader goal of establishing justice and a lasting peace. This goal, according to (Rivera, 2007:3) is “the creation of a cabinet level Department/Ministry of Peace within the structure of Government. In spite of the enormous efforts by non-state players towards building a lasting peace in Nigeria, a lot still has to be done, and more importantly applying a more result-oriented alternative following growing influence of those who benefit from the flourishing culture of violence in the society. As expressed by De Benedetti, those who are committed to peace constitute a sub-culture which opposes a country’s dominant power culture and the realities of power, and that even though the sub-culture speaks of forbearance, supranational authority, just world order, and reconciliation, it is however a component of a larger culture which was built on conquest and stocked with people who are nationalistic and value independence as well as consistently elect officials who seem more interested in profit and popularity, (Rivera 2007:5).

It is important for those in peace movements and those who are engaged in studies and activities aimed at institutionalising peace in all its ramifications, to recognize the fact that changing the prevailing culture of violence in the Nigerian society is critical to peaceful ideals. It is against this backdrop that a Ministry of Peace and infrastructures for peace become valuable in the attainment of ultimate success in replacing the culture of violence with a culture of peace.

It should be recalled that the task of creating a culture of peace was or is one of the goals of UNESCO. The goal of creating a culture of peace was approved by a resolution passed by the General Assembly of the United Nation (UN, A/RES/52/13). The significance of a Ministry of

Peace in the entrenchment and consolidation of a peaceful culture in the global society cannot be denied. To establish a more peaceful culture, there is the need to draw attention towards a political goal that is viable and can effectively garner broad or wider public support. At the same time, there is the need to establish or create an institutional base that will serve as a lever for change. One key aspect of the resolution of the United Nations is that “it imagines a cooperative work between Government’s and the public as well as NGO’s to establish a culture of peace. It therefore appears obvious, that to establish institutional support for a culture that is more peaceful, there is a need for a bureaucratic lever within the framework of Government in addition to a political force that is external to it (Rivera, 2007: 6).

One assuring political goal with capacity to create the required bureaucratic lever, is the creation of a Ministry of Peace to support the tasks of such a peace structure, including overseeing a national level peace academy, as well as having a senior minister with cabinet level influence. The creation of a Ministry of Peace will provide a political goal that is realistic especially considering that there exists immense potential support for such a peace structure across the political spectrum.

A Ministry of Peace must unify the various bases delineated by UNESCO, in order to provide the leverage to create a culture of peace. According to (Rivera, 2007:7), “it must also provide a focused perspective that will encourage people to imagine the possibility of peace and permit them to overcome the fear that is preventing care for the common good”. It must serve as the nexus between the desire for domestic peace and that of global peace, as well as the concern for peace with that for justice. The peace structure portrayed in the United State bills imagines a cabinet-level department of peace committed to peace-making and the study of conditions favourable to domestic and international peace and justice (HR Bill 3760, 2005). Recognising the necessity of a cabinet-level peace structure in advancing the course of peace and justice in our society, it is important that our aim should transcend a better peace-making community within a violent-prone society, to transforming the culture of violence into a culture of peace. If this is the aim, it therefore becomes imperative to unite behind the goal of establishing Ministries of Peace within the geographical delimitation of every sovereign state in the world,

for “there is no reason why demonstrations against war and injustice cannot include advocacy for a department/Ministry of Peace. Indeed, it seems evident that this would fortify the cause of attaining a just peace” (Rivera, 2007:14).

Those involved in advocating for Ministries of Peace need to realize that they are in conflict not only with those who brand their business as ‘violent ‘ and thus earn living from it, but also with those who believe in the use of force or military approach to administer states or advance security mandates. However, it should be made clear at this juncture, that a Ministry of Peace is not really in opposition to adequate defence, but rather, it is in opposition to the idea of using military might to maintain the status quo of a nation, as it among others, indicates a ‘show of violence’, in addition to the fact that a military approach often fails in addressing conflicts from its root source.

In presenting this case, peace advocates have often been found to favour a nation’s own long-term interests but alas, long-term interest often loses out as short-range interest is usually substituted for long term interests. The only real solution is “to develop a rhetoric that appeals to our larger human identity and can form the basis for the identity of those committed to peace”, (Rivera, 2007:16). Individuals with great interest in peace usually focus or draw attention to cooperation and negotiation instead of protests, non-cooperation and interventions which constitute the nucleus of non-violent action (Sharp, 2005). It is however vital to understand that for institutional structures that require change, there is the need to develop and engage in non-violent struggle, rather than just only get involved in talks with the conservative opponents of the idea.

5.7.1 History of the concept

According to Suter (1984:40), ‘the Ministry of Peace concept has not occurred in a vacuum. It has arisen partly out of the need to find alternatives to the arms race, but also as a fragment of a whole new move towards peace’. Furthermore, the Ministry proposal is based on a principle of organisational change, for a new quest for peace requires a new institution. Indeed, it is time now for a Department of Peace (Pace, 2005:1).The concept of such a structure had been

initiated since 1935, when Senator Mathew Neely of West Virginia first introduced a Bill calling for a Department of Peace, and by 1937 the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Australia called on the Australian government to establish such peace structure. However, 'the argument, of the then Australian government against it during that time, was that it would duplicate the tasks of the Department of External Affairs, hence making the proposal unnecessary' (Suter,1984:215). In 2002, US Congressman Kucinich introduced legislation to create a US Department of Peace. Similar efforts began in the UK (IPRA, 2001).

Since 2002, the calls for the creation of Ministries and Departments of Peace have been largely championed by the Global Alliance. Suter (1984:215) believed that 'as soon as one Government establishes a Ministry of Peace others will begin to create such Ministries also. As such, what hitherto was regarded as utopia, has become a practice of possibility and that of conventional wisdom', as exemplified in the experience of countries that currently share such peace structures.

5.8 As a way of building a culture of peace

A Ministry of Peace within the framework of Government's at the local, state and/or at the national levels, would have the responsibility to promote the entrenchment and the practice of a culture of peace and non-violence, as well as non-violent expression of human rights and responsibilities in the society. The peace perspective in Government would be institutionalised by a Ministry of Peace, (Suter 1984:47), professionalize and institutionalise the peace process, and ensure that the voices of the peace-makers are held at the highest level of decision making since 'where you stand depends on where you sit'.

Institutionalising peace via a MOP is crucial to the quest for a culture of peace in our society.

A 'culture of peace' refers to 'a collection of values, attitudinal conduct or behaviour as well as a way of life which rebuffs violence and promotes violence or conflict prevention by handling the root causes of such violence in order to solve problems by the utility of dialogue and negotiation involving individuals and groups as well as nations'(UN,1998:6). Mind-set

demilitarization is basic to building a culture of peace in the community or society. According to Adams (2005:1), eight features of a culture of violence have been recognised and each of these has an alternative in a culture of peace. This is illustrated in the table 5.1.

Table 5:1 A culture of peace in place of culture of violence

Culture of violence	Culture of peace
Belief in power that involves the use of force	Belief in dialogue to resolve conflict
Having enemies	Tolerance, solidarity, understanding
Authoritarian governance	Democratic participation
Secrecy and propaganda	Free flow of information
Armament	Disarmament
Exploitation of people	Human rights
Exploitation of nature	Sustainable development
Male domination	Equality of women and men

Source: www.culture-of-peace.info/copoj/definition

In a culture of peace, parties in conflict, often adopt the use of dialogue rather than fight to resolve any conflict. The people show high level of understanding, tolerate one another's excesses or inadequacies, even as they work towards a commonly acceptable point as well as show support or solidarity for their activities while the act of enmity is shun. A culture of peace welcomes equality of women and men, and popular participation in the governance of the

affairs of the people, thereby giving room for true democracy to thrive against a dictatorial or authoritarian form of leadership. There is no restriction to the flow of information as such creating a healthy environment that promotes freedom of press even as it largely discourages propaganda. It support's disarmament and confidence building against armament as means to promote deterrence, even as it rejects the exploitation of people and ecological exploitations for the promotion of sustainable development in the society and the non-violent expression of human rights and responsibility.

Hence, to entrench a culture that supports sustainable development, human rights, equality of women and men, disarmament and small arms control, free flow of information, democratic participation, and tolerance, solidarity, understanding as well as belief in dialogue to resolve conflict, there is the need to institutionalise peace through the creation of MOPs.

5.9 Overall responsibilities and specific tasks

The overall function of a Ministry of Peace is to build a culture of peace. Following the lead of Harris (2011), this will involve a number of specific tasks.

5.9.1 Promote education for peace

Peace education has since evolved from studies, such as that relating to war and its prevention, to that of violence in all its ramifications and promoting education targeted at countering the system of war, in order to establish a peaceful system (Ardizzone, 2003:430). Peace education has a dynamic relationship with peace practice, although it varies in practice between different countries because people have different understanding of peace. 'In spite of its wider scope, the contents of peace education are less defined in comparison to that of the subjects of the traditional educational system. Notwithstanding the fact, the objectives of peace education may be the same; each society is expected to establish different forms of its kind in relation to the main issues, conditions, culture, and the opinions as well as the creativity of the educators' (Bar-Tal, 2002:34-35)

It is one of the key tasks of a Ministry of Peace, to promote a peace education programme that is friendly to the Nigerian environment through curriculum design to that effect and working with the ministry of education to ensure the use of the curriculum in schools. World Bank (2005:60) summarises the lessons learned from case studies of peace education initiatives, which lend support to the argument that peace education cannot be seen in isolation from the wider picture of education. As such, the Ministry of Peace would work in collaboration with the Ministry of Education to introduce a peace education all levels of education, as well as coordinate education for peace projects of civil society organizations.

5.9.2 Promote restorative justice

Traditional African society used a restorative as opposed to a justice approach in community-level crime. The relevance of restorative justice is premised on its focus on the rights and needs of crime victims. It views crime as harm for which the person responsible must be held accountable. 'Even though the primary aim or the key value of restorative justice is healing the wounds, it also transforms the role of the society in addressing and handling crime as well as approaches offender accountability by promoting reparations in addition to underwriting rehabilitation instead of punishment alone' (Kgosimore, 2001:41). It is one of the key tasks of Ministry of Peace to strengthen the values inherent in restorative justice practice, as well as, supporting trauma-affected people and healing the wounds of violence, in addition to promoting restorative justice programmes, which "generally involve ways of bringing victims of crime and their offenders, and others involved, safely together and into safe places in the community thereafter" (Pepinsky, 2006:438).

Luna (2001:12) 'noted three principles that are incorporated in the restorative justice approach.

- That crime does not only inflict injuries to the state, but specifically on victims, offenders and communities. Hence, offending is firstly, a breach of human relationship and secondly, a violation of the law,

- That victims, offenders, the societies and governments should actively participate in the criminal justice process from the outset and extensively,
- That it is the onus of the government to preserve order while the community is responsible for establishing peace and promoting justice’.

5.9.3 Promote equality

Inequality is, as we have seen an outcome of structural violence. It is also a cause of violence, and many armed conflicts in Africa are based on inequality which has an ethnic dimension (Stewart, 2000: 245). Building new socio-political and economic structures, religious tolerance, ethnic and regional balance, and gender balance in political participation will reduce a major cause of violence. Equality is central to the enhancement of social peace, in fact, “the formula for peace is always equality, equity and mutual respect” (Mattok, et al., 2011:6).

5.9.4 Peace-making and civilian peace-keeping

Peacemaking is a legal and political process aimed at achieving a negotiated settlement to a dispute’ (Suter, 1984:77). As a diplomatic activity, peace-making is more typically a function of leadership at high level. The aim of peace-making is to bring warring parties to the negotiation table to forge a peace settlement. According to Pepinsky (2006:428), “peace-making focuses on how to make relationships warmer and more secured”. Equally important, as much as the outcome, is the process itself, in fact, it is an accepted wisdom that process is a significant aspect of peace-making (Ker-Lindsay, 2010:62), It is the task of Ministry of Peace to follow up with the process for a fair and transparent process, since in line with the theory, a process that lacks these elements increases the chances that the settlement may be rejected by one side and thus, ensure that the solution put in place becomes unstable. The aforesaid Ministry would be responsible for the use of peace-making and the widespread training of mediators to assist peace-making, and will build peace-making efforts among conflicting cultures (The Peace Alliance, undated:1), and as expressed in the July 2000 draft bill introduced to the US

Parliament by Congressman Dennis Kucinich, such a cabinet-level agency is dedicated to peace-making and the study of conditions conducive to both domestic and international peace.

The role of civilian peace-keeping in Peace Support Operations appears to be under researched and not widely known, hence, it will be one of the tasks of a Ministry of Peace to advance knowledge, research and practice in the area of civilian peace-keeping which includes the roles of the non-military personnel during peace support operations. These activities are critical mass to peace process during peace support operation. These non-military aspect which cut into the dimension of civilian peace process include, disarmament, demobilisation and disintegration (DDR), civil affairs, political affairs, election monitoring and observation, rule of law (ROL), security sector reform (SSR), sexual exploitation and abuse, gender (SEA), child protection , HIV/AIDS, public information, conduct and discipline, humanitarian liaison and assistance and mission support . Others are administration, finance, human resources, logistics and information technology as well as communication functions

5.9.5 Promote respectful relationships and friendship

Building relationship and friendship is essential to peaceful co-existence within and between societies. It helps in reducing the likelihood of violence, especially considering the fact that when friends have conflict, dialogue is usually adopted rather than violence. A Ministry of Peace would be responsible for promoting respectful relationship and friendship in the country. This is necessary to move towards solidarity, tolerance and understanding among the populace, especially in a country like Nigeria where the citizens are clearly divided along ethnic and religious affiliations. Also, it will help to establish peaceful relations between two neighbouring states and between/among States at the extreme ends of the poles geographically as well as aid in the creation of values, attitudes and behaviour that address the root causes of violence with a view to solving problems via dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations.

5.9.6 Promote non-violent conflict resolution skills

A Ministry of Peace would be responsible for promoting the skills of non-violent conflict resolution in the country. These skills focus on dialogue between conflict stakeholders in anticipation that outcomes acceptable to each party are identified. The Ministry would promote the learning and practice of these methods among the citizens, and establish institutions for mediation and conflict resolution where parties have not been able to resolve their conflicts, as way to advance its fundamental aim is to reduce violence. It is also significant that such ministry of peace emphasises the non-violent resolution of conflict in international politics. It will be responsible for the non-violent resolution of conflicts with a strong concern for personal and social justice' (Suter 2004:174), as well as advance an agenda for a new architecture of peace by supporting and establishing activities that promotes a culture of peace and assertive non-violence.

5.9.7 Heal the wounds of violence

For the victims of the violence which permeates Nigerian society, a Ministry of Peace would be responsible for co-ordinating the healing activities and support of the victims of such violence.

5.9.8 Peace policy

A Ministry of Peace would be responsible for the development, co-ordination, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of Government, foreign and national peace policies. A Ministry of Peace is crucial to directing Government policy towards non-violent resolutions of conflict, and to seek peace by peaceful means in all conflict areas (Lukwiya, 2006:1). The ministry is a specific

Governmental institution that assesses Governmental policy and legal decisions on national and international levels, and then suggests alternatives based not on economic gain or strategic power, but on a culture of peace, as advocated by the UN since 1999 and the fundamental rights that all humans intrinsically strive for. Domestically, the Department/Ministry of peace will develop policies and allocate resources to effectively reduce the levels of domestic and gang violence, child abuse and various other forms of societal discord, (The Peace Alliance, n.d:1).

5.9.10 Celebrate peace

One of the responsibilities of a Ministry of Peace would be to promote the celebration of peace. There are monuments for honouring military heroes. Also, a Ministry of Peace would reach out for creative methods of celebrating and honouring peace heroes. The onus would be on the Ministry to co-ordinate ways of celebrating an Annual National Day of Peace. It would also co-ordinate a National Peace Forum and promote the same in schools.

President Carazo also proposed a UN Resolution for an International Day of Peace, to be celebrated as a global ceasefire on the opening day of the UN session each year. This resolution was passed in 1981. In 2001, a new resolution was proposed by the United Kingdom and Costa Rica, changed the date to September 21 each year. The resolution was passed unanimously and this day of Peace is now celebrated around the world. Regular festivals of peace are also an important activity for the promotion of a culture of peace, and in celebrating “we have to learn to celebrate not only the peace elements in our own culture but also those in others, by celebrating each person’s gift to humanity” (Mattok, et al., 2011:6).

5.10 Five necessary conditions for establishing MOPs

The need for a committed and focused Ministry of Peace, has become more pressing, not only because it is no longer fashionable to rely on “the contribution from a range of Ministries

whose main responsibilities lie elsewhere” (Harris, 2011:8) to promote peace and security in our society, but more so, to come to terms, as well as realize the fact that, institutionalizing peace in our society requires a co-ordinated work of a Ministry of Peace and other peace institutions. However, certain conditions need to be met in order to effectively make progress in the advocacy for their creation.

According to Harris (2011:8), it is first important to change the thinking of the people from a belief and behaviour that largely characterizes the existing culture of violence, to that of a culture of peace. A de-radicalisation programme is essential, and helps to promote re-orientation of mindset in a way that embraces a culture of peace. As much as the said peace structures are expected to encourage such changes as posited by Harris (2011:8), the participatory action research team for this study have crucial roles to play in this direction, especially in connecting with all levels of the Nigerian society to promote a change in the mindset of the Nigerian people via orientation programmes, and also through non-violent action and advocacy for the establishment of the aforesaid infrastructures for Peace.

Furthermore, Harris (2011:8) presented a case for collaboration with Government’s through dialogue. This, according to him, is essential in persuading Government officials to support the creation of the said architecture for Peace. Such persuasion, according to Oxford Research Group (2007), involves ‘dialogue with decision-makers’. The application of this phrase was essentially found valuable in their discussion on the nuclear weapon policy in the UK. However, it takes ‘educating self on the issue at stake, identifying certain of the relevant decision-makers, and the utility of non-confrontational dialogue to build relationships of trust, as possible means of achieving change’(Harris 2011:8).

Another important condition is to have a Plan. Strategic planning is an essential tool, and has been largely discussed in the previous chapter. Fourthly, there is the need for resources which should be short and long term. As posited by Harris (2011:9), as much as financial resources are important, committed people however remain more valuable and significant.

Lastly, “it is absolutely necessary to be in for the long haul” (2011:9). Sustained effort is a feature that largely characterized successful non-violent struggles.

5.11 Expected challenges of establishing a Ministry of Peace in Nigeria

The expected challenges include, sourcing adequate finances for the research, administrative bottleneck of connecting to Government officials in order to draw upon their support for the research work, and the challenges associated with getting committed volunteers for the participatory action research engagement.

The research was initially focused on working with national Government in creating a cabinet level Ministry of Peace, however owing to inadequate financial resources to conduct a wider non-violent campaign to influence the Government to create such peace structure, the research redirected its energy to the building of peace institutions such as Peace Committee, Peace Academy, Centre for Peace and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons, and Peacemakers Guide Association of Nigeria, including the promotion of the concept of a Ministry of Peace. Nonetheless, the change in plan has not completely provided a way out of the financial challenges, as the new direction also demands adequate funding support. But given this change in plan, the research can progressively continue.

Bureaucratic bottle-necks are a challenge often associated with research that involves working with Government officials. The hurdles to be crossed before reaching Government officials, especially in Nigeria is often enormous because of the nature of Nigeria’s political leaders, including their protocol officials and aids. The experience of bureaucratic bottleneck is also expected to be encountered in the incorporation with Government of the peace institutions to be established by the participatory action research team.

Finally, there may also be challenges getting volunteers to constitute the participatory action research team. The Nigerian environment does not seem to be friendly to volunteer services as almost everyone loves to give his or her time to what will attract financial reward. This may not be unconnected to the level of poverty in the country that finds almost every Nigerian struggling for their daily bread.

5.13 Ministries of Peace in practice

Nepal established a Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction in 2007, making it the second country after Solomon Islands to have such Ministry. This was followed by Costa Rica which in 2009 created a Ministry of Justice and Peace. South Sudan established a Ministry of Peace in 2011, though the ministry has now been replaced with a Peace Commission.

5.13.1 Solomon Islands

The Ministry which was christened as Ministry of Reconciliation, Peace & National Unity in Solomon Islands was created to emphasise Government's dedication and commitment to pursue and restore peace and normalcy to Solomon Islands. The Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction in Nepal was created in 2007. The Ministry envisioned the formation of a peaceful, prosperous and new Nepal by ensuring social justice, equity and harmony among all sections of the society. The mission of the Ministry is to play a catalytic role through its institutional, procedural and technical activities in order to end violence in Nepal as well as work towards the promotion of sustainable peace and developmental activities.

The objective of the Ministry of Reconciliation, Peace & National Unity in Solomon Islands includes, to co-ordinate and implement the Townsville Peace Agreement (TPA) term, to ensure the sustainability and restoration of the Peace process to Solomon Islands, to carry out ex-combatant's rehabilitation process, to ensure the achievement of the process of National Reconciliation and Healing, to seek financial support for, and where necessary, and appropriate and effect the payment of compensation to those who lost properties as contained in the TPA, and to implement the Amnesty Act.

5.13.2 Nepal

The objective of the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction in Nepal includes, to support initiatives for constructive conflict management, conduction of discussion programs, workshops and interactions and trainings to sustain peace, to promote the participation and the integrity of all spheres of the society in the peace process, to promote environmental development of International support and co-operation to peace, to support the Government of Nepal in the formulation and execution of policies and strategies required for the sustenance of peace processes in Nepal, to play a catalytic role required to construct the

action plans of conflict management immediate relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction of Nepal, as well as to recommend and play an advisory role in the formulation of policies and strategies required for peace and consensus building in the country. In addition, the Ministry was mandated to accomplish all the functions assigned to the Peace Secretariat and other additional functions relating to reconstruction of physical infrastructure damaged during the conflict, relief and rehabilitation of the conflict victims, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, High Level Monitoring Committee and Management of the Maoist combatant's cantonments.

5.13.2 Costa Rica

Following the renaming of the Ministry of Justice as Ministry of Peace and Justice in Costa Rica, the following objectives, which constitute the mandate of the structure include:

- to advance and coordinate and plan programs for the promotion of peace in Costa Rica,
- to support in relation to the prevention of violence, the Ministry of Public Security with respect to firearms in Costa Rica, as a means of promoting the Culture of Peace and non-violence,

- to promoting conflict resolution as a form of developing a culture of peace, notwithstanding the other duties provided in the Law for Alternative Resolution of Conflicts, Law No 7727,
 - to foster better inter-institutional relations in order to accomplish the mandate of the Law for Public Performances, Law No. 7440, and
- to promote the participation of civil society through non-Governmental organizations and any type of organization dedicated to the promotion of peace and non-violence

5.13.4 South Sudan

The Ministry of Peace and Comprehensive Peace Agreement Implementation in South Sudan, which was formed in July, 2011 was mandated to promote peace, healing, reconciliation, unity and dialogue amongst institutions and the people of South Sudan. The Ministry has now been dissolved and a Peace Commission has been created in its place. The Peace Commission is accountable to the President and the National Parliament. It is not responsible for the implementation of agreements with Sudan, because it is an independent and impartial body.

5.14 How they were established

The Solomon Islands established a Ministry for National Unity, Reconciliation and Peace (MNURP) in 2002 after the Townsville Peace Agreement (TPA) which was saddled with the onus of a reparation program, (Maebuta, et al., 2009). The TPA was concluded in 2000, following the conclusion, a peace monitoring council was created, and was mandated to support the implementation of the agreement. This was however changed in 2002 into National Peace Council (NPC), which aided local resolution processes through the deployment of local peace monitors. However, later in 2002, Solomon Islands became the first country in the world to

create a peace institution at the Cabinet level following its establishment and announcement of a Ministry for National Unity, Reconciliation and Peace. The structure was to help in the facilitation of peace and reconciliation processes. In the comment of Joy Kere of the ministry, during a legislative hearing, the ministry was to serve as the Government's focal ministry for advising, facilitating and co-ordinating policies with regards to peace, reconciliation as well as longer term peace building.

So far, there has been a level of engagement by MNURP in national level reconciliation processes, in addition to a level of co-operation that emerged between the structures and grassroots civil society-led peace-building in Guldacana and Malaita. Moreover, The Ministry has undertaken several key steps in reconciliation and peace-building work in the country including establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, working at the community and local levels, organizing dialogue summits, and working on conflict prevention issues.

The history of Nepal's Ministry of Peace and Reconciliation can be traced back to various initiations by the Government for the management of peace process in the country. The Government's acceptance of the need for institutionalised efforts for peace negotiation between her and the Maoist Insurgency group, with a view to providing technical and physical as well as other necessary support to the process of peace-building, began in 2001.

This was a follow up to the violence that ravaged the country as a result of clashes between Government forces and Maoist Insurgents. This development caught the attention of Nepal Peace Initiative Alliance – a coalition of 13 civil society Organisations. The group advocated and lobbying the Government and the Maoist Insurgents into a dialogue for the resolution of the armed conflict and the creation of a Ministry of Peace. The efforts towards the creation of the said ministry underwent different stages including regular dialogue with the seven key political parties and Maoist Insurgents.

The Council of Ministers in February 2003 formed a task force to come up with recommendations on the necessary arrangements aimed at meeting the need after assessment. A key recommendation of the task force was the need to set up a Peace Coordination and Management Centre for meeting the objective or purpose. Following the recommendation, the Government went ahead to establish in June 2003, the Peace Negotiation Coordination Secretariat within the office of the Prime Minister. "The Secretariat which had received a 6-point TOR engaged in a three-phase peace negotiation process. Alas, this effort aimed at a peace settlement could not succeed, (Shutts, 2009:1).

The lessons following the failure of the peace negotiations process emboldened the need to establish of a common political agenda for the process of a peace settlement to be successful. This led to the formation of a "High Level Peace Committee under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister" in August 2004, while in September 2004, the Secretariat of the High Level Peace Committee, under the leadership of the Chief Secretary of Nepal Government, was created. However, in March 2005, the Nepal Government had the High Level Peace Committee dissolved, but the aforementioned Secretariat was left to function under a new name "The Peace Secretariat" till October 2005. On April 1st 2007, the Peace Secretariat was also dissolved by the Government of Nepal and the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction was created.

The advocacy for a Ministry of Peace in Costa Rica was initiated by Rasur Foundation in 2005. Part of the advocacy process involved connecting with Laura Chinchilla, Leonardo Garnier and Rodrigo Arias who were key Government officials by the leadership of Rasur Foundation. This eventually aided in driving the initiative to the attention of the President of Costa Rica. The President requested the Ministry of Justice to draft a bill to that effect in order to move forward with the initiative. The Ministry together with Rasur Foundation came out with a draft bill that recommended a change of name of the then Ministry of Justice to Ministry of Peace and Justice

as well as added the task of promoting peace to the rebranded ministry. However, it was not until November 2006, that the bill was presented to the Legislative Assembly with supporting signatures of 19 out of 57 Congressmen. This cleared the way for the President of the Assembly - Congressman Pacheco, to refer it to the sub-committee on Human Rights Commission for study, and by August 19, 2009, the bill was passed without opposition.

According to Shutts (2009:1), the ministry was not born out of war and conflict, but rather through the commitment to a culture of peace. Costa Rica has a long history of being aligned with peace. The overhauled Ministry of Justice and Peace was however expected to work with both the National Directorate of Alternative Conflict Resolution established in 2004 and the National Commission for the Prevention of Violence and Promotion of Social Peace created in 2006 (Shutts, 2009:1). The achievement so far includes the installation of mediation programmes in schools and high schools all over the country, organised peace festivals which usually draw the community to a public place, as well, as the recovering of social networks that aid the prevention of crime and the promotion of social peace.

The Ministry for Peace and Comprehensive Peace Agreement Implementation in South Sudan was established in 2011 in order to assist the Government in setting peace policies and also to inspire peace initiatives as well as co-ordinate programmes relating to peace and conflict prevention in South Sudan. South Sudan, as part of Sudan, before the referendum that defined their statehood in July 2011, was embroiled in violence that overwhelmed Sudan for years with the Northern part pinch against the Southern part of Sudan in a political conflict coloured by resource struggle. It was believed that following the emergence of South Sudan as a country, the said Ministry would be responsible for setting the agenda for the entrenchment of positive peace in the country. The Ministry has now been dissolved and replaced with Peace Commission.

The aforesaid Ministry, according to Van Tongeren (2011:16), was an implementing body, designed to act as a monitoring organ for the South Sudan Government, as well as set policies, inspires peace initiatives and co-ordinate programmes via the agencies of Government and non-Government structures. Also, in times of crisis the ministry intervenes by co-ordinating the partners that are making interventions into community conflicts and by developing programmes which built its approach to peace. The Ministry programmes currently enjoy attention on conflict mitigation, nation building, civic peace education and policy as well as conflict analysis (Van Tongeren, 2011:16).

5.14 Summary and conclusion

As standing peace structure, infrastructures for peace represent cutting-edge approach to conflict intervention, prevention and transformation including peace-building and peace-making. While Peace Academy shares the potential to empower, build skills and capacity on peace and non-violence, a ministry of peace upholds the capacity to institutionalise peace in Government, while the capacity of a peace committee is to promote peaceful co-existence, is partly not unconnected with its capacity to build trust and confidence, as well as promote inclusiveness, dialogue and mutual understanding. The efficacy of infrastructures for peace, have been brought to bear in places where such structures where applied to tackle conflict situations. This further underscores the exigency of such peace structures in Nigeria, if peace must be institutionalised and a culture of peace promoted in the country.

PART IV Research design and research plan

Chapter 6: Participatory action research

6.1 Introduction

Participatory Action Research has extensive history and cuts across various fields of social practice endeavour. Reason and Bradbury (2001: xxiv) have defined PAR as “a participatory,

democratic practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview". It describes a process during which participants explore collaborative and action-based project approach that reflect their knowledge and mobilise their desires. According to Reason & Bradbury (2001:12), it is "a process of choosing and framing an issue, creating relational experiences, effecting changes in practice, and actualizing the significance of that 'truly worthy of human aspiration". PAR can be distinguished from action research; in the latter, the researcher may bring an existing training package rather than work with the participants to develop one.

PAR is a theory of possibility, not just that of predictability and 'the research mechanisms or techniques is not what makes PAR approach a research' (Kemmis and McTaggart, 2005:574), rather, PAR presents opportunities for research groups to develop knowledge as well as integrate and build relationship between theory and practice. According to Kemmis and McTaggart (2005: 564) 'It embraces real and concrete learning as the specific practices of a particular group of people in specific place(s)'. 'Within the sphere of possibility, persons who are committed to PAR regard or view their research practices in the light of developing and redeveloping research methodology including the techniques of the research in order to comprehend or gain insight into the nature, and processes as well as the consequences of the specific object under study' (Kemmis and McTaggart, 2005:556).

The aim of PAR is to "connect the personal to the political" (Park, 2001:92; Nelson et al., 2004:394), including "conscious and unconscious, discussable and un-discussable surface, as well as interconnect for deeper meaning" (Wadsworth, 2001:425). It involves active participation of both the researchers and the participants in a joint-construction of knowledge, self enhancement and critical awareness leading to personal, group and social change, within the context of emphasised co-learning processes, where both the researchers and participants

plan, implement, and establish a process for the dissemination of data or information collected during the PAR.

PAR shares central tenets that guide its processes and these core tenets include, a joint or combined exertion to research a problem, a commitment to individual and collective reflection for sufficient comprehension of the concern issue or in question, a collective commitment to engage in action that produces a profitable solution for everyone involved, as well as building a doable or workable coalition among members of the group including the researchers, all of which are required to plan, implement, and disseminate research processes (McIntyre, 2008:1). The researcher is able to work with other co-members of the PAR research group to execute joint action, including the development of the group's own style of what the PAR process means to it, since the entire processes requires the collaborative nature of the participants-researcher(s) relationship.

PAR requires recording or meticulous diarising of information for the research. Some of the methods for gathering information in PAR processes include, researcher(s)-participants meetings, focus group discussion, individual interviews, oral history and story-telling. Others are community-based surveys, photo and/or video documentation, and community arts projects which enable participants to present their experiences via visual arts, theatre, music, poetry and spoken word.

6.2 A PAR Strategy: Process Cycles

PAR is a process of continuous cycles, where each cycle reflects the PAR principles. The processes associated with PAR need to be flexible and not rigid, as well as oscillate to and fro within the cycle, with the aim of gaining more knowledge from the community. The cyclical process of exploration and knowledge construction is significant to achieving the goal and aim

of PAR tenets, as they define the steps and actions at every moment through the process of the research. The features of the cyclical process include, diagnosing, action planning, taking action, evaluation, and specifying learning, as indicated in the diagram below.

Fig 6.1 PAR Cyclical Process

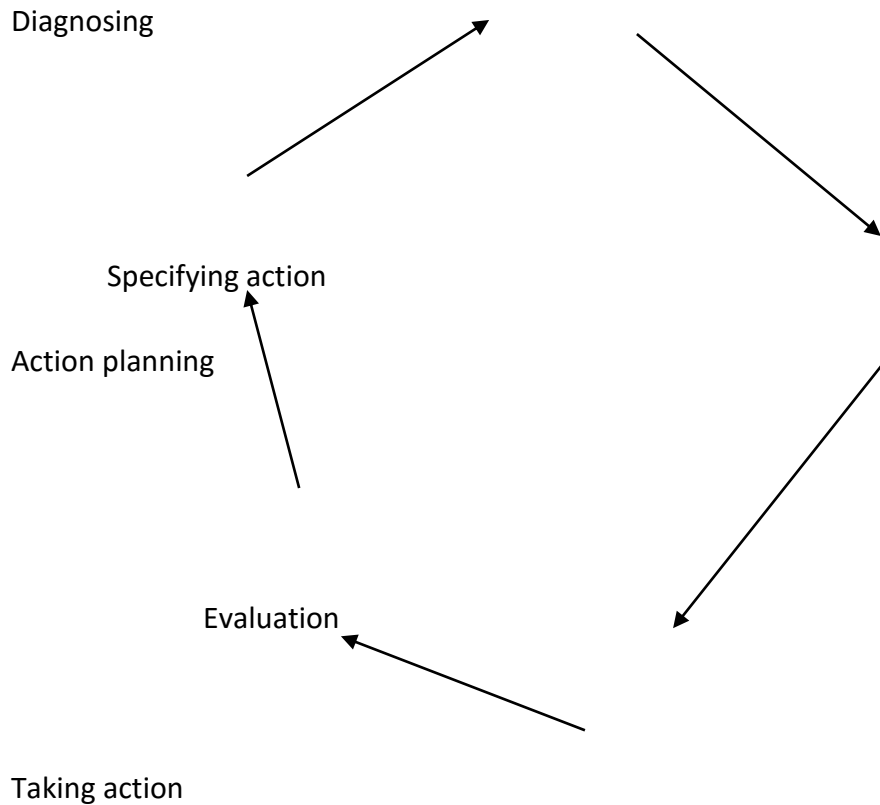
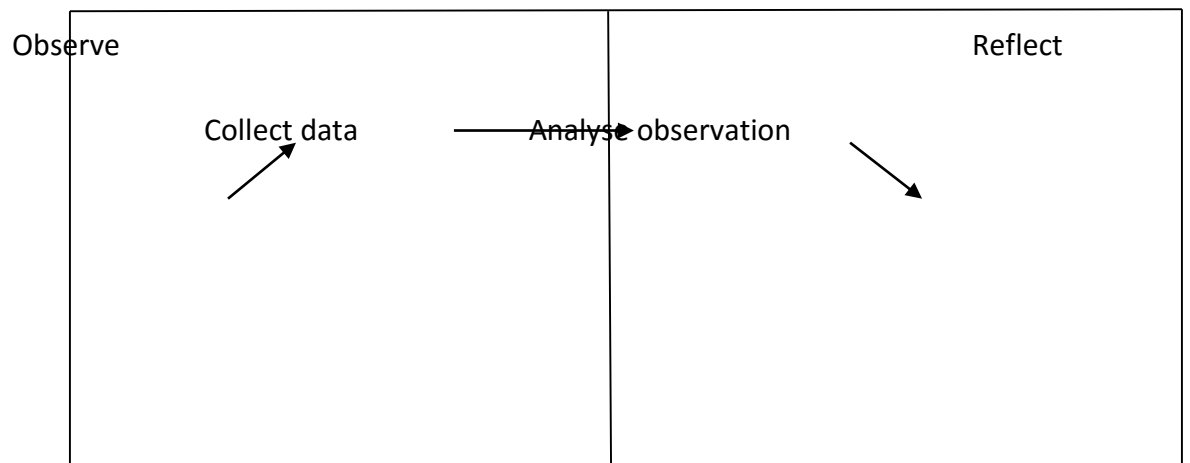
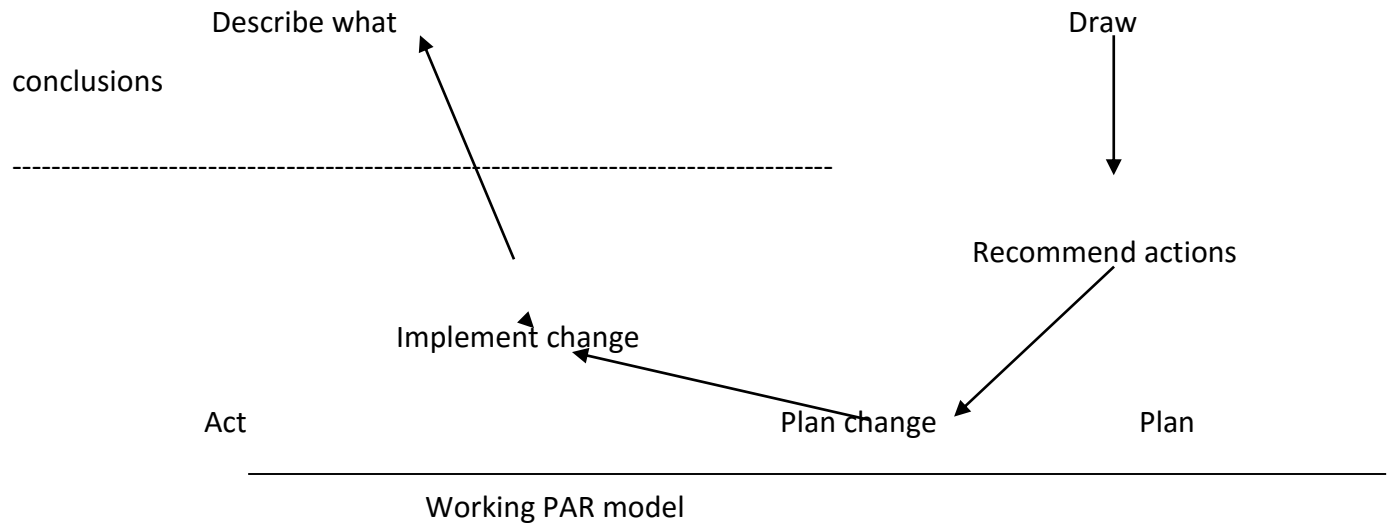


Fig. 6.2 Working PAR model





The above PAR model offers an explicit insight into cyclical processes with what happens at each stage captured in each of the four quadrants of Act, Plan, Reflect and Observe. PAR offers a mechanism for continuous learning and improvement. In terms of need analysis, the model shares some special vantages, and as result of its cyclic nature, any point in the cycle can serve as an entry point into the cyclical process. Though diagnosing and planning appear to be popular entry points, it is also possible to commence by attempting it through response or action stage and enable people to something practically. Also, one might wish to commence by finding out about other peoples' attempts to meet a special need, and engage the target participants in analysing it including the conclusion, recommendations, action and testing of the idea.

6.2.1 The various stages of PAR

Diagnosing

This is an important stage, which is mainly concerned with problem identification for the research. During this stage, the PAR members work together to identify the problem the research is bid to be focused at, trace the problem to its root cause, as well as endeavour to

gain an in-depth understanding of the issue or problem in order to be able to address the problem effectively.

Planning

Planning is concerned with “the process of developing the strategies involved in conducting the research project” (Olshansky et al., 2005:122). It is essential to adopt SWOT analysis - strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats, structure of the tasks, work schedule definition and funding plan (Strydom, 2005), in the planning process. It is also important within the context of trust, to involve all members of the PAR team in the co-development of planning strategies. Planning needs to be flexible, as this helps in the accommodation of experiences and difficulties that may be encountered in the research process.

Acting and Implementation

Acting or implementation stage is concerned with “the actual implementation of the strategies developed in the planning moment” (Olshansky et al., 2005:122). This involves testing questions through action rather than words. Hence, the action here, must be intentional and critically informed. Implementation of project involves putting planning into action, as well as controlling and monitoring the actions. This aspect often requires the involvement of community members during which the PAR members communicate and involve concerned members of the community in the execution of the PAR plan(s).

This stage often requires resources to move forward in the PAR process, and it is very important at this juncture, to analyse the available resources in order to avoid unnecessary duplication of resources transfer to a particular object. Such analysis helps to focus resource allocation to areas of high priorities first. The development of detailed and expanded action, from the original plan, is critical to plan implementation. Such action sincerely needs to be goal directed

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and well-coordinated. From time to time, adjustment in action plan is essential in order to effectively accommodate changing circumstances and difficulties, as well as resource specification that may likely occur.

The key tasks here involve, looking back to the plan put together during the stage of planning including the monitoring of extent at which the plans are being implemented and/or modified. It also involves looking forward to the stage of observation, while being conscious of noticing what is happening in addition to micro-processing it with other stakeholders in the process.

Observing

The observation stage in PAR process is concerned with analysing and interpreting what has happened. This aspect requires a clear description of what happened in order to decide whether it did or did it not answer the question under consideration. It involves consistent monitoring and evaluation from the beginning to the end of the project. Again, it is essential to involve the community members who are part of the PAR in data analysis, as this helps to reflect their perspective. Self-assessment is important in PAR and describes the process whereby one assesses one's own behaviour, e.g. through recalling, self-examination and reflection of their action via the assistance from others.

The key tasks here involve looking back at the action stage while at the same time recalling as many important details as possible. It also involves looking forward to the reflection stage, while at the same time, making sure that you provide a strong base for reflection via facilitating a widely accepted understanding of what actually happened.

Reflecting

This focuses on the “shared concerns of the members of the research team in an effort to clearly define the research problem under study” (Olshansky et al., 2005:122). Individuals try to make sense of their experiences during reflection, as well as attempt to create connections between events, actions and feelings. It is important that the entire PAR team meet to dialogue and share their views and concerns during the reflection process. Reflection offers valuable insights into how the PAR strategy is executed at various levels, vis-viz individual, group and community levels. Communication of result to PAR participants as well as the time and opportunities provided for to review and to reflect, should all be part of the reflection content itself, and this should subsequently be followed by information and knowledge exchange, as well as an exhausted deliberation of a problem solution.

Re-planning

It is concerned with the process of re-developing the strategies for carrying out and continuing with the research, having learned and drawn from the experiences from the first cycle. The stage creates space for improvement upon the first cycle in the second cyclical process. The recommendations following the results emerging from the first cycle are taken

into consideration when re-planning for a new intervention. During the stages of implementation, observation and reflection, opportunities relevant for future improvement are identified and carried out during the re-planning stage. Re-planning opens support for wider social goals and objectives (Niekerk & Niekerk, 2009:139). Learning and knowledge transfer is crucial to all role playing activities during PAR process. It is therefore obvious, that re-planning takes place immediately these aspects are unravelled. PAR cycle continues after re-planning with a view to mainstreaming the re-planned components into a new action plan.

6.3 PAR: a braided and context-specific process

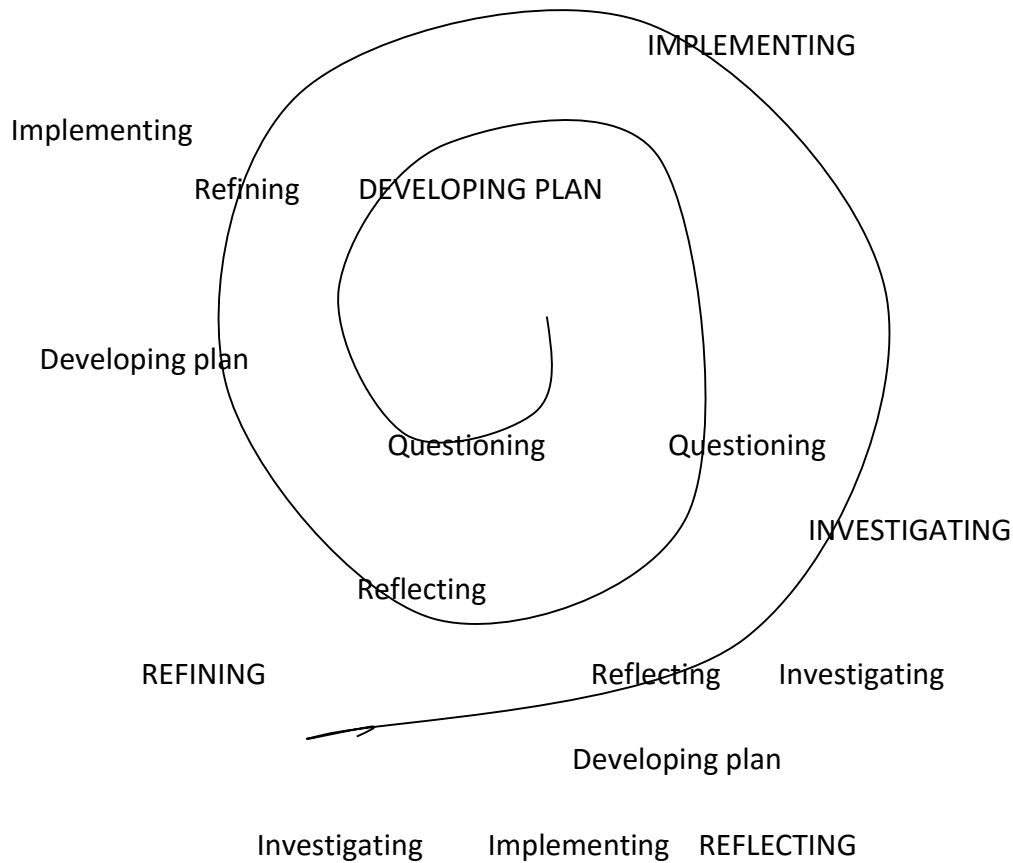
In a real sense, PAR is more of a recursive process that involves a spiral of adaptable steps, which according to McIntyre (2008:6), “is a spiral of steps that lead PAR group to question the specific issue, reflect upon and investigate the issue, develop an action plan, implement, evaluate and refine the plan”. Thereafter, the specified learning is taken back to the cycle again. A complete cycle represents one implementation cycle. In the recursive process, the different parts of the PAR processes - questioning, reflecting, investigating, developing plan, implementing and refining are braided into each other in a spiral-like style, in such a way, that makes one’s actions serve as entry points into the other. It provides opportunities for reflection which can further help in generating more ideas about how to implement action plans that are beneficial to the stakeholders. The recursive process is indicated in the diagram below.

In reality, the PAR process represented by the braided cycle is often not as neat as the spiral of self-contained cycles of planning, acting and observing and reflecting indicated in the diagram below. The stages in the process overlap, and the emergence of new learning following the experiences in the process quickly makes the initial plan becomes obsolete. Actually, in practice, process is characteristically opened, responsive and of high fluidity. Success in the PAR process is not based on, whether the participants faithfully followed the PAR steps, but rather on the criterion of whether the participants in the PAR process sincerely share a strong and authentic sense of development and evolution in the practice, and whether they fully comprehend their practice including the context of their practice.

There is no rigidity in the manner PAR is designed, practice and implemented neither is there any specific formula for it nor any overriding framework underpinning the process, instead, the framing of participatory action research process is malleable and flexible in its implementation as well as sensitive to context-specificity, partly because PAR practitioners are often a combination of a community’s insiders and outsiders, and as such, draw from various theoretical and ideological views that inform PAR practice. PAR places strong emphasis on the

experiences of members of the community (Niekerk & Niekerk, 2009:32) involved in the research.

Fig. 6.3: PAR Recursive Cycle Process



QUESTIONING

In addition to the traditions and ideologies under which PAR projects may be framed and contextualize, each project is however, tailored to meet the desires of PAR participants. From a range of those desires, PAR participants decide to act on specific topics that are generated in

the process, and the actions participants agree to take amid the circumstances they are confronted with, should ideally flow from the result of the questions they pose, examine, and address within the overall research process.

Participatory action research, is a social and educational process, hence its practitioners carry out their research as a social practice, which is often directed towards the study, reframing and reconstructing the said practice. The investigation being focused at by PAR is not an abstract practice, but actual or real practice, that involves learning real, material, concrete and specific practices of specific people in specific places. As a learning process, participatory action research realistically occurs within the framework posited by Kemmis and McTaggart (2005:279), as real and material changes of “what people do, how people interact with the world and with others, what people mean and what they value, the discourse in which people understand and interpret their world”. It is a social process, that is often organised to embrace social interaction among people. The steps contained in the spiral of self-reflection are better conducted in a collaborative manner by PAR participants. Participatory action research provides an opportunity to create forums whereby, people can come together as co-participants in the struggle to work, rework or remake the practices in which they interact.

6.4 Characteristics of PAR

Besides the dominant features of planning, acting, observing, reflecting and re-planning often indicated in the self-reflection spiral cycle of PAR, there are other key features that are as significant as the self-reflective spiral.

Participatory action research is a social process: It intentionally explores the relationship between individual and social milieu. It recognises the inter-dependability between individuation and socialization, in that one is not possible without the other, and that individual

and social relationships are continuously been shaped by the processes of individuation and socialization through the settings one finds his or herself in.

Participatory action research is participatory. PAR, according to Kemmis and McTaggart (2005:282) it engages participants in the examination of their knowledge and how the participants interpret their actions and themselves within the social context. It is a process, in which participants in a group, work and appreciate the way their knowledge shapes their sense of identity and social institutions as well as reflects deeply on how their actions are either framed or hampered by their knowledge.

Participatory action research is practical and collaborative. Participatory action research involves participants in the observation of the social practices that connects them in social interaction with others, Kemmis and McTaggart (2007:282). As a process, it creates space for individuals to explore their practices of communication, production, and social organization, as well as, endeavours to explore how to boost their interactions through the changing of the acts that constitute them. The researchers are focused at working collaboratively with “the ‘researched’ in an effort to achieve social justice in the form of improved conditions” (Olshansky et al., 2005:122) or in the reconstruction of their social interactions by reconstructing the acts that constitute them.

Participatory action research is emancipatory. PAR also focuses at helping individuals recover and promotes their liberation from diverse social constraints in the social systems that pose limitations to human development and determination within the society. As a process, PAR creates space for participants to explore ways in which their practices are shaped by wider socio-cultural economic cum political structures. It also helps to evaluate the possibility of intervening as a group of people whose activities contribute to a shared social life restructuring, with a view to either liberate them from existing social constraints or devices, a means to

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reduce the magnitude of the negative impact of such constraints within the social system (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005:282).

In addition, as a research approach, which is critical, PAR also focuses at helping “people recover and release them from the constraints embedded in the social media through which the people interact” (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005:282). As a process, PAR creates the right space for people to willingly protest against and reconstitute the unjust and unacceptable ways in which the world or the social system around them is described and interpreted.

Participatory action research is reflexive. Reflexivity could be viewed as “thoughtful, conscious self-awareness’ (Finlay, 2002:523). Reflective knowledge connects the social nature of human life to the problematic, with critical analysis of moral and values based actions. Participatory action research helps practitioners to investigate reality on the ground, with a view to changing it to what it ought to be for the benefit of the people. It is an intentional process that seeks to effect transformation on participants’ practices through a spiral of cycles of critical and self-critical action and reflection. The intentional social process of PAR is designed to help collaborating groups of persons to be engaged in the transformation process of their world.

Participatory action research aims to transform both theory and practice.

PAR hardly regards the supremacy of theory and practice in the relationship between theory and practice, but rather seeks to articulate and develop each one in relation to the other through critical reasoning about theory and practice, including their consequences. Friedman (2001:61) talked about making sense from ‘building theories in practice’ by identifying the practice puzzles. The aim of PAR does not involve the development of a theory that stands above practice, as if it is possible to control and determine practice without referring to the particulars of the practical situations confronting practitioners in their real world, ordinary lives

and work. In the same vein, it also does not direct its attention towards the development of, what may be regarded as self-justifying practice, as if practice could be evaluated without reference to the theoretical frameworks that underscores its importance, as well as provide substantive criteria for exploring the extent to which practices and the consequences of such practices become irrational, unjustifiable and ill-gratifying for those involved in the process as well as those affected by it.

6.5 Challenges of participatory action research

In spite of the importance of participatory action research, which among others includes, the creation of space for synergy building among participants, creation of strong programmes that combine researchers' knowledge and the expertise of the community, creation of sense and feeling of local ownership, there are still some challenges inherent in its collaborative nature. Some of these challenges include, dispute over the equity of power relations, unequal level of commitment by participants, conflict of interest, perspectives and processes, as well as the tendency for low levels of trust and mutual respect among participants, clarity over extent of community involvement and ownership of the process, including the conceptualisation of assigned roles to all parties.

Table 6.1 Summary table: Examples of participatory action research

Location	Year	Aims	Outcome	Source
United States (Community outreach)	2002	To address the increased danger or risk relating to	The project addressed and enhanced the prevention needs of the target women	Olshansky et al (2005)

project, Magee-women's hospital)		diabetes/obesity that the African-American women were confronted with	at the community level, as well as educated them on the developed innovative and creative strategies for decreasing the risk factors.	
India (villages in the district of Gadchiroli of Maharashtra	1981	To conscientise the village people about their problems in order to bring about social change in the local community	Local citizens became aware of their rights & exploitative practices of foreign contractors, and thus took necessary actions aimed at transforming their social reality. They mobilised against corruption & negotiated for higher wages. They created an organization which the tribal used for their advocacy for a change.	PRIA 2000
Virginia, United States (academic-community health partnership project)	2008-2009	To co-develop medication use for people with serious mental illness by utilising an acceptable & feasible Shared Decision Making	Led to the development of the medication, and also created room for community clinic to raise questions, concerns and got actively involved in research activities as well as participated in the thinking	Web reference 31

		(SDM) intervention through an academic-community partnership model.	about implementing SDM nationwide and its impact on practice and mental health policy including sharing greater ownership of the SDM and evaluation. an involvement that brought the local clinic into national project & recognition.	
Nepal	2000-2002	To focus on conditions leading to both improved human well-being and the maintenance of forest cover and diversity including sustainable use and management of forest resources.	The project empowered women as well as promoted their participation in forest management decision-making process, and this added value to forest management in the area. Participants also gained management skills and expertise in self-monitoring skills.	web reference 32
Bridgeport, USA	1997 – 2000	To further the young peoples’ goal of informing their community about the effects of violence on them,	It resulted in rich critical dialogue that led to the building of trust and respectful relationship among the participants irrespective of racial	McIntyre (2000)

		their schools, and their environment, as well as to address racism	extraction. It also led to a commitment to keep working against violence, and a check against racism among participants.	
Belfast (Northern Ireland)	2000-2002	To bring to fore the memory of the gendered violence that occurred during the 35 years' war in the country, with a view to changing the women perspective on the issue.	The project helped the women to construct new ways of viewing their lives as well as help them create new strategies for communicating their experiences to others, hence bringing about a change in their perspective.	McIntyre (2004)
United States (ethical dilemmas in PAR: a case study from the disability community)	1999 to 2001	To address the issue of 'Death With Dignity' - physician assisted suicide legislation, which was a polarising issue in the disability community.	The project helped to increased focus and promotes unity and strength within the disability community as well as depolarised and put to an end the issue concerning Death With Dignity (DWD) legislation, hence, bringing about new dawn and change within the disability	Minkler & Fadem, et al. (2002)

			community.	
Reading, UK (Mural project)	1990 - 1991	The aim was to assist the homeless youths to talk and portray their experiences with a view to creating an understanding of what they perceive of their homeless situation and its associated difficulty and to have them reduce their boredom and bring about a change in their situation	The PAR context created space for the selected homeless persons as participants to freely express their feelings and experiences and in the process determined the issues concerning their homelessness. In addition, their boredom was also reduced as they got engaged in art work of painting the mural to capture their experiences. The project built their confidence, while the study dispelled the myth that they are not like everyone else and that homeless persons are impossible to work with. Finally, the project changed their social status as they got employed in organisations at the end of the study	Nelson & Wright (2000)
United States (Inner city)	2009	To design Intervention	Skills and knowledge of social processing and anger	Gullan, et al. (2009)

elementary school, Philadelphia		Integrity System in Urban Schools, i.e. to develop method monitoring program integrity through partnership working relationship with stakeholders in the community	management measure for violence reduction were acquired by participants. The project also resulted in the development of culturally sensitive integrity monitoring system.	
South-western US	1998 – 2000	To use PAR model to create Drug Resistance Strategy curriculum which was meant to serve as effective drug prevention curricular to control drug addiction in schools	It led to the creation of keepin' it REAL Drug Resistance Strategy (DRS) curriculum including the actual production of instructional video. The intervention or project influenced anti-drug norms and attitude positively as well as led to a reduction in the use of drugs and alcohol, hence bringing about social change in Phoenix school community.	Gosin, et al. 2003, (18)3,
United States (Ruby Bridges Elementary Schools)	2004-2005	To effect a school-based sustainable intervention to violence in Schools	Led to the development and implementation of peer mediation program that would train a group of elementary School Students	Dworski-Riggs & Langhout (2010)45

			<p>to resolve conflicts on the playground. The said program was one way that empowerment and second order change were initiated.</p> <p>It replaced the hierarchical system in school with consensus model, drawing more stakeholders including students to be part of decision-making process at the school.</p>	
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In sum, the above table attempts to document some case studies of PAR projects, and among others showed how PAR was used to achieve enviable outcomes. For instance, worried by the by challenges posed by diabetes/obesity, the African-American Women-Care Committee at the Magee-Women’s Hospital, organised itself into a PAR group in 2002 with a view to addressing the risk or danger confronting the African-American Women community outreach project. The group utilised advocacy as a tool to promote their prevention needs, as well as, educated the target audience on the innovative and creative strategies for reducing the risk factors.

Learning from the said approach, the PAR team for the study on building architectures for peace in Nigeria shall empower through education, skill building and training, the members of the local peace committees and peace clubs, with innovative and creative strategies for promoting the prevention of violence in schools and local communities.

In participatory action research involving a community clinic and the University of Virginia school of nursing, the focus was on how to, through partnerships working together on the use of medication for persons with serious mental sickness or illness. In the project, referred to as the academic-community health partnership project, the said school of nursing and a community clinic in Virginia, organised their member representatives into a PAR group, in order to implement an acceptable and feasible shared decision-making (SDM) intervention to address the use of medication for their target audience. The partnership offered the community clinic ample opportunity to be largely involved in research, including participation opportunity to reflect about SDM implementation on a national scale. The entire experience had a great impact on practice and mental health policy.

Learning from the above experiences, the PAR group for this study on building architecture for peace in Nigeria will endeavour to build a coalition or partnership with civil society organisations to implement an acceptable and feasible plan of the PAR team, through the use of a shared decision-making (SDM) intervention approach.

In the same vein, the approach applied in the project involving Inner-city Elementary School in Philadelphia, provided an opportunity for the PAR group to work in partnership with community stakeholders, in the development of methods for monitoring program integrity, which eventually met the needs of the target community, especially in the urban schools for which the intervention integrity system was designed for. The approach further brought to fore the important place of community stakeholders in the study involving the PAR design.

In the light of this, the PAR group for this study on building architectures for peace in Nigeria endeavoured to consult and work with stakeholders of the target schools for peace clubs and in

local communities, for support for the projects on non-violent campaigns for local peace committees and establishing peace clubs in schools.

In the Nepal project, carried out between 2000 and 2002, the PAR group for the study was targeted at improving human well-being and the maintenance of forest cover and diversity approaches. While focusing on the wellbeing of the diverse women, men and children, it was emphatic on bringing women on board in the management of forest resources and sustainability. The empowerment of women under transformation-oriented gender analysis as well as promoting women participation in decision-making process, added value to forest management in the communities.

Learning from the above, the researcher on this study focused at building architectures for peace in Nigeria, has seen the need to be gender sensitive in the constitution of the PAR team, for the research, as well as, in the composition of the local peace committees by the PAR group. The above project further revealed the power and value adding potentials of women. Hence, it has become more germane to have their input in this study.

The Belfast project that lasted between 2000 and 2002, aimed at bringing to the limelight the gender violence that occurred in the Northern Ireland for 35 years, with a view to learning from the experience following the development. Informative, reflective and critical dialogue about their experiences, were largely employed, and more importantly, the project was rich in a wide range of consciousness raising activities. The project helped the women to construct a new way of viewing their lives.

The PAR group for this study on building architectures for peace, gaining insight from the use of a wide range of consciousness raising activities, shall adopt the approach to raise the

community members' consciousness on the need for local peace committees and peace clubs in schools, as well as, increase the consciousness on the concept of a ministry of peace and other infrastructures for peace.

The Ruby Bridges Elementary School PAR project was conducted between 2004 and 2005, with the aim of implementing a school-based sustainable intervention to violence in schools. The PAR group-community psychological research and action team (CPRAT), developed and implemented a peer mediation programme, which involved the training of a group of elementary school students on how to resolve conflicts on the playground.

Insight created by the project, will help the PAR team for this study on building architectures for peace in Nigeria, to appreciate the need to extend the idea of establishing peace clubs high schools, and use the peace infrastructure to build the student's capacity on mediation and other problem-solving techniques that promote a win-win outcome.

The Bridgeport project, shared among its objectives, the goal of informing or sharing with their community the effects of violence on themselves, schools and environment. It brought to fore, the significance of critical dialogue, a group resulting in the building of trust and respectful relationships among participants. The critical dialogue was essentially among young inner city adolescents of coloured and white, middle and upper middle class graduate students, thereby contributing to the effort at addressing racism.

Gaining insight from the Bridgeport project, the PAR team for this study on building architectures for peace in Nigeria, shall work to promote or encourage the sharing of information on the effect of violence to all a sundry, in the target schools and communities, in order to deepen their understanding and appreciate the exigency for architectures for peace.

The sharing of the gains of such infrastructures for peace shall also be encouraged. In addition, the PAR team shall attempt to deepen the utility of dialogue among members of the PAR group on one hand, and members of the local peace committees and peace clubs on the other-hand.

The project that was concerned with a case study from the disabled community, lasted from 1999 and 2001, and was designed to address the issue of 'Dead with Dignity (DWD), otherwise referred to as physician assisted suicide legislation. The DWD legislation was a polarising social issue, especially amongst the disabled community in the United States. Following the nature of the issue, a group was organised into a Community Advisory Group (CAG) as a PAR group to study and address the issue using PAR design. The outcome was such, that it aided the depolarisation of the issue of DWD legislation within the disabled community by repealing it, and thus promoted unity and strength within the community.

The above research, helped to bring to the mind of the PAR team for this study on building architectures for peace in Nigeria, the possibility of the existence of some legislations or policies in Nigeria, that probably contribute to the entrenchment of structural violence in the society. The PAR group shall therefore look out for such legislations or policies, and work through advocacy and non-violent campaigns, including lobbying where possible, with a view to having the government, community leaders and school management, as the case may be, to expunge such obnoxious and systemic violent enhancing policies and legislations.

Although the PAR projects in the villages within the district of Gadchiroli of Maharashtra in India, were conducted as far back as 1981, it was however valuable in transforming the social reality of the members of the community, thereby advancing social change in the villages. The project, aimed at helping the village people to understand problems such as corruption, exploitation and low knowledge of their rights which foreigners tended to capitalise upon. The Vrikshamitra research team, which the PAR group used the PAR design model, to educate and

conscientise the villagers, hence making the local citizens to be aware of their exploitative experiences, as well as gain control over their knowledge and knowledge of their rights. They also organised and mobilised themselves to wage war against corruption, as well as developed strategies used in their negotiation for higher wages from foreign organisations operating in the areas, and exploiting their resources, including using the villagers as cheap labourers.

In building architectures for peace in Nigeria, the team shall also adopt a conscientising and enlightenment approach, in the targeted local communities and schools for the project on local peace committees and peace clubs respectively, with a view to garnering adequate grassroots support from the stakeholders and beneficiaries of the project.

The Drug Resistance Strategy development team, working in conjunction with school community for the PAR project, developed a drug prevention curriculum for the control of drug addiction among students. The project helped to bring about social change in the school community, in a way that largely reduced the incidents of drug addiction and violence in the school.

The above research helped the PAR team for the study on building architectures for peace in Nigeria, to further gain insight into the efficacy inherent, in largely involving the people who are affected by the issue in question, in the research as observed in the DRS project above. The expertise or local knowledge of such people often helps to add value to the project or research. This was applicable in this study.

Finally, the project involving Inner City Elementary School which focused at designing an Intervention Integrity System in Urban schools, with a view to reducing violence, further helped to promote and strengthen the need for the PAR team for this study on building architectures for peace in Nigeria, to be conscious of cultural sensitivity in the area of study and to promote

skills training of target groups in anger management, conflict resolution and meeting facilitation, amongst others to the PAR team, members of peace clubs and local peace committees, especially considering that this kind of training helped added value to the US Inner-City Elementary School PAR project.

6.6 The broad research plan

The plan involved the following elements of a strategic plan.

Vision: To have communities where peace is institutionalised

Goal: To reduce violence in schools and local communities in Nigeria

Principles:

(a) 'Be the change'

Change is the big buzz word in governance and Government's approach to peace, both domestically and internationally. Nigerians must recognize the urgent need for a serious rethink in the way the country operates. Great efforts are required, with primary focus on addressing the symptoms of violence, both internationally and domestic. There is the need to primarily focus at addressing the root causes. This brings to fore, the significant role of national and local peace committees, in addressing the root causes of violence and bringing about non-violent social change. Also, everyone is needed to make this kind of change possible. Change of this magnitude, requires courage of equal magnitude. The PAR team and members of the peace club are set to be the agents of change.

(b) 'Connect not convince'

It is possible to have some people, who may think the idea of Ministries of Peace is a distant unreachable Utopia. All they need to do is to connect with other positive influences (people) to help bring about the change in their mindsets. In the process of the training, the research group

will learn how to forge ahead with this phrase, in the event of coming in contact with situations that demand the application of the learning to further the campaign for Ministries of Peace.

(c) A 'spirit of cooperation'

The PAR group, on one hand, and the peace club members, shall strive to promote co-operation in all interactions, co-development of processes, build consensus and engaging in all the research activities. The individuals in the group shall maintain an attitude of personal contribution, while at the same time, promoting collective contributions, and supporting others, for the common good of the group collective interest of establishing a Ministry of Peace. The training would afford members of the group to learn to co-operatively work together as a team.

(d) Nonviolent communication

The interaction within the PAR group and between the PAR group and other stakeholders outside the PAR group as well as that of the peace clubs was planned to be conducted within the principles of non-violent communication. To this effect members of the research group were trained in non-violent communication.

Strategies:

The strategies for the set goal include:

Direct lobbying (i.e. talk directly with MPs, administration officials)

This was planned to involve talking directly with Government officials, including those in various Ministries and Parastatals, administration officials, and more importantly, members of the Parliament, Judiciary and the President, Governors and other members of the executive arm of Government as well as the local Government Chairmen, Councillors and Principals including teachers in schools.

Indirect lobbying (i.e. outreach to grassroots, building alliances)

There was a plan to conduct training on how to engage in indirect lobbying, which was essentially focused at reaching the grassroots members of the society, as well as building networks of support or coalition with key individuals and civil society organizations within and outside Nigeria.

Tactics and Actions:

Strategy 1

Direct lobbying – telephone calls, letters, emails, office visits, attending meetings and public appearances.

There was a plan to learn how to use emails, letters, and telephones calls to promote direct lobbying and non-violent actions for social change. The members of the research team were also to learn how to utilize the tools of meeting attending and public appearances, to advance support for the creation of infrastructures for peace.

Strategy 2

Indirect lobbying - House parties and events such as, seminars, workshops, conferences, summits, and speaking to Churches, Mosques, civil society organizations, etc., including media outreach.

There was also a plan to facilitate training on how to conduct indirect lobbying and how to use events, such as those aforementioned, speaking to organizations and the utilising the media to advance support for the creation of infrastructures for peace.

Generally, there was a plan to learn how to use the following: letters to editors, press releases, interviews, endorsements by local authorities and celebrities and production of materials eg flyers etc.

The PAR group would learn how to inspire the formation of small local co-ordinating groups and independent local grassroots campaigns in different communities. The PAR group would further

apply the use of a website to support the campaign and also co-develop a more comprehensive website for the purpose.

Non-violent campaigning

The PAR group shall implement a non-violent approach in its campaigns for Ministry of Peace in the research. Learning from the experiences of the international campaign to ban landmines and cluster monition, the group shall build networks of individuals, Government officials, human rights, religions, professionals, business organizations, students and youth organizations, and other members of the civil society and civil servants. It shall also draw the support of Nigerian's diaspora and friends of Nigeria, in its efforts.

Galtung (1996:122) described 'non-violence as a form of soft power, and a form of communication for which in practice, the communication may have to pass through a chain of non-violence'. As such the activities of the research group shall be conducted through a chain of non-violence, knowing full well that non-violence works, "given its records of success in the second half of the 20th century" (Galtung1996:117), as well as in recent experiences such in Egypt, Tunisia, and the aforesaid, campaign to ban landmines and cluster monition.

Other Plans

Another plan for the research was the plan to hold two meetings of the PAR at least once a week. The essence of the meetings was to brainstorm, plan and adjust plans, strategise, allocate tasks and responsibilities, and provide space to continuously co-develop the processes throughout the life span of the study. On the project involving building peace clubs in schools, four selected schools were to be used for preliminary study while another four selected schools were to be used for the main project. Action research design shall be adopted and peace club meetings and training sessions shall be conducted every week for members of the peace clubs in each of the school selected for the study.

6.7 Validity and reliability in PAR

Validity relates to the truthfulness of the data. It means that the data actually measures the specific phenomenon that you are claiming to study. Is what you are measuring or collecting data about a true representation of researcher's achievement? It asks the question, whether what the researcher is measuring is what s/he is supposed to be measuring (with instrument). It is one of the strengths of qualitative research and determines whether the findings of the researchers are accurate from his point of view, and that of the participants as well as the reader. There are about eight validity strategies including triangulation, use of participants checking, and prolonged presence in the site of research. These three strategies were considered in this research. One of the ways of "finding out whether observation is "valid" is to ask other people – especially the research participants, checking whether the participants/members agree with the researcher's data" (Creswell, 2014:149), and this was brought to fore in this study. While qualitative validity is concerned with checking for accuracy of the findings using certain procedures, qualitative reliability is concerned with whether the researcher's approach is consistent across various projects and researchers. In general, reliability relates to claim that the data collected is accurate. While both of these issues are less pertinent in Action Research than in other educational research forums, they should still be considered when developing data collection strategy.

6.8 Summary and conclusion

Participatory action research (PAR) is in the family of action research (AR) and has a number of stages. There is an important distinction between the PAR and the AR. For instance, in the case of peace club project, if one went into a school and sat down with a group of students and together planned, implemented and evaluated a peace club programme that would be PAR. If one came with a curriculum already prepared, it is AR, even though the students did participate in the club itself. Hence, the project in this study that involved building peace clubs in schools was an AR (action research) because the curriculum used for the project was already prepared. However, projects involving creation of a local peace committee, peace service academy and centre for peace and rehabilitation of displaced persons was a PAR, as the PAR team was involved in the all the stages and processes.

While the foregoing chapter was devoted to PAR/AR including validity and reliability, the next chapter is committed to PAR initiative's that were brought to bear in the creation of a local peace committee, peace service academy and centre for peace and rehabilitation of displaced persons.

PART V: Building peace infrastructures

Chapter 7: Failed attempts to build peace infrastructures

7.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the participatory action research approach was adopted as research design for this study. To this effect, the fieldwork was organised in a pattern that defined participatory action research method in the projects involving the creation and advocating for a local peace committee, creating peace service academy and establishing centres for peace and rehabilitation of displaced persons. The researchers selected seven locals in the target area of study to constitute the participatory action research team to work with the researcher to co-diagnose problems, co-plan, co-implement, co-observe, and co-reflect, including co-re-plan and going through the cyclical process again where necessary. Action research approach was however adopted in the intervention project involving peace clubs in schools.

7.2 PAR Cycles

7.2.1 Diagnosis

Violence has been identified by the PAR team in their diagnosis, as the bane to societal progress and development in Nigeria. Various reasons have been argued and brought to the front burner in section 2.4 as causes of violent conflicts in Nigeria. The diagnosis of the PAR team became even more essential in the light of the need to ascertain the reality on the ground or bridge the gap between theory and reality on ground. The team further identified the existing gap in community security system, and as such deem it fit to implement project concern with the development of infra-structures for peace to remedy and fill the said gaps for a sustainable peace and development of the Nigerian society.

7.2.2 Action planning

The team planned to conduct campaigns and advocacy aimed at having the Government establish a Cabinet-level Ministry of Peace. This is against the backdrop that such peace structures can build the political will to institutionalise peace in Government and in the Nigerian society at large.

The team planned to organise an intensive campaign for the creation of a Ministry of Peace in Nigeria. This is in addition to organising rallies, lobby Government officials, use print and mass media and radio jingles to create awareness on the concept and influence the populace to support the campaign for a Ministry of Peace.

7.2.3 Taking action

The PAR team organised itself and attempted to work with a cross section of Nigerian's to come up with a local organising committee for the campaign for the creation of a Minister of Peace in Government. Afterwards, the researcher, alongside members of the PAR team began to put together fund raising proposals, including sending grant proposals to funders or grant-makers soliciting for grants and other financial support to implement her plan concerning non-violent campaign's and advocacy for a Ministry of Peace. Unfortunately, all efforts to secure funds for the project came to no avail. As such, the PAR team could not implement her plan as expected because of funding challenges.

7.2.4 Evaluation

As aforesaid, challenges occasioned by lack of funds hindered the PAR team from carrying out the implementation stage of the PAR cycle. To that extent, the PAR team's aim to influence Government policy, and thus have the Government establish a Ministry of Peace in Nigeria, could not be achieved within the timeframe of this study.

7.3 Second Cycle: Non-violent Campaign for Local Peace Structures

7.3.1 Action Re-Planning

Following inadequate finance to organise and sustain a campaign and advocacy for the creation of a Ministry of Peace in Nigeria, the PAR team adjusted its plan in favour of non-violent action

for social change (see section 4.9) in the creation of a local peace committee, as well as conducted a campaign to promote the establishment of such peace structures in various communities in Nigeria. The PAR team planned to conduct interviews with stakeholders in the target communities as well as launch non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) movement for the creation of local peace committee in the target local communities. In a meeting to that effect, the PAR team identified Ojoo community as one of the communities the PAR team planned to establish a local peace committee. This is against the backdrop that Ojoo serves as the commercial nerve centre of Akinyele local Government in Ibadan Nigeria. Ojoo is seen as the political heartbeat of the Akinyele local Government, where political groups converge to strategize for their political parties activities, making it susceptible or prone to violence. Other areas identified by the PAR team for the PAR team project included, the Agbowo community and Abadina community in Ibadan.

7.3.2 Action Re-taking

The PAR team embarked on a fieldwork trip to the Ojoo community on the 5th and 9th of May 2012 and with a view to interviewing and working with the leadership of the community in respect to establishing a local peace committee/initiating non-violent action (see section 4.4) campaign for the creation of a local peace committee in the community. The non-violent action was conducted in tandem with the methods of non-violent action (see section 4.6). The team met with the Baale of the community in his Palace on two occasions.

During their first visit, the team met with the Baale alone but on their second visit, the team met with the Baale and other members of the leadership council of the community, during which they learnt about the intention of the PAR team to establish a local peace committee in Ojoo community as part of the team's effort to promote social change in the community. The team stated that the support of the Baale and his council members was critical to the execution of the project. The team pointed out the significance of a local peace committee in the area and that it would strengthen and effectively corroborate the effort of the leadership council in promoting a culture of peace in the community. The team added that strategic planning for non-violent social change (see section 4.7) was already in place for her to implement, and as

such was in the Palace to solicit the support of the Baale and his leadership council for the PAR's non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) in the Baale's domain and that such action were critical to bringing about social change in the community. In his response, the Baale thanked the visiting PAR team and said that the idea of a local peace committee, as explained by the team, sounded interesting and if encouraged can help promote an attitude of peaceful resolution of conflicts in the community. He added that some members of the Ojoo community often came to him for intervention whenever they were confronted with conflicts, and that he usually adopted the win-win approach in the resolution of the conflicts, and that he always gave unbiased judgement whenever he was called upon to mediate or intervene in disputes by members of his community. He further added that there is no gainsaying the fact that effective implementation of the PAR team plan would help add value to the peace-making effort of the traditional approach which the community leadership council has employed over time. The team reiterated that it planned to make the method available to social movement's (see section 4.5) that largely support non-violent action for social change (4.4) achieving the social change that the people yearn for.

The PAR team's second visit to the community provided an opportunity to meet with other members of the community leadership council. The PAR team considered the meeting with the leadership council a vital one as they believed that the support and co-operation of the council is critical to the effective implementation of the strategic plan (see section 4.7) of the team to establish a local peace committee in the community. The team reiterated that it was necessary to secure communal support for the implementation of the strategic plan (see section 4.7) to establish a local peace committee that was expected to bring about social change, and that frantic effort would be made to ensure the appropriate grand strategy (see section 4.7.1), the right strategy (see section 4.7.2) and result oriented tactics (see section 4.7.3) including methods (see section 4.7.4) were employed in implementing her plan in the community.. That the location of Ojoo community is strategic cannot be gainsaid in view of the fact that it is the location of the popular Ojoo market and the office of National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) as well as the commercial nerve centre of Akinyele local Government area, however, it is also notorious for violence especially that relating to internal leadership tussles of

the NURTW and their being used by some politicians to foment and fan the embers of violence especially, during electioneering campaigns for political offices. Hence, it was believed that a viable peace institution such as district or local peace committee could help reverse the trend of violence and ensure social change in the community.

Afterwards, the Baale and his chiefs went into a behind closed doors session, after which the Baale commended the effort of the PAR team which he said is bathed with good intention worthy of applause. The idea of a local peace committee was now understood by them and is something they now believed has the tendency and capacity to play key role in promoting peace and bring about social change in their community. He encouraged the PAR team not to give up in their exertion towards their target to develop and promote a non-violent social movement (see section 4.3) for non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) in our local communities and the Nigerian society at large. He went ahead to tell the team that his community has an existing traditional mechanism for managing conflict and promoting peace, and that one of the core responsibilities of traditional institution in his community is to promote peace and harmony among the community in order to ensure co-operative co-existence of community members. The Baale further expressed support for non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) and the effort of the PAR team for the creaction of local peace committees required to bring about social change in local communities. He again reiterated that he and his chiefs have been engaged in a peace-making role in his community, though not under the brand name of a local peace committee, while further expressing his commitment to continue to play a leading role in fostering efforts for local peace-making in his domain. He was grateful to the PAR team for coming to share more light on contemporary approaches of resolving conflict resolution.

Also on May 29th, 2012, the PAR team was also at Agbowo community – it is Ojoo's neighbouring community. The team met with the Baale of Agbowo community – Chief Inaolaji Agunbiade JP in his palace at Agbowo. The opportunity to interview the Baale opened space for the PAR team to explain the concept of a local peace committee and what the community

stands to gain from such a peace institution in terms of entrenching a culture of peace and promoting social change (see section 4.3) in the community.

According to the PAR team, the community is an ancient community, and its strategic location has contributed to the increase in the number of youths residing in it. The community is close to a university and also not far from a polytechnic, and that this has contributed to the increase in the population of youth in the community. Hence, the need to work to institutionalise peace through the creation of a local peace committee in the community, especially considering the vulnerability of youth in the hands of politicians who derive happiness in fomenting and fanning the embers of violence in the community for their selfish political ambition, as well as the tendency of some youths to want to engage in cultism. “While the use of force by security agents has been in use for years, an alternative approach involving an infrastructure for peace can help breed the needed change”. Such a change can be encompassing in bringing about attitudinal change and social change in the community. A non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4), is however relevant in the advocacy for such infrastructure for peace, and such action as seen in the international campaigns to ban landmines and cluster munition (see section 4.8), is often reliable in achieving the target result.

The team then submitted that it was against this backdrop that the PAR team, as part of her non-violent campaign tour to promote the concept of local peace committees, solicits the support and co-operation of the community leadership in the laudable project of promoting the idea of a local peace committee as well as working towards having such a peace structure established in the Agbowo community.

In his response, the Baale extolled the PAR team’s effort, and further expressed his willingness to cooperate with the team in their quest to promote the concept of such a peace structure through non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) in the community. He also expressed his readiness to nominate some of his elders to be part of the team. He however, mentioned that some of his chiefs were already involved in peace-making activities in their domain using a traditional approach, and that the LPC would be adding value to efforts towards a social change in the community.

Three fieldwork trips were made to the Abadina community in Ibadan. The first one came up on the 14th of May 2012, while the second and third one came up on the 15th and 18th of May 2012 respectively. During the said trips, the PAR team interviewed the leaders of the community. One of those interviewed was Mr Adeleke, a onetime President of the community. In the first trip, the PAR engaged Mr Adeleke who appeared passionate to learn about the idea of local peace committee that the PAR team told him about, even as the team emphasised that the establishment of such a peace structure shall unequivocally help to bring about social change in the community. Afterwards, the PAR team solicited for his support for the team's implementation of the team's plan towards non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) in the community via the creation of a local peace committee. While promising his support, Mr Adeleke also told the team that a caretaker committee tentatively took over the leadership of the community since 2009 following, a conflict that broke out in the executive team of the community leadership council, during his tenure as President. He also recounted some other conflicts that often occurred in the community, and added that a local peace committee, going by the explanation of the PAR team, might help bring about the needed attitudinal and social change in the community. He was full of narrative of all that happened leading to the tentative suspension of his executive team that came into leadership through election. He added the conflict leading to the said suspension, might have been averted or resolved amicably before it got out of hand, if there was an infrastructure for peace such as a local peace committee, which he also believed may be instrumental in building a non-violent social movement (see section 4.3) that would help in conducting a non-violent campaign using methods available to social movement's (see section 4.5), in order to bring about social change in the community.

The highlight of the second PAR team's trip to the community was the leading of the team by the Chairman of the caretaker committee of the community. The meeting with the said Chairman created an ample opportunity for the team to brief him about the plan of the PAR team, which the team believed would meet the yearning for non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in the communities. Though he commended the idea of LPC as explained by the PAR team in his response, the caretaker Chairman however, stated that there was hardly anything he could do to directly support the creation of a local peace committee at that time,

until a further directive from the University authority which controls the community, but that the PAR team could go on with their non-violent campaign to create awareness and promote the concept in the community. Following this comment, the PAR team initiated moves towards a rancour-free campaign, but not without a third visit to Mr Adeleke.

Among other things mentioned by Mr Adeleke during the third PAR team trip to him for an interview was that conflict cases in the community were often documented, as relayed the story behind some of the conflicts. He added that there was also a welfare committee that was involved in handling such cases among other things. The interview with him further helped the PAR team to gain insight into the history behind the people and the community itself, including the nature and pattern of conflicts in the community, and for the team, that was relevant to help package their campaign. The team told Mr. Adeleke that they would work towards organising a training programme for members of the LPC, including a cross section of the members of the community especially members of the welfare team. The team indeed worked with some members of the community to select 10 locals who were organised into a local peace committee (see section 6.2). An interactive session on managing conflicts was put together for them by the PAR team, following lack of funds to organise standard and intensive formal training workshops for the aforesaid selected persons.

7.3.3 Evaluation

Participatory evaluation was adopted in this project. The PAR team had to organise a nationwide non-violent campaign for MOP, but the implementation of this plan came to no avail due to inadequate finance to implement it. However, involving local communities could be adjudged as partly successful in the target communities, in that it helped create awareness and promoted the concept of LPC among the leaderships and stakeholders, including a cross-section of locals in the target communities, although the non-violent campaign had not resulted in effective LPC in the target communities, the progress in Abadina community could have however, been given a boost if there was adequate funds for intensive training for selected members of the local peace committee by the PAR team.

7.4 Peace Service Academy, and Centre for Peace and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons

7.4.1 Action Planning

Having resolved to build another infrastructure for peace and also use the institutions to build peace in Nigeria, the PAR team met with a view to planning what kind of infrastructure for peace needed to be established. In a meeting to this effect, the team planned to establish a Peace Service Academy, and Centre for Peace and Rehabilitation of

Displaced Persons. The Peace Service Academy was to be structured, in such a way as to, be rich in the formal educational contents in the area of peace and non-violence. It was also expected to operate a periodic training programme in the six geo-political zones of Nigeria, with a view to building participant's capacities, as part of its efforts to promote attitudinal and social change in the country. Also, the Centre for Peace and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons was to operate as a non-profit peace infrastructure committed to humanitarian and rehabilitation services for victims of violent conflicts in the country. The team further planned to have a website for the peace infrastructure, and strategic planning for social change (see section 4.7), were put in place in implementing the plans. The team brainstormed on the grand strategy (see section 4.7.1), the strategy (4.7.2), the tactics (see section 4.7.3) and methods (see section 4.7.4) necessary for a successful execution of its plans.

7.4.2 Taking Action

In a move to implement the plans, the PAR team applied to the Corporate Affairs Commission (Government agency responsible for registering corporate organisations), for the registration of the Peace Service Academy, and the incorporation of the Centre for Peace and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons, under part C, of the Allied Company Act, 1991, of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The processes were not without challenges and hurdles, considering the various bureaucratic bottlenecks usually associated to doing business with Government and agencies of

Government. After meeting all requirements including, paying all the relevant fees and charges, a Peace Service Academy was formally registered in Nigeria on 31st May, 2012, with registration number OY46590, while The Centre for Peace and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons was formally incorporated as non-profit organisation with registration number CAC/IT/NO 55150, on the 8th of August, 2012. The organisations were to operate in tandem with the law of the country in their efforts to foster non-violent social change in Nigeria. They were also expected to further provide the platforms for successive non-violent actions for social change (see section 4.4) in the country. The Certificate of Incorporation for the Centre for Peace and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons is included as Appendix 4. The Website created for Centre for Peace and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons is <http://www.cepredip.org>.

In spite of the financial challenges to acquire operational offices for the institutions, the peace infrastructures have remained useful in organising training workshops in non-violent communication for 15 youths in Ibadan, in November, 2012. Since then, several other training workshops, under the auspices of the peace infrastructures have been rolled out. Furthermore, The Centre for Peace and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons is now also working together with the Nigerian Alliance for Peace to co-host an International Peace Summit of the Global Alliance for Ministries and Infrastructures for Peace in 2017 in Nigeria. This event is expected to further support non-violent social movements (see section 4.3) for non-violent actions for social change (see section 4.7) in the country, especially considering that it would help to introduce international support to the call of the Nigerian Alliance for Peace for a Ministry of Peace in the country. International support and internationalisation of campaigns and advocacy, was no doubt critical to the success of the campaign to ban landmines (see section 4.9), and the campaign to ban cluster munition (see section 4.10), hence, one cannot gainsay the fact that such support would further consolidate the non-violent campaign and advocacy for the creation of a Ministry of Peace and other infrastructures for peace required to promote social change in Nigeria, Africa and the world at large.

7.4.3 Evaluation

The project could be adjudged as successful in the implementation of the plan to register the Peace Service Academy, and the incorporation of the Centre for Peace and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons. By this registration, the infrastructures are recognised by the law of the land, and in existence according to Government records. Lack of adequate funds for acquiring physical infrastructures or offices for the operational activities of the institutions, no doubt posed major challenges for the organisation's activities, nonetheless, the institutions have strived to put together valuable programme. And the planned website has also been created.

7.5 Summary

The foregoing chapter analysed the stories behind the various fieldwork activities leading to the building of infrastructures for peace, such as the peace service academy, the centre for peace and rehabilitation of displaced persons, and a local peace committee, as well as, analysed the non-violent campaigns for the creation of local peace committees in some target local communities. The next chapter reports the building of peace infrastructures in the form of peace clubs in schools.

Chapter 8: Building peace infrastructures in schools

8.1 Introduction

This chapter documents fieldwork activities for the study involving building peace clubs in schools using an action research design. It is AR rather than PAR because the curriculum used was already prepared and was made available to the participants for use in the meetings/training sessions.

It was not appropriate to discuss the literature on educating for peace earlier in the thesis (in Part III), because peace clubs as an infrastructure for peace were not under consideration at that time of the research project. This illustrates one of the complexities of doing action research. It may also be argued that the literature on educating for peace is not closely related to peace clubs, which could easily be located outside a school environment. That said, this section provides a broad overview of educating for peace. It is, of course, an underlying assumption of peace studies that people can be educated and/or re-educated in the ways of peace and that this education is effective. I prefer to use educating for peace rather than peace education because the former can more easily embrace components apart from curriculum and content.

8.1.1 Educating for peace

Key contributions to the literature on educating for peace include those of Harris and Morrison (2003), Page (2008), Bajaj (2008) and Salomon and Nevo (2013). Apart from the philosophical underpinnings of peace education, which are of limited relevance to this thesis, there are three main strands to the literature – the content of the material taught and learned, the means by which it is taught and learned and the environment in which it is taught and learned.

Content

Peace education can be very wide in scope. Ian Harris (2004), for example, identifies five types of peace education – global peace education (also known as international studies), conflict resolution, violence prevention (including peer mediation), development education (including human rights education) and nonviolence education, typically built around the study of great non-violent figures.

There is quite some debate on the meaning and scope of peace education. Salomon (1999), for example, rejects much, if not all, of the above characterisation of peace education content (1999:3) and contends that 'too many things are now called peace education, ranging from violence reduction in schools to learning about war and peace, and from moral and value education to the cultivation of self-esteem'. To him, peace education deals not at all with interpersonal conflicts but rather [with] 'conflicts based in 'ethnic [racial, national or religious] hostilities crossed with developmental inequities that have a long history and a bleak future' (1999: 5).

In a later paper, Salomon (2013) identifies ways of categorising models of peace educations. First, is it educating for positive or negative peace? Second, in what context are they taking place? Here Salomon differentiates between 'regions of intractable conflict...regions of racial or ethnic tensions with no overt actions of hostility...or regions of tranquillity and co-operation'. Third, peace education frameworks can be classified in terms of whether the change they intend to effect is on 'the *local, micro* level, e.g. learning to settle conflicts and to cooperate on an *interpersonal* level, [or]...on a more *global, macro* level. e.g. changing perceptions, stereotypes and prejudices pertaining to whole *collectives*'. Salomon asserts that the second distinction – that of socio-political context – is the most important in classifying different models of peace education. He argues (Salomon, 2013: 6) that peace education in situations of intractable conflict 'appears to constitute a superordinate case of peace education, as it includes the other kinds of principles and practices' – thus clarifying his assertion discussed in the previous paragraph.

There does not seem to be any dispute that peace education is about changing things. As long time peace educator Betty Reardon (1998: x).contends,

The general purpose of peace education...is to promote the development of an authentic planetary consciousness that will enable us to function as global citizens and to transform the present human condition by changing the social structures and the patterns of thought that have created it.

Teaching and learning methods

Educating for peace does not start with the belief that the teachers knows all, the students know nothing and that it is the job of the teacher to move her/his knowledge into the minds of the students by the most efficient means possible. Peace education recognises that individuals in educational contexts, whatever their age, bring considerable life experience with them and that this provides a jumping off point for peace education. It therefore promotes cooperative learning where the teacher acts a resource person rather than a 'fount of all knowledge'. Obviously, this represents a change in teaching style which many teachers would find difficult to accept, given their hierarchical view of the world.

Environment

Teaching and learning takes place in an immediate context (the classroom and other parts of the school) and a wider context (their households and communities). An immediate implication is that peace education works if it is holistic in coverage and is not confined to the school classroom only. South Africa is a classic example of the need for a holistic approach. After reviewing the findings of two major surveys - the 2012 *National School Violence Survey* and the *Dynamics of violence in South African schools* - Harris et al (2014: 36) assert that 'South Africa's schools mirror the intense violence in wider society'. Learners were subject to high levels of violence at school, at home and in the community.

8.1.2 Peace clubs

With this overview, we now consider the possible links between peace education and peace clubs. As a general statement, peace clubs are made up of learners who meet voluntarily with objectives along the following lines (a more specific example from the Mennonite Central Committee, South Africa (2012) is included as Appendix 5, along with a sample lesson plan):

1. To understand the meanings of conflict and violence and that conflict is inevitable while violence is a choice.

2. To learn and practice the basic communication skills – both listening and speaking – which are central to the resolution of conflict.
3. To support each other in dealing with the conflict and violence issues which club members face
4. To find ways to contribute to a more peaceful school environment.

Peace clubs are student-led although teachers are often provide an adult presence at club meetings. They normally follow a curriculum, such as that developed by the Mennonite Central Committee in Zambia. The curriculum (see sections 8.2, 8.3 and Appendix 5) focusses on interpersonal conflict and violence rather than structural violence although there might be scope for tackling structural violence within a school under the fourth objective above.

I was not able to locate any academic literature on peace clubs. A search in late January 2015 of the Academic Search Complete database using 'Peace clubs AND schools' as key words yielded 231 references (and 85 when full text and peer reviewed articles were specified). In both cases, however, only one reference was relevant (Stomfay-Stitz and Wheeler 2007) and even that was only three pages.

A google search revealed quite a few websites with information on peace club initiatives being carried out in various places in Africa. Representative examples include the following:

- GM South Africa Foundation began peace clubs in Port Elizabeth, South Africa in 2012 www.gmsouthafricafoundation.com/content/peace-clubs
- A power point presentation on peace clubs was given by Joan Alty to the Strategies for nonviolence in education conference held at Durban University of Technology in June, 2013 www.icon.org.za/current/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Alty.pdf
- The Umtapo Centre in the Eastern Cape www.umtapocentre.org.za/, the Quaker Peace Centre in Cape Town www.qpc.org.za (see also www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com/democracy/887-peaceclubs171208). The

Mennonite Central Committee in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal support peace clubs in schools

- Peace club curricula are available at <https://sites.google.com/a/zambia.mcc.org/pc.../peace-clubs-materials>
- In Nigeria, a number of organisations utilise the peace club concept, including the African Projects for Peace and Love Initiative www.africanprojectsforpeace.org/Peace_Clubs_Items.html, the Peace Initiative Network www.insightonconflict.org/conflicts/nigeriapeacebuilding-organisations/pin/ and the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding-Nigeria www.wanepnigeria.org/index.php?option

A peace club is a voluntary organization devoted to empowering its members – in this instance, school pupils - with skills and knowledge in the area of peace and conflict resolution. In this case, the training and discussion was conducted within the school context but peace clubs can operate in a wide range of contexts. A peace club can help promote positive attitudinal change among students, trigger social change and ensure peaceful learning environments in schools. As an architecture for peace, peace clubs in schools can provide platforms or forums for students, and perhaps also teachers, to share their viewpoints and experience, help curb school-based violence and help a culture of peace in schools. The idea of peace clubs in high schools was hatched against the backdrop of the need to curb the rising spate of violence in high schools (see section 4.4).

Action research is an unfolding operation and plans do not always work. In the event, for pragmatic reasons, the peace club operation was broken into two. The first part operated on a weekly basis for 20 weeks at four schools in Ibadan (Immanuel College, Walbrook College, Yinbol College and Kingston College) between April, 2013 and March, 2014. The second part

operated for 12 weeks (April, 2014 to July, 2014) in four different schools – Immanuel Grammar, Methodist Grammar, Community High and Bodija International College.

8.2 Eight peace clubs, 128 meetings and 179 participants

Peace clubs were set up in a total of eight schools and operated over two periods – April, 2013 to March, 2014 for the first group of four schools and April, 2014 to July, 2014 for the second group, also of four schools. Details of the participating schools are provided in Table 8.1. One other school - Distinct Jubilee International College - initially participated but dropped out after a month.

Recruitment of students into peace clubs can either be through selection or volunteering, or both, as the case may be. In this study, recruitment of students into peace clubs was, initially by selection, as the Principals of the schools delegated the teachers in charge of extra-curricular activities in the schools to select students for membership of the club. The teachers found that some of those selected had limited interest and were allowed to leave while others who were not initially selected expressed their interest to join and were admitted into the club, and membership of the club was essentially based on volunteer basis. Essentially, then, the participants can be regarded as volunteers. All participants were in school years 11 or 12 and their typical age was 17-18. The numbers involved were 79 for the first four schools (44 female and 35 male) and 95 for the second group (50 females and 45 males), resulting in a total of 174 participants. Attendance rates were very high. While the numbers who participated were a small percentage of total student numbers, they were a much higher proportion of students in the senior years.

Table 8.1: School characteristics

School	Type	No. of Students	No. of club members
Immanuel College	Public school, co-educational, day school.	2000	23
Yinbol College	Private school, co-educational, day school.	200	20
Walbrook College	Private school, co-educational, day & boarding school.	106	21
Kingston College	Private school, co-educational, day & boarding	20	15

	school.		
Immanuel Grammar	Public school. Co-educational day school	860	23
Community High	Public school. Co-educational day school	500	25
Methodist Grammar	Public school. Co-educational day school	2500	30
Bodija Internation al College	Private school. Co-educational day and boarding school	500	17

The researcher was present at all peace club meetings, which totalled 80 for the first group of schools and 48 for the second group and the teacher in charge of extra-curricular activities in each of the schools attended a few meetings. A typical lesson operated in a strongly interactive and participatory way.

8.3 The peace clubs

The specific objectives of the peace clubs were:

- To create peace clubs in schools and have the clubs serve as mechanisms for building a culture of peace in schools.

- To empower students with skills and knowledge of peace and conflict resolution so that they can resolve their own conflicts amicably at school, home and in the community.
- To use the peace clubs created to effect positive attitudinal changes in students and have them initiate non-violent campaigns for social change in the target schools.
- To carry out disputes and conflict prevention management in schools.
- To encourage students to work for sustainable peace and against violence in schools.
- To set up a forum where students and teachers can express their viewpoints.

Learning methods used included:

- Skills training (to help build participants basic skills in conflict resolution)
- Brainstorming, interrogation and interactive sessions
- Plenary and small group discussion
- Teaching and presentation
- Case studies, role play and simulation

The learning process was:

- Interactive: involving the participants actively and ensuring cooperative learning
- Practical: applying theory to concrete situations
- Participatory: making the group itself a learning body and mobilising itself organizing capacities (see section 7.1)
- Elicitive: drawing from the experience, knowledge, and personal resources.

8.4 The curriculum

The curriculum used for the training was first developed in 2006 by the Mennonite Central Committee, (MCC), Zambia and is available at <https://sites.google.com/a/zambia.mcc.org/pc.../peace-clubs-materials>. Parts are included as Appendix 5. The topics for the training were divided into three parts, one for each term and the first and second terms focused on introduction to conflict resolution. The topics in the first part were treated in the first term (April 2013 to July 2013) were as follows:

- Introduction and meaning of conflict,
- Perspective and other causes of conflict,
- Cultural differences as a cause of conflict,
- Approaches to solving conflict, problem solving tools,
- Identifying feelings
- Anger management.

The topics or lessons in the second part, treated in the second term that lasted from September to December, were:

- Communication Part 1: Nonverbal communication,
 - Communication Part 2: Active listening
- Communication Part 3: Speaking,
- Simple and fair solutions,
- Brainstorming,
- Problem solving methods,
- Becoming a peace-builder.

The lessons in the third part for third term, which lasted from January 2014 to March 2014, were on non-violence:

- Introduction to non-violence,
- Non-violent communication, and
- Story 1: The three bulls,
- Story 2: The children of nonviolence,
- Story 3: Women united,
- Story 4: The servant of God,
- Story 5: Non-violence – a case study on Mahatma Gandhi.

8.4 Data collection for outcome evaluation

It was expected that the training would positively influence participant's attitudinal approaches to handling conflict. It was also expected to change participant's ways of response in conflict situations and, more importantly, make them more peaceful and encourage them to positively influence their colleagues.

The researcher engaged in bi-weekly reviews and held evaluation meetings with elected leaders of the clubs every two weeks. Class exercises and assignments were utilised for evaluation purposes, while pre-training and post-training tests were largely adopted in the overall evaluation of the peace club training programme. A central aspect of data collection was the diarising of activities during each peace club session. Also, data collection was done through the use of an essay writing approach by members of peace clubs, in addition to interviewing. In this chapter, diary records relating the second group of schools (April-July, 2014) are reported

8.4.1 First Meeting

On the 28th April, 2014, the researcher met with the Principal of Immanuel Grammar `School to request approval to organise peace club activities in the school. He agreed and directed the

Vice Principal to work with the researcher to select 25 students for the peace club. The selection of students was done in Senior Secondary School 1 (SSI) and Senior Secondary School 2 (SS2) classes. The Vice Principal requested students who were interested in joining the club to write their names in the attendance list provided.

24 students voluntarily joined the peace club from the said school. The number of girls was 13 females while the number of boys was 11 males. An orientation talk was conducted for the members of the club by the researcher, during which he introduced and familiarised the members with what is expected of them, and what the peace club would be offering to them as they joined hands as one body, to build a non-violent social movement (see section 4.3) for the promotion of peace and non-violence in the school, even as the 'save school initiative' effort of the Federal Government gathers momentum. Afterwards, the researcher, together with members of the club, went ahead to agree on the timing for the club meetings. The timing agreed upon and also supported by the school authority, was 11:30am to 12:10pm Tuesdays, every week, throughout the academic term.

On the 29th of April, 2014, the researcher met with the Vice Principal of Methodist Grammar School, Bodija, Ibadan, Nigeria to request for approval to start up a peace club in the school, and have members trained in line with the peace club curriculum the researcher is using for such training. The Vice Principal readily approved the researcher's request and introduced the researcher to Mrs Chukwuma – the teacher in charge of extra-curricular activities in the school. The school authority, through the Vice Principal, told the researcher that the only time that could be spared for the club activities would be every Wednesday between 8:00am and 8:45am. This timing was accepted by the researcher.

The researcher worked with Mrs Chukwuma to recruit volunteers into the club. The researcher during his 30th of April meeting with members of the peace club, introduced himself to the students, and also formally informed the students of the importance of the club, as well as what is expected of them, in addition to the themes and topics the club would be focusing on. 25 volunteer students enrolled as members of the club, and most of the students were from senior secondary school 2 classes. The number of girls was 12 while that of boys was 13.

Also, on the 29th of April, 2014, the researcher met with the Principal of Bodija International College, Ibadan. The Principal asked the researcher to formally transmit a letter in support of his request. This was done by the researcher, and the Principal acted on the letter immediately and directed one of the teachers of the school – Mr Ayodele, to work with the researcher to recruit student volunteers into the club. Seventeen students (10 boys and 7 girls) registered as members of the peace club. The time of meetings throughout the term was agreed upon.

The researcher met with Mr. Opadeji who is in charge of extra-curricular activities in Community High School, Agbowo, on the 28th of April, 2014, during which the researcher requested for his support to create a peace club in the said school. He expressed his willingness to support the researcher, and therefore asked the researcher to come on the 5th of May, 2014, for him and the researcher to meet with the Principal on the matter. The Principal eventually approved the request to create the peace club in the school, even as she opined that such activity could help promote non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) that is among others required to bring about social change in schools. The researcher worked with Mr. Opadeji, the teacher in charge of extra-curricular activities, to recruit students who volunteered to be members of the club. 25 students were enrolled into the club. 14 of them are girls while 11 are boys. The researcher introduced himself to the students, as well as introduced the contents of what they are to be trained on during the peace club meetings. He also discussed what is expected of them and what they stand to gain in being members of the club. Finally, they agreed on the timing for the meeting. Thursdays between 11:30am and 12:10pm, was generally agreed upon, as period for the meeting every week, throughout the term.

8.4.2 Second Meeting

On the 6th of May, 2014, the researcher held a meeting with members of the peace club in Immanuel Grammar School. The attendance of peace club members in the training session/meeting was 23. Also, a peace club training session came up at Methodist Grammar School on the 7th May, 2014 with 8 people in attendance (as it rained heavily that morning leading to poor attendance as many students could not come to school on time), and at Community High School on the 8th May, 2014 There were 27 peace club members in

attendance, following the joining of two more students, as well as at Bodija International College on May 9, 2014 with 16 peace club members in attendance.

Before commencing the training sessions in each case, the researcher conducted pre-training tests for the peace club members. In addition, he also requested them to write an essay on a typical or common conflict which they face under the following sub-headings:

- What is the conflict about
- Who are parties to the conflict
- What are the needs of each of the parties
- How they have tried to deal with the conflict
- What has been the outcome.

Afterwards, the researcher commenced training, using the Mennonite Community Curriculum for Peace Clubs. He started with lesson one in section one of the curriculum, which is 'introduction to conflict. The objective of the lesson was that students will define conflict and conflict resolution, explore associations with conflict, understand the difference between conflict and violence, and recognise positive aspects of conflict as well as understand the meaning of conflict resolution and peace. The students learnt about the meaning of conflict, and that it is a normal and natural part of life. Also they learnt that it exist in the society because people are different and have different perspectives and understanding of what they see around them. Since people are born into different cultures, families, countries, religions, etc., they often see the world in different ways, and the clash of these differences, often results in conflicts. Social progress and social change, may also result because of conflict, hence, conducting non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) using the methods of non-violent action (see section 4.6), is critical to achieving the expected social change. The training helped the students understand that a peace club is not aimed at ending conflicts, but to teach them new skills in conflict resolution and to have them engage in critical thinking about the conflicts in their lives, with a view to coming up with peaceful and creative solutions to the

conflicts. The students also learnt about violence, cycles of violence and types of violence - physical, economic and emotional violence. They learnt that violence is different from conflict and that violence results when conflicts are not handled constructively.

Against this backdrop, it was therefore important to learn about conflict resolution and conflict transformation. In addition to learning about what conflict resolution and transformation means, they also learnt about peace - positive and negative peace, as well as various conflict outcomes. The lesson indeed aided, in laying basic foundation in the area of training which is expected to help positively influence student's attitude and promote social change (see section 4.3) in the school.

The students asked questions during the class that was robust in interaction and answers were provided to the questions asked. Afterward, the peace club members were given exercises and assignments as part of process of evaluating. To this effect, the researcher divided the class into four groups. The students were asked to think of a conflict situation that they can act out for the class. They were only to present the conflict, but not the solution to the class.

8.4.3 Third Meeting

The researcher again held a meeting with peace club members at Immanuel College on the 13th May 2014 with 20 peace club members in attendance, and at Methodist College on the 14th May, 2014 with 13 peace club members in attendance, as well as at Community High School on the 15th May, 2014 with 13 peace club members in attendance, and finally at Bodija International College on the 16th May 2014 with 10 peace club members in attendance. The researcher's training theme was on perspective, and cultural differences. The objective of the lesson was for students to understand how differing perspectives contribute to conflicts and explore other causes of conflicts. It is aimed that students will understand cultural differences, explore the problems of stereotypes, and learn the importance of tolerance. Using the 'Old Lady, Young Lady' (an image/exercise used in psychology), students learnt that it is possible for people to be looking at the same thing but see it differently. The activity was that the students should look at the said picture quietly for a minute, and were asked, what did they see? Those

who saw old lady in the picture were asked to raise their hand, while those who saw young lady were, thereafter, asked to raise their hands. Those who saw both were afterwards asked to raise their hands. The trainer thereafter, pointed out the 'old lady' to those who could not see it and the 'young lady' for others. The trainer further pointed out, that it is possible for us all look at the same picture and see things differently, and that this happens because each person has his or her own perspective. Hence, "the need to be tolerant and try to understand the other person's view point or point of view, before taking any action in response to another party's actions". Perspective is a way of looking at something, or a viewpoint. In the context of conflict people often have different ways of looking at, and understanding the problem. This is because everyone has his or her own perspective. Students role-played a story titled 'Yuni and Neighbour'. The role-playing exercise further helped them understand how differing perspectives can result in conflict.

The students also learnt different ways of doing something, such as showing respect and giving greetings in different cultures, and when people do not recognise or comprehend these variations or differences, they may feel disrespected or offended by people from other cultures. The students learnt about stereotyping and tolerance, as well as learning with a demonstration approach, how to greet in different cultures such as Korea, USA, DRC, Brazil, Zambia, India, Iraq. As members of a peace club, it is imperative to help promote awareness of cultural differences and respect for the diversity existing between different cultures. Since every culture has its strengths and weaknesses, "it is therefore our responsibility as peace-makers to acknowledge the strengths of all cultures, as well as recognise that diversity between people is part of a healthy world. Hence the need to work to create a school or a community, based on acceptance and tolerance, as this is the bedrock for achieving peace in any given society". Local cases studies in some Nigerian cultures were used to role-play how cultural differences can lead to conflict if not well managed.

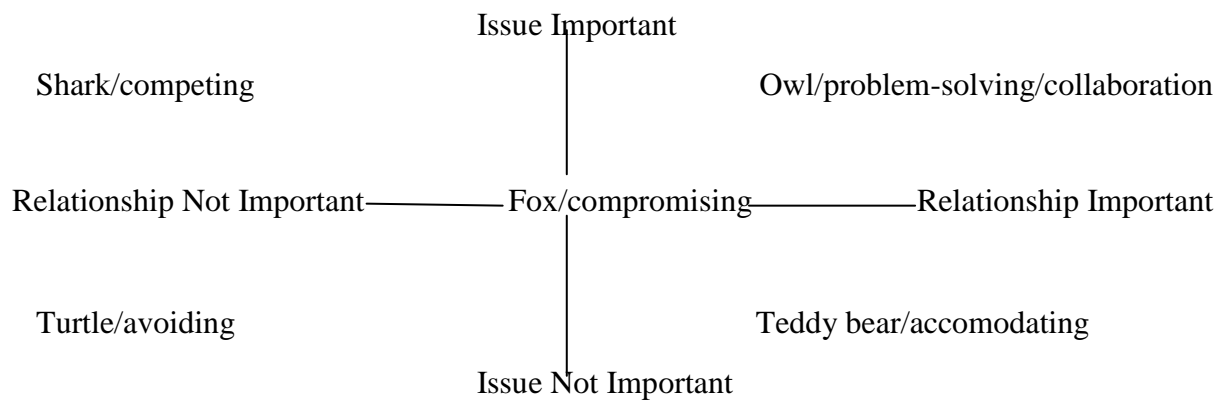
The question and answer session was also utilised in all the schools. The students submitted their assignment on conflict they have experienced, which was given to them in their previous training peace club class.

Afterward, the peace club members were given exercises and assignments, as a way of evaluating themselves for the day. They were asked to write out the various ways of greetings in the over 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria. Apart from perspective and cultural differences, there are also other causes of conflicts. The students were asked to list some other reasons and ways that they have encountered conflict with other people.

8.4.4 Fourth Meeting

Another peace club meeting came up at Immanuel Grammar School on Tuesday the 20th of May 2014 with 14 peace club members in attendance and at the Methodist Grammar School on Wednesday the 21st of May 2014 with 19 peace club members in attendance. A Peace Club meeting was also held at Community High School on Thursday May 22nd 2014 with 21 peace club members in attendance and at Bodija International College on the 23rd May 2014 with 7 peace club members in attendance. For that week, the researcher addressed the theme 'approaches to solving conflict'. Before commencing training on the theme/topic, the researcher recapped the lessons in the previous class. Afterwards, the researcher proceeded to the theme for the week - approaches to solving conflict. The objective of the lesson was for students to understand the five approaches to solving conflict, recognise the importance and dangers of each approach, and learn to identify the approach that would be the most helpful in each conflict situation. In his presentation, the researcher explained to the students the five approaches to conflict, which are accommodating, avoiding, competing/forcing, compromising and collaborating or problem-solving. He explained to the students, with the aid of five approaches to conflict graph (illustrated below), the different circumstances or contexts in which each of the approaches is applicable.

Figure 8.1: Five Approaches to Conflict Graph



The club members learnt that the approach to be adopted in conflict situations is a function of the issue in question and the relationship of the parties involved. The said graph, was used to illustrate this clearly, as the ‘animals’ (representing styles of conflict handling) in the graph, helped to create a picture that promoted the understanding of the students on the theme. He further emphasised, that the problem-solving approach, is the best, and recommended it for every peace club member. True reconciliation, requires fruitful dialogue, embedded in a problem-solving approach. People must learn to engage in non-threatening dialogue regarding conflict issues, with a view to resolving conflicts amicably”. This is necessary, if we must ensure social change, and working towards such change, strategic planning for non-violent social change (see section 4.7) is important, and this was largely spelt out in the peace club meetings.

The training was also dotted with question and answer sessions. Afterward, the peace club members were given exercises and assignments as a way of evaluating them for the day. The exercises and assignments covered activities on ‘conflict animals,(i.e. which approach to conflict would be best in the following situations ?)

- “You and your friends are deciding on a movie to watch. You don’t really care what you watch but your friend wants to see Ice Age”.
- “Your friends are trying to convince you to steal a candy bar from the store”.

- “You are waiting in line and someone is trying to sell you a broken toy that you don’t want to buy”.
- “You are playing soccer and you and your friend both want to be goalie”.
- “Your sister borrowed your favourite shirt and accidentally spilled paint on it and now it won’t come out”

After the peace club meeting, that day, the Principal of the School commended the effort of the researcher, and also requested that the researcher submit weekly reports of his peace club activities to the school, in order to enable the school management to follow up with the development and update on his work, as well as to update Officers of the Ministry of Education, during their routine visit to the school. He advised the researcher to also approach the Justice and Peace Commission of the Catholic Church for resource support for his laudable work at helping to build peaceful schools in our community.

8.4.5 Fifth Meeting

Another peace club meeting came up on the 26th May, 2014 at Immanuel Grammar School with 17 peace club members in attendance, and at the Methodist College on the 28th May, 2014 with 23 peace club members in attendance, as well as at Bodija International College on the 30th of May 2014 with 11 peace club members in attendance. A peace club meeting could not be organised for that week at Community High School because Thursday the 29th of May 2014 (which was supposed to be the day for the meeting at the school) was declared as Public Holiday by the Federal Government of Nigeria, as a day for the Celebration of Democracy in Nigeria.

Like other peace club meetings organised so far in the target schools, the peace club meeting for the week at the aforementioned schools were indeed engaging, attitudinal and social change oriented, even as the students became more eager to deploy and employ non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) as its approach in promoting peace in their schools. The theme for the week was Problem-solving Tools. Before treating the theme for the week in

the target schools, the researcher quickly recapped the lesson for the previous week on 'the five approaches to conflict graph'. In all the schools, the researcher spelt out the objectives of the lesson for the week which was, 'students will learn to attack the problem instead of the person, develop a win/win attitude, and understand underlying needs'. The opening activity was 'human sculptures' as illustrated in the curriculum adopted for this training. The first sculpture was demonstrated by two students facing each other and grabbing a book, angry faces and a raised fist, while the second sculpture had two students standing side by side, facing the class, and jointly holding the book. The students were asked to describe each of the sculptures. While the first sculpture, described a conflict situation having parties handling it differently, the second one, described a conflict situation with parties handling it co-operatively to solve problem. Following this, the students were advised that, in trying to solve problems, we need to learn to move from the symbolic strategy displayed in first sculpture to the better method of handling conflict, symbolised by the second sculpture. Afterwards, the three tools to help approach conflict constructively and peacefully were unveiled to the students. These are, attack the problem, not the person, a win/win attitude, and go back to needs approaches. The students were trained on how to use the tools.

Students learnt during the training, that they must ensure a shift from attacking the person (they are in conflict with) to the problem or issue, as this will not only help to prevent fighting among them but also help to deploy adequate attention and energy to resolving the matter amicably, since it will help unravel the root cause of the problem. Also, the lesson helped students learn skills in developing a win-win attitude, in view of the fact that this attitude is the only true route to positive peace. The capitalist attitude that breeds competitiveness in our economy is fast gaining ground in conflictual contexts, to the extent that many people in the society look out for who wins and who loses in conflict contexts. This approach is also dominant in the system of retributive justice that overwhelms our justice system of today. But, it is high time this attitude gave way to the restorative justice attitude, and a world where many look out for who wins and who wins". In the training, the trainer emphasised the need to promote a win-win attitude in the schools, using non-violent action, and that such an attitude is critical to the attainment of non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in the school and community at

large. The students further learnt about the importance of understanding the needs of parties in conflict, as this is used to work out the right solution for the conflict in question. Story-telling and case study approaches were further used to ensure that the students clearly understood the training area properly. The story and case study titled 'Simon and the Tree Branch' contained in the training curriculum, and one other local story and case study were used.

The presentation and skill training session was followed by question and answer session that further helped clarify and promote a deeper understanding of the area of training to the target participants.

8.4.6 Sixth Meeting

Another peace club meeting was held at Immanuel Grammar School on the 2nd of June, 2014 with 14 members in attendance, and at Methodist College on the 4th of June 2014 with 29 members in attendance, as well as at Community High School on the 5th of June 2014 with 19 members in attendance, and at Bodija International College on the 6th of June, 2014 with 15 members in attendance. At the schools, the researcher facilitated training on the sub-theme 'problem-solving method'. This was also recapped at the Methodist College by the researcher having earlier treated it alongside 'problem-solving tools' in the previous week in the College. The researcher stated that, the objective was to have students learn the 'Five Fingers' problem-solving method, and have an opportunity to practice using it in an activity. The researcher listed and explained the 'Five Finger Formula', which is as follows:

Thumb: Cool down, if needed

Pointer Finger: Discuss and agree what is the problem

Middle Finger: Brainstorm solutions

Ring Finger: Select a solution that seems reasonable to all

Pinkie Finger: Try it out!

The Five Finger Formula, also known as the problem-solving method, is a way of putting the various lessons learnt together, with a view to finding solutions to our conflicts. The thumb finger is concerned with dealing with anger first, before working towards a good solution, while the pointer finger is concerned with listening to both side. The middle finger is concerned with creative thinking and thinking together of as many solutions as possible, while the ring finger is concerned with coming up with a solution that meets everyone's needs, and the pinkie finger is concerned with acting out what you have decided, and if no solution yet, then it is time to try again. The students learnt these with enthusiasm and excitement.

After the skills training on how to use the Five Finger Formula, the researcher divided the class into four groups, in preparation for a problem solving activity. Gaining expertise in solving problems is critical to implementing strategies for non-violent social change (see section 4.7) in schools and the community at large. The researcher afterwards gave each group, one problem solving activity as an assignment and requested the group to follow the Five Finger Formula approach, to come up with answers, which each group would present to the class at the next meeting. This was also meant to serve as process of evaluation. The following was to be handled by each group:

Group 1: You have to go on a trip by ship for a month. Inside the ship there is nothing, so you need to decide what to bring along. You can only bring 10 items. Which things do you most need?

Group 2: You are lost in the desert with nothing. You are in a desperate state of affairs. Suddenly a fairy appears and says, 'you can make 10 wishes but choose wisely!' what do you wish for?

Group 3: You have to move to a new house. If you can bring only 10 things with you to this new house, what do you bring?

Group 4: You are traveling into space. The space rocket has a cargo limit, so your group can bring along only 10 things. What kind of things do you bring?

Each group was to present separately to the entire class, as the class reflected together on how the process of decision making for each group was handled with guide questions such as:

How well did your group communicate?

What were the difficulties that arose during the discussion?

How are you feeling now?

Each group strove to respond to these questions, as the process helped the students to better understand the sub-theme.

8.4.7 Seventh Meeting

A peace club meeting was again held at Immanuel College on Monday the 9th of June, 2014 with 18 peace club members in attendance, and at Methodist College on the 11th of June, 2014 with 30 members in attendance, following 5 new students who joined in the meeting. Before commencing training on the theme for the week which was non-violence, the researcher asked the groups to make their presentations to the class on the group assignment given to them during the previous lesson. The presentations were made as the class reflected together, on how the process of decision making was handled using the Five Finger Formula (problem-solving method).

Afterwards, the researcher started the training on non-violence. He told the students what non-violence means, and why it is a better approach than violence. In contemporary times, methods of non-violent action (see section 4.6), have become increasingly important in bringing about social change in many societies. Training in non-violence, really does have a role to play in all cultures, especially considering that only a few institutions, actually teach on how to deal with conflict constructively. Most people are just taught to avoid conflict or allow recognised authorities to handle it. However, those who choose to live a life of non-violence recognise the third option - the way of conflict transformation - which involves seeking to actively confront violent conflict and injustice without the use of violence. The campaign to ban landmines (see

section 4.9) and the campaign to ban cluster munitions (see section 4.10) were mentioned along with other examples where non-violence was used to effect non-violent change.

The researcher gave the students copies of materials containing stories of non-violence for them to read after the peace club training session. The training ended with a question and answer session.

For the same week, peace club meetings could not be held at Community High School, and Bodija International School, as their meeting day coincided with mid-term break for most schools in Nigeria. As such, the schools were closed for academic work on the 12th and 13th of June 2014, the dates Community High School and Bodija International School peace club groups were supposed to hold their meetings.

8.4.8 Eighth Meeting

The eighth peace club meeting was held at Immanuel Grammar School on the 16th of June, 2014 with 20 peace club members in attendance, and at the Methodist Grammar School on the 18th of June, 2014 with 23 peace club members in attendance, as well as at the Community High School on the 19th of June, 2014 with 20 peace club members in attendance. Following the demise of Chief Abdulazeez Aritsekola – a popular Ibadan businessman and politician, - the Oyo state Government declared Friday the 20th of June 2014 a public holiday, thereby disrupting the peace club meeting for that day at Bodija International College. The sub-theme for the week was communication – non-verbal, active listening and speaking. The objectives of the lesson, were to make students understand that they can listen with their bodies and learn about the importance of non-verbal communication during conflict, to learn to listen by asking clarifying questions and by reflecting back facts and feelings, and finally to learn about “I” statements and practice formulating these statements to help them communicate constructively.

“Communicating what one wants in a way that makes it convey what is intended or the exact meaning, is crucial in determining the intensity and extent of conflict, as well as in resolving conflicts. Understanding this, and making deliberate efforts to ensure one communicates constructively, is an important step to achieving non-violent change (see section 4.4) in schools

and community at large". The researcher drew attention on case studies and examples from the immediate and surrounding environments of the students' experiences to illustrate the lesson to the students.

Afterwards, the students handled some class exercise which included using the "I" statement formula – 'I feel ...When...Because...What I want... ' to formulate and construct peace friendly sentences in a way that makes everyone feel heard and understood.

This is especially against the backdrop that good communication is centred on listening and speaking in a manner that makes everyone involves feels heard and clearly understood. The "I" statement formula aforementioned is also a good pattern of writing apology letters. This was also told to the peace club members by the researcher.

The peace club class also engaged in a question and answer session. The class ended with student's committing themselves to practice more of what was learned during the peace club meeting, using the assignments giving to them by the researcher as part of the process of evaluation.

8.4.9 - Ninth Meeting

A peace club meeting was again held at Immanuel Grammar School on the 23rd June, 2014 with 13 peace club members in attendance, and at the Methodist Grammar School on the 25th June, 2014 with 32 peace club members in attendance (following the joining of 7 students who were not pioneer members of the club) as well as at Community High School on the 26th June, 2014 with 21 peace club members in attendance, and finally at Bodija International College on the 27th June, 2014 with 10 peace club members in attendance.

The theme treated at Immanuel Grammar School, Methodist Grammar School and at Community High School was 'Dealing with Anger, while at Bodija International College it was communication non-verbal, active listening and speaking, as was the case in the previous week in other aforementioned schools. The objectives of the lesson on Dealing with Anger, was to help students understand the concept of Irritability Quotient (IQ), as it relates to the amount of anger and annoyance one absorbs, how to measure levels of anger using Novaco scale, and

finally how to manage and deal with anger. There is no gainsaying the fact that, managing one's emotions is critical towards combating non-violent ill-discipline required to effectively conduct a non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4), which the students have expressed willingness to conduct in their schools, following their involvement in peace clubs. Hence, a number of approaches, including role-playing and case studies were employed by the trainer to build the participants' skills in managing and addressing their emotions of anger.

In learning how to measure their IQ, the students wrote out 25 potentially upsetting situations and used the simple rating scale below to grade/score each situation, so as to estimate the degree to which it would ordinarily anger or provoke them.

0. I would feel very little or no annoyance
1. I would feel a little irritable
2. I would feel moderately upset
3. I would feel quite angry
4. I would feel very angry

Afterwards, they added up the score for each of the 25 incidents. The lowest possible total score on the test is zero and to attain this, one would have to put down zero on each item. This indicates that one is either a liar or guru who never gets irritated, annoyed or angry ! The highest score is 100. This would mean one recorded a 4 on each of the 25 items, and one is constantly at or beyond the boiling point, becoming irritated, annoyed or angry often. Thereafter, one can now interpret one's total score according to the following scale;

- 0 – 45 the amount of anger and annoyance you generally experience is remarkably low. Only a few percent of the population will score this low on the test.
- 46 – 55 one is substantially more peaceful than the average person
- 56 – 75 one responds to irritation or conflict with an average amount of anger

- 76 – 85 one frequently reacted in an angry way to irritations and/or conflicts in life. One is substantially more irritable than the average person
- 86 – 100 one is plagued frequently by intense, furious reactions that do not quickly disappear.

On the lesson on communication for Bodija International College, the objectives, as in the previous week in other aforementioned schools, were similarly the case, and the researcher also worked to ensure the objectives were realised.

The lessons were also followed with a question and answer sessions. Afterwards, the students tackled some class exercises, and eventually went home with assignments as part of the process of evaluation. The assignment was that students should generate 25 actions and cases in their environment, that possibly cause them irritation, annoyance or anger, and score themselves and calculate their level of anger, following the different steps the researcher taught them, using the Novaco Anger Scale.

8.4.10 - Tenth Meeting

The tenth peace club meeting came up on the 30th of June, 2014 at Immanuel Grammar School with 15 peace club members in attendance, and on the 2nd of July 2014 at the Methodist Grammar school with 29 peace club members in attendance. A peace club meeting, was similarly held, at Community High School on the 3rd of July 2014 with 13 peace club members in attendance and at Bodija International College on the 4th of July 2014 with 10 peace club members in attendance. Apart from Bodija International College, where the theme was centred on anger, the theme in other aforementioned schools was centred on right relationships, forgiveness and repentance. While the training on anger, was essentially centred on the concept of the irritability quotient, measurement of anger using the Novaco scale, and approaches of managing and dealing with anger, the training on right relationship, forgiveness and repentance, was essentially targeted at meeting the objectives of learning why and how, to have right relationships with one another, learn about the various steps on the path to

forgiveness including how “othering” the person who hurt us leads to more violence. The training scope also covered the meaning of repentance, and why it is important in the journey to reconciliation, including the various steps on the path of repentance.

Forgiveness is an important way of breaking the cycle of violence, and when we choose forgiveness rather than revenge, we are undoubtedly working towards peace and reconciliation, as well as freeing ourselves from hatred and violence. The two paths that must be walked to achieve reconciliation are forgiveness and repentance. Hence, the training in forgiveness and reconciliation, as well as, how to promote the concept and message of forgiveness and repentance through awareness promotion strategies, such as the use of posters, handbills, text messages, among others, are essential methods of promoting non-violent action (section 4.6) for social change, that embraces a peaceful and safe environment in schools.

The discussion was followed by a question and answer session. “One may ask ‘why is forgiveness so difficult to offer by many people? Though it can be difficult, it is a crucial part of peace-building. Since the person hurt or offended is still the one forgiving the offender, it is therefore difficult to do, as the offended may still be nursing the pain or loss, while forgiving the offender. Nonetheless, forgiveness is important and a possibility for everyone”.

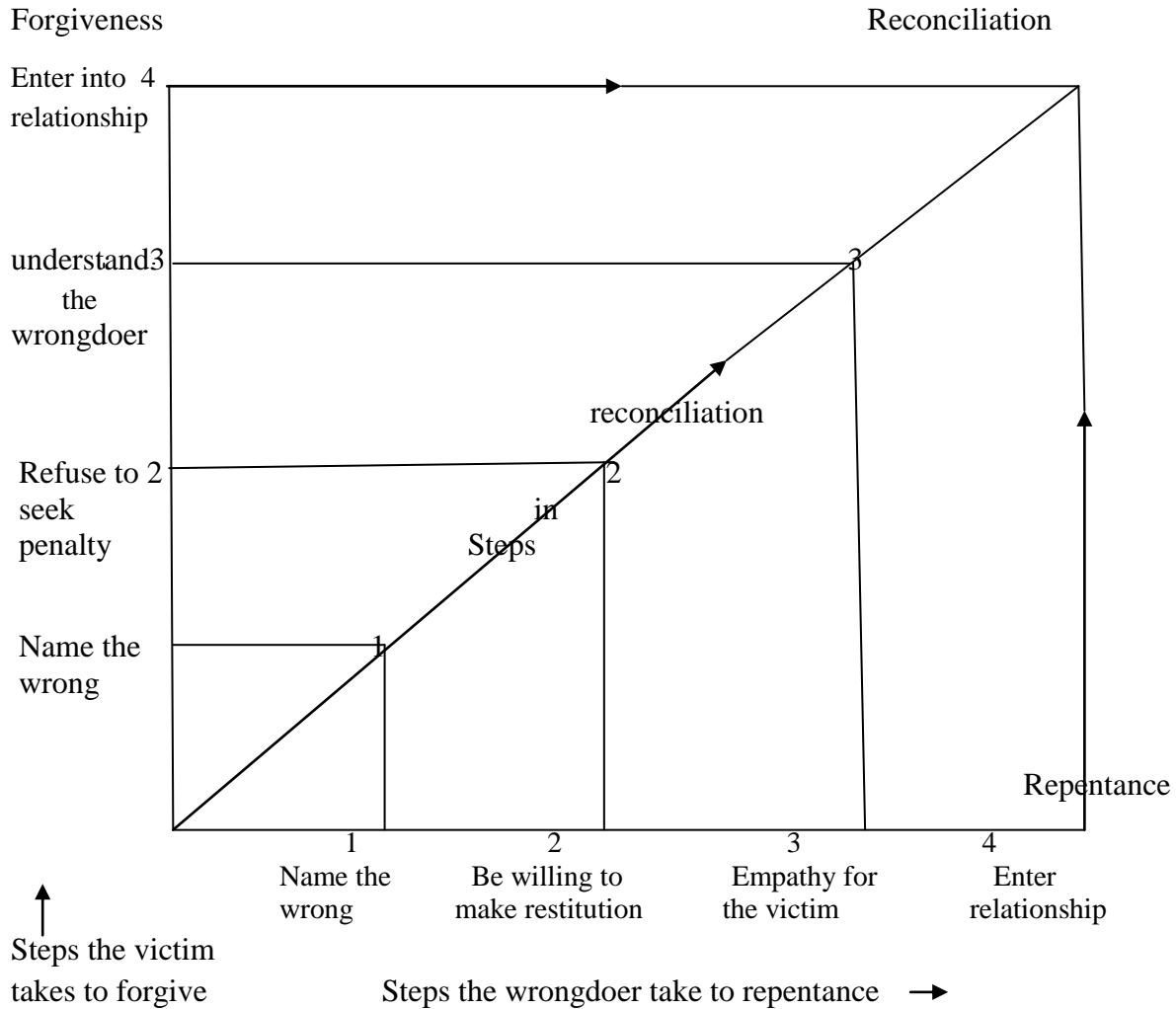
8.4.11 -Eleventh Meeting

A peace club meeting was held at Immanuel College on the 7th of July 2014, was very brief, as it was in the wake of third term examinations in the school. As such, the researcher only reviewed the assignment given to the peace club members during the previous peace club meeting as well as giving out a new assignment to the said members. The attendance recorded for the meeting was 12. At the Methodist Grammar School, the peace club meeting was held on the 9th of July 2014 and had about 29 peace club members in attendance. Though the session was not as long as usual, as students were more committed to spending their time preparing for their third term examination, the researcher, was however, able to use the time available to conclude his training on forgiveness and repentance, that he started the previous meeting. The

peace club meeting held at Bodija International College on the 11th of July, 2014 was very brief, as members of the club had a paper to write in respect of their third term examinations. Therefore, only 10 members of the club turned up and we focused our discussion on a brief introduction to forgiveness.

It was however, a different experience at Community High School on the 10th of July 2014 where we were able to utilise a longer than usual time for the peace club meeting for that day, as the students were yet to start their third term examinations, which were only scheduled for the following week. There were 19 peace club members in attendance. The researchers reviewed some of the previous topics that were treated in previous peace club meetings, and afterwards treated and completed the training session on the theme 'forgiveness, repentance and reconciliation. The importance of forgiveness and repentance, in promoting harmonious relationships, and in achieving the needed non-violent change in the school environment, was largely emphasised in the training session ,as students brainstormed how they thought they could play a critical role in ensuring their colleagues, who are not peace club members, can also be positively influenced in the project, to promote non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4), and thus bring about non-violent change in their school. The training session was followed by a question and answer session.

Figure 8.2: Path to Reconciliation



The figure above shows steps to reconciliation which encourages healthy relationships. The steps a victim takes to reconciliation are: name the wrong, refuse to seek penalty, understand the wrong doer, and enter into a relationship with the offender.

The steps the wrongdoer takes are: name the wrong, be willing to make restitution, have empathy for the victim, and enter a relationship with the victim.

8.4.12 - Twelfth Meeting

On the 14th of July, 2014, another peace club meeting was held at Immanuel Grammar School with 13 people in attendance. A peace club meeting was also held on the 16th of July at the Methodist Grammar School with about 15 peace club members turning up for the peace club

session. The attendance at the Community High School for their peace club meeting held on the 17th of July, 2014 was 20, while at Bodija International School attendance was 11.

The theme focused on for that week at the aforesaid Schools, was restorative action. The students learnt what restorative justice means, and also compared it to retributive justice/action, which they are familiar with. They learnt the advantage of restorative justice over retributive justice, as well as how to apply the skills, in order to promote non-violent action for social change (see sections 4.4) in their schools, and thus bring about attitudinal change and non-violent change in their schools and community at large. The meeting concluded with a question and answer session.

8.4.13 Thirteenth Meeting

The peace club meeting held on the 22nd of July, 2014 at Immanuel Grammar School recorded 16 people in attendance. At the Methodist Grammar School the attendance was 18 for the peace club meeting held on the 23rd July, 2014, while at the Community High School, the attendance was 15 for the peace club meeting that came up on the 24th July, 2014. Attendance at Bodija International College was 11. The students had finished their examinations in their various schools at this time, and were preparing to proceed on long vacation.

The researcher, in all cases for the week, revised the various assignments and assessment tests, before proceeding to conduct post-training tests for students. The students also wrote a second essay on if they would do things differently in relation to what they wrote in the first essay at the inception of the peace club training, and if yes, to what effect ? Finally the students were interviewed on what they found most useful or beneficial in their environment, following their involvement in the peace club training sessions that lasted for one academic term in their schools. They also worked to figure out their collective role including grand strategy (4.7.1), strategy (4.7.2), and tactics (4.7.3) as well as methods (see section 4.7.4) in respect to conducting non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) in their schools.

These were documented by the researchers, as the peace club rounded-off for the term with jubilation and excitement among the peace club members, who readily came together for group photographs.

8.6 Summary

This chapter has reported the eight schools at which peace clubs were established, the clubs' objectives, the number of meetings carried out, the number of participants and the curriculum they followed. The chapter reports the diary records concerning the twelve meetings held at each of the second group of schools. The next chapter (chapter 9) is devoted to the outcome evaluation of the peace club projects.

Chapter 9: Outcome evaluation

9.1 Introduction

This chapter evaluates the peace club project in terms of its outcomes. The evaluation employs randomised control testing (RCT) based on pre and post-training test completed by peace club members and a similar number of schoolmates of similar ages who were not peace club members. The chapter also reports data on focus group discussion and structured interviews for student participants and teachers/principals. In summary, the following methods were used as part of the outcome evaluation:

Table 9.1 Evaluation methods used

Pre and post-training tests with 85 participants and 76 non-participants from four schools	Section 9.2, Appendices 1 and 2
An analysis of 30 essays about a conflict participants had experienced	Pre-training essays in section 9.3; post-training essays in section 9.4
Focus group discussions with peace club participants (four groups, with a total of 21 participants)	Section 9.7
Semi-structured interviews with 22	Section 9.8

peace club participants	
Semi-structured interviews with seven teachers and one principal	Section 9.6

9.2 Pre-and post-training tests

In the evaluation carried out on the preliminary peace club activities that lasted from April 2013 to March 2014, the average score for the pre-training test was 8 out of 25, while the average score for the post-training test was 20 out of 25 questions. The same questions were used in both the pre-training and post-training test. The questions were drawn from the peace club curriculum developed by the Mennonite Central Committee, Zambia. The said peace club training curriculum was also used for conducting the peace club training's/meeting's for this study.

Following the end of preliminary peace club activities in March 2014, the main peace club project began in May 2014, and lasted till the ending of July 2014 when schools proceeded on long vacation. The main peace club project was occasioned by the need to fill the gap created in the course of the preliminary peace club activities. There was the need for more data for a detailed evaluation of the peace club fieldwork for the study. It was against this backdrop, that it became necessary to extend the peace club project till July 2014.

As aforesaid, four new schools were used for the main peace club project. The pre-training tests were conducted in the four schools. The questions used for the tests were drawn from the peace club curriculum of Mennonite Central Committee, South Africa (see Appendix 5). The questions were the same used in the preliminary peace club project evaluation tests, except that, five additional 'fill in the gap' questions were included in that of the main peace club project.

At Immanuel College, a total of 21 members participated in the test, while a total of 30 participated at Methodist College, and the number of peace club members who took the test at Community High school and Bodija International College were 17 and 17 respectively. The first set of questions (for preliminary peace club project), were 25 in number and required true or false responses, while the second set of questions (for main peace club), were five ‘fill in the gap’ questions, designed to test their knowledge on the five approaches to handling conflict. See appendix for the questions.

The post-training tests were carried out at the end of the peace club training in July 2014. The questions administered to the students during the post-training test were the same to that of pre-training tests. At Community High School, about 17 students participated in the test. The scores are contained in the table below which is drawn from Appendix tables 2.1 to 2.4:

Table 9.2 Summary of test results

	Participants			Non-participants		
	Number	Pre-test score	Post-test score	Number	Pre-test score	Post-test score
Community High	17	9.9	25	15	9.3	9.5
Methodist Grammar	30	9.3	24	30	9.4	9.7
Immanuel Grammar	21	9.8	22	17	9.6	9.7
Bodija International	17	10.1	23	14	10.0	10.0
Total/means	85	9.8	23.5	76	9.6	9.7

It seems clear that on the basis of these tests that the training has resulted in much increased scores for the participants; non-participants have remained stationary.

9.3 Participant's essays about conflict

9.3.1 Isaac versus Deborah: Provocative act breeds conflict.

Isaac said that on a fateful Friday, he and Deborah quarrelled because Deborah was making jest of his school and that the quarrel led to a fight between the two of them. According to Isaac, they quarrelled and fought because she often used abusive words on people. Isaac said, Deborah often abused and cursed people.

Isaac said he was a victim of such experience. He said she abused him, and he did not talk and she kept abusing him so they started fighting. He said no one was there except her younger sister (Neverfail).

According to Isaac's story, during the fight, Deborah asked her sister to give her a piece of wood, so as to hit him with it, but he collected the wood from her, as such Deborah was not able to hit him with the wood.

Isaac stated that upon hearing their voice, his mother came out and asked both of them to leave themselves and stop fighting, but Deborah disagreed initially, but later she left him and his mum told him that he should not fight so that he would not wound her.

Isaac further added that knowing how she always behaved, his mum told her that Isaac was not her mate, and that she should stop abusing him, and that the way she readily abused people at any slight provocation is not good.

Isaac said, so later his mum helped them to settle the quarrel between Deborah and him, and, that was how they became friends and they stopped fighting each other. He restated that they have now fully reconciled.

In my analysis and view, the conflict involving Isaac and Deborah was a typical one and common especially among school age children, as insult and curse are some of the frequent ways they react to life's many annoyances, probably occasioned by the action of their colleagues that hurt them. But these are not impressive ways of responding, hence the need to promote activities in the communities that could help bring about attitudinal change away from this conduct and thus promote harmonious relationships and non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in the community.

Isaac was a victim of Deborah's insult and her ready use of abusive words at any slight provocation. If this has become a habit, then something needs to be done urgently to help Deborah change her attitude. Isaac was part of the peace club created in his school in line with the specific objectives (see section 8.1) of the project on creating peace clubs as part of this study, and as contained in the said objectives, the intent was to promote attitudinal change among the students, and non-violent social change (see section 4.4) for sustainable peace in the school.

Isaac's reaction to Deborah's action fell below the expectation of a peace-maker. He engaged in a fight with Deborah as he was angry following Deborah's insult and use of abusive language on him. He could not bear the verbal violence, and as such reacted with violence.

Unfortunately, violence often begets violence and only sustains a cycle of violence. Violent intervention in a violent conflict is often unable to help achieve the needed positive peace and social change, but only an action that is non-violent can result in positive peace and non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in a given community. I understand how tempting it could be for one to be subjected to insult as contained in Isaac story and yet remain calm, but I have often argued that the test of one's character is in the challenging situation one finds themselves and how one handles such a situation is a function or measure of the skills and character the person possess. Since conflict is natural and inevitable, it is only advisable for one to devise a means to always avoid or walk away from such contexts or even deal with such conflicts peacefully.

In the course of the fight, Deborah asked her sister, "Never Fail", to give her a piece of wood that was within the vicinity so she could use it to hit Isaac. This would have been disastrous for

Isaac, but thank God he was able to avert what might have resulted from Deborah's intention. It was obvious from the story that both Isaac and Deborah allowed anger to drive their actions following failure in their ability to manage or control anger. The conflict would not have gotten to the level of fighting if Isaac had ignored Deborah and walked away from her or from the scene when she was engaging in verbal violence or abuse. I understand that Isaac may have been angry, but I have often argued that one of the ways to manage anger is to take a walk even farther from the scene of the conflict, and by the time one returns, tempers would have gone calm. Peace club was indeed a turning point for Isaac as the skills on anger management he learnt from the club, were undoubtedly useful for his attitudinal change and his contribution to the promotion of non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) in his school.

Isaac's mother intervened in the conflict, as aforementioned and thus brought it to a halt. In the course of the intervention, she listened to both sides of the story as she heard from Isaac and Deborah, and thereafter settled the conflict amicably. The woman encouraged the use of dialogue in the resolution process and the non-violent strategy (see section 4.7.2) she adopted was a significant step in achieving reconciliation for the conflict parties.

9.3.2 Samson versus Bolanle: The rough play saga.

Adekanmbi Samson, in his story, said that he was at home one Sunday when a friend of his younger sister named 'Tope' came to ask of his younger sister, but his sister was not at home that particular time and he told the girl same, but the girl said that she was going to wait until she returned, while the girl spent the waiting time to play with him (Samson).

Samson said he had his handset in his pocket that day and the girl playfully wanted to take the phone out of his pocket, but he did not allow her, so they started to drag the phone. With time, it was turned into a rough play.

According to Samson, there was one friend of his called 'Bolanle' who who was looking at them where he and Tope were playing, and she went to tell Samson's girlfriend that Samson was into opposite sex relationship with another girl.

When Samson heard that she has told his girlfriend so, he was annoyed and got angry with her, and insisted that he would not talk with her again. This was because he was indeed very angry that the girl could act that way. Samson further added that he and the girl (Bolanle) did not talk to each for seven months until Bolanle's mother came to him and requested that he and Bolanle should be friends again, and that was how they resolved the matter.

Samson further stated that after restoring their friendship, he explained to Bolanle that what she thought she saw that day was not what really happened. He took time to explain to Bolanle what really happened between him and girl he was playing with that day.

His explanation helped Bolanle to get the true picture of what was really happening that day Samson and Tope were engaged in a rough play. Upon knowing about this, Bolanle regretted her action and begged Samson. They fully had there conflict resolved and became happy with each other again.

In my analysis and view, the conflict involving Samson and Bolanle, also represents a typical conflict that contained elements of how people often react, as seen in Bolanle's reaction when she saw Samson playing with a girl. Rather than waiting patiently to investigate and fully ascertain what was actually going on between Samson and the girl Samson was playing with, she just assumed that Samson was dating another girl. Many people are often caught in this kind of experience. They assume things and act on their perspective, which in most cases, does not represent the reality or true situation of things. Acting on such distorted perspective is usually one of the causes of conflict (see section 2.4) in many communities. Bolanle immediately interpreted what she saw between Samson and the girl Samson was playing with as an act of dating or romantic connection between the two people. Bolanle perspective on the matter indeed triggered the conflict. From the view point of Bolanle, seeing Samson involving in a rough play with another girl was understood by her as that Samson was in another relationship. One is not surprised at this because differing perspective is one of the causes of conflicts in many societies. Perspective was described in peace club class as the way people see things, or their view point. The class on perspective was indeed beneficial to Samson. If he had

understood the concept of perspective prior to that incident, Samson might have probably taken a different approach in handling the situation.

It is important that people gather enough facts before taking action. This was lacking in the case of Bolanle as she did not take time to gather enough facts before reporting to Samson's girlfriend. When Tope (Samson girlfriend), also heard about the piece of information passed across to her by Bolanle, she reacted angrily and picked a quarrel with Samson. This is also a typical response for most people. Many relationships have been destroyed and the embers of violent conflicts fanned in many relationships because of this kind of experience and reaction. Rather than adopting a non-violent strategy (see section 4.7.2) in handling the matter, they often resort to a violent approach. Tope should have taken time to investigate the matter before taking a drastic decision against Samson. If Tope asked Samson to explain what actually happened, that would have offered Samson the opportunity to clear the air on the matter. This also brings out the importance of communication in relationships. Rather she was angry and like Samson also who was in the eye of the storm, anger beclouded their vision to see and act rightly in the situation they found themselves in. Samson became very angry with Bolanle and then resolved not to talk to her again.

According to Samson, he refused to talk to Bolanle for seven months. That was pretty long to keep one's friend at arm's length. This is an avoidance approach of conflict management style, and like I told members of the peace club, created as one of the specific objectives for this study, avoidance hardly really solves conflicts. It is always better to confront the situation in a non-violent way and talk about the issue. Dialogue is at the heart of the problem-solving approach and it is a very critical and an important non-violent strategy (see section 4.7.2) to truly resolving conflict, attainment of genuine reconciliation and positive peace as well as non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in schools and community at large.

If Samson had immediately engaged Bolanle in dialogue, the conflict would not have persisted for a longer time, but because he was angry and could not deal with the anger, he was unable to take a bold step towards doing the needful, and for a long time he was under the captivity of his angry feeling. The first step towards resolving any conflict, as I explained in the peace club,

is to tackle or deal with the angry feeling, because no better decision can be taken amidst angry feelings.

The conflict was eventually resolved when Bolanle's mother intervened, and asked Samson to forgive Bolanle. Samson eventually did, and afterwards engaged Bolanle in a dialogue that finally presented the true picture of things to Bolanle. When Bolanle learnt about the true situation of things, she regretted her action. Communication is an essential part of any relationship, if there was an improved communication on the matter between Bolanle and Samson, Bolanle would have understood that what she saw between Samson and the girl in question was just a mere play between friends and not any form of dating relationship, and this would have helped put her perspective right on the matter. As I have often argued, people must never give up in keeping communication alive at all times in their relationship, for it is only when we talk about things that the true state of things become clearer and known, and problems become solved. An attitudinal change in favour of this is critical to a healthy relationship and a progressive non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in schools and community at large.

In addition, a right perspective and developing skills in managing anger are significant steps towards peaceful relationships in schools and the society at large. Peace clubs offered a special opportunity for members, including Samson to learn about perspective as well as gain skills in anger management and communication among others.

9.3.3 Adetunji vs Foranmi: The Necessity of Communicating in a Non-Violent way

Adetunji said the day he fought with his sit partner called Foranmi because of a pencil and ruler is one day he would not readily forget. He said he misplaced Foranmi's ruler and Foranmi held on to his pencil in return.

According to Adetunji story, the following day they wanted to use ruler and pencil to plot graph, and that made him to request for his pencil which Foranmi held on to, but Foranmi did not give him the pencil. Following Foranmi's refusal to give him the pencil, he then snatched the pencil from him, and he started pursuing him, while he kept running until Foranmi appeared to have given up pursuing him.

Surprisingly Foranmi sneaked in to where he was plotting his graph and snatched the graph book from him and ran away. Adetunji lamented that he could not continue with the work he was doing because of that. He said he was angry as he did not do the work till closing time when the closing bell was rang. He then decided to carry Foranmi's bag and removed some things he felt were to Foranmi.

At that point other students in the class got involved as they attempted to solve the problem, but according to Adetunji, his heart was not on the settlement, as such did not accept their attempt to have him not seize the things from Forami's bag.

As a result of his action, the students then decided to drag him to a teacher and the teacher asked for the reason why they have been fighting. They went ahead to explain to the teacher and the teacher told Adetunji that he was the one that caused all the things.

Adetunji added that the teacher afterwards slapped him thrice while he cried as a result of the slap. The teacher then gave his sit partner (Foranmi) a new ruler and she told Foranmi that if Adetunji come to meet him again, he should come to report to her.

Adetunji concluded that the following day he had zero his mind and stopped being angry with Foranmi as their friendship came back again and they began to laugh together again.

In my analysis and view, the cause of the conflict between Adetunji and Foranmi is one common experience among school going children. The misplacement of Foranmi's ruler by Adetunji largely hurt the latter, who then decided to seek revenge by confiscating Adetunji's pencil as a replacement for the lost ruler. There is no denying the fact that commitment to revenge is largely responsible for the cycles of violence many people are involved in today in different parts of the world, and this has been an enormous challenge to the attainment of

non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in many communities. Sustainable peace would become elusive amidst commitment to revenge any wrong done to one. This was largely recognised in the peace club meetings for this study focused at bringing about positive attitudinal changes in students and non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in schools. The meetings, which largely emphasised repentance and forgiveness, as against revenge, created opportunity for members of the club, including Adetunji to gain insight on the need to largely de-emphasise the act of revenge in the students' daily lifestyle. Foranmi's intent was to seek revenge, but I think, Foranmi believed that Adetunji intentionally misplaced his pencil otherwise I do not see why he should want revenge by seizing Adetunji pencil as a replacement for the ruler that was misplaced. However be the case, it is important to note that revenge only makes one lower than the offender while forgiveness places one higher than the offender. Do I hear you say forgiveness is difficult? Yes, I have often argued in support that forgiveness can be difficult in certain circumstances, but it is doable and it is what is expected of any Godly person. However attempt to forgive while relying on feeling to have it done can be disappointing, this is why the act should not be exercised based on feelings but on a strong decision against feelings.

Foranmi could not exercise the act of forgiving, and as such he resorted to seizing Adetunji's graph book. Adetunji did not take the seizure lightly and thus acted aggressively by snatching the pencil from Foranmi. Rather than being aggressive or retaliating, Adetunji could have resorted to dialogue. Maybe if he engaged Foranmi in dialogue, he might have been able to make Foranmi understand that what happened was not intentional, and thus gain Foranmi's understanding on the matter. You may not recognise the power of dialogue until you try it out. It is effective at all time and recommended in all circumstances. Adetunji failed to dialogue but resorted to force, and Foranmi did not give up in pursuing him as he ran. Even when Adetunji thought he was no longer pursuing him, Foranmi sprang up like a bolt from the blue to snatch the pencil forcefully. This only shows that force/violence only begets force/violence and does not amicably settle conflict. I have often argued, and especially during my peace club sessions with my students, that the use of force which is the shark approach to conflict always aggravates the conflict, as aforesaid violence always begets violence. Both parties employed the said approach at this stage of the conflict and that further fuelled the conflict.

Dialogue is the magic wand and if it was applied it might have helped Foranmi see things in the perspective that would have ensured quick resolution of the conflict in an amicable manner, because from what I observed in this case, the perspective of parties as regards the manner the ruler went missing differs. While Foranmi's perspective was that Adetunji was careless and intentionally lost his ruler, Adetunji, on the other hand did not see it that way, but that his action was not intentional but a mistake. Following the seizure of Adetunji's graph book by Foranmi, Adetunji could not submit his assignment for that day and in an act of revenge resorted to seizing some important items in Foranmi's bag. The cycle of revenge indeed played out in this conflict, until the matter was reported to their teachers who then intervened in an attempt to bring the conflict to a halt.

The teacher listened to them as they told him what led to the conflict. He blamed Adetunji and slapped him as way of punishing him for what happened. The retributive justice approach the teacher employed only addressed the need of the offended leaving that of the offender. This is one of the reasons while I have often argued in support of restorative justice which often addresses the needs of the offender, offended and the school or community as the case may be.

9.3.4 Temi versus Tope: 'I wanted to share the meat!.'

The conflict was all about a piece of meat that was to be shared between Temi and her brother, Tope. Temi's brother, Tope said he wanted to share the meat, but Temi refused and insisted that he would be the one to share the meat. Temi grabbed the meat while his brother struggled to hold on to the meat too. Temi said, so they were now fighting and arguing against each other on who was to share the meat.

While they were busy arguing on who was to share the meat, Temi said that their mother suddenly walked into the scene and asked them what was happening between the two of them. Temi did not waste time in answering their mother as she jumped up and began to tell her mother what led to the argument.

Temí said, she explained to her that it was because of a piece of meat that they were arguing and fighting. After the explanation, their mother steered at them and according to Temí she just took a knife and shared the meat equally with the knife for both them.

Temí further added that while they were trying to settle down and pick the shared piece of meat to eat, their father who they suspected might have heard their quarrel from a distance but did not immediately interfere, but waited till their mother finished sharing the piece of meat, suddenly walked into the scene, and according to Temí before each of them began to eat his or her own share of the piece of meat, their father came in asked them what was going on that they have not finished eating their meat since morning?.

Temí further said that as he was trying to explain, their father who was so angry of them because of their behaviour seized their piece of meat from them and ate it. According to the story, Temí and her sister felt bad and suddenly began to express regret for their behaviour leading to their losing their meat to their father, who acted to punish them for their action over their inability to simply handle the conflict over sharing of a piece of meat that was given to them in the course of their eating together.

In my analysis and view the conflict between Temí and Tope was caused by the inability of the children to share the piece of meat between the two of them in such a way that it would be free of rancour. I do not think that was the first time they ate together and also shared meat. Maybe that was not also the first time they quarrelled over something or shared one thing or the other together, but whatever is the case, conflict involving sharing of things is common among children. Let me further add that this kind of conflict is not limited to children. In fact, many adult youths as well as elders are victims of this kind of conflict relating to sharing one thing or the other between each other.

So Temí and Tope were not enmeshed in a conflict that is unusual, however, to handle such conflict, there is the need for an attitudinal change in favour of win-win attitude. The absence or the low level of win-win attitudes in many communities today in the world is largely responsible for the increase in violent conflict and resistance to social change in many societies.

This resistance must be defeated and non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) encouraged if sustainable peace must take its root in our nations.

The significance of a win-win attitude inherent in the problem-solving approach to handling conflict cannot be gainsaid. A capitalist approach to life that largely fans the embers of competitiveness which is central to game theory that supports 'the winner take all concepts' is the order of the day in today's world. Such competitive approach to life is particularly worse if it is an unhealthy type that often results to win-lose conflict outcome.

Also, Temi and Tope may have been able to handle the conflict they had if they were tolerant with each other, and also not suspicious of each other. Intolerance is a key problem in the world today. Intolerance among people of different religious and ethnic affiliations, including people in the same groupings and families has been largely fingered as causes of violent conflict (see section 2.4) in many societies. The conflict parties were also suspicious of each other, as one probably thought that the other would cheat him or her if the other person was allowed to share the meat. This reminded me of the "you do the sharing why I do the choosing first" system that was regularly used between me and my brother when we were very young many years ago. Except a creative approach that supports a style that promotes peaceful co-existence is encouraged in our communities, the sustainable peace and nonviolent social change (see section 4.4) we yearn for cannot be realised.

Their mother however intervened by sharing the meat into two with a knife in line with a compromise approach of handling conflict. One may also want to ask, did their father make things easy with his actions? Well it was probably surprising to him that at their age, they still found it difficult to share just a piece of meat, and probably thought it justifiable to act in a way that would serve as a deterrent to the children.

9.3.5 Olabisi versus Roki: 'I was slapped because of a biscuit!'

Olabisi was involved in a conflict with Roki who is her elder sister. The root cause of the conflict was biscuit. The biscuit was bought by their mummy. According to Olabisi, the biscuit was given

to her by her mum, and as her sister walked in and found her eating the biscuit she became furious.

Roki looked at Olabisi bitterly and gave her a slap. Olabisi became very angry and according to her she beat Roki also and that was what led to the conflict between herself and Roki. Olabisi further said that as the conflict continued, one of her friend Funmi joined her and stood beside her to fight for her upon hearing what happened, especially considering that she did not do anything against her sister that warranted her sister slapping her.

An elderly woman eventually came to help them resolved the conflict, but instead of the conflict to be resolved, Olabisi said it continued more and more, i.e. "it escalated", and at that point people had gathered together in crowd to watch them.

Later Olabisi mum arrived and saw that they were fighting, and according to Olabisi statement, her mum quickly joined the crowd, and asked what the cause of the fight was. Her sister said that she ate her biscuit, while she argued that it was the biscuit that her mum gave to her that she ate.

Olabisi mum responded in the presence of everybody that the biscuit was for Olabisi, although she gave it to Olabisi's sister before, but that she later gave her another money to buy another biscuit, and that was why she later gave the biscuit to Olabisi. On hearing this, both of them relaxed and began to steer at each other.

So, their mum eventually resolved the conflict, and she further said Olabisi should beg her sister for being rude to her sister, especially considering that she is her elder sister. Also, their mother asked Roki to beg Olabisi for cheating her. Olabisi submitted that they beg each other as they began to relate with each other again.

In my view, if Roki had not reacted immediately, her anger might have subsided and thus caused her to react differently. Unfortunately when she walked in and saw Olabisi eating what she thought was still her biscuit, she just went ahead to slap Olabisi, angry that her younger sister dared to eat her biscuit. It is unfortunate that many still have it in their consciousness that violent reaction is the way to address issues. Roki did not even bother to ask questions and

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be clear on what might have motivated her younger sister, Olabisi to eat what she still thought belong to her at that time.

Firstly, it is not even about whether the biscuit was truly hers or not, but her reaction that was so violent in return was indeed inappropriate behaviour. There is the need for people to deeply understand and come to term with the fact that a violent reaction to action does not solve any problem, does not heal the wound and negatively affects the outcome.

A non-violent action (see section 4.6) or reaction must be encouraged in our schools and society at large by school heads/teachers, community leaders and all and sundry if peace must reign and non-violent social change (see section 4.4) is to be achieved in our schools and communities in general. If Roki had acted in a way that was non-violent, the conflict might not have degenerated to the extent it got to, and the violent reaction that trailed her action would not have occurred.

Another challenge Roki was her inability to control or manage her anger, she was so furious when she saw her sister eating her biscuit. People don't often make good decisions when they are angry, and this is why it is important to first be calm and put one's anger under control before taking any action. Anger management skill is important for this, and this was why we took time to use the lesson on anger management during our peace club training sessions. Have you acquired the skills? Non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) can better be conducted by people who can control and manage their anger even when they are under intense pressure.

The same anger might have also triggered the kind of reaction from Olabisi, who also retaliated by beating Roki thereby leading to a fight. Olabisi's reaction would have probably been different if she had brought to bear good anger management skills. Olabisi also acted in such a manner that is not expected of a peace-maker. Does consolation really come from retaliation? Retaliation or revenge only sustains a cycle of violence, and attitudinal change against this must be largely encouraged in schools and the community at large. Trying to get even with your

offender through revenge is not the way out of crisis, but rather places you lower than your offender.

Their mother stepped in to intervene in the conflict, and her use of the of dialogue helped to unravel the true state of things in the matter as they moved towards settlement. The conflict parties then realised that there was no need in first instance for them to have resorted to a fight as they began to look at each other surprisingly when their mother explained to them the position of things. People must learn to exhaust the option of dialogue, and be patient enough to talk and talk in addressing conflicts rather than take to violent action. Dialogue indeed is critical to the promotion of a non-violent change (see section 4.4).

9.3.6 Segun versus Isreal & Tobi: unnecessary jokes often breed conflicts

Segun had stated in his conflict story that issues relating to the pen he lent to his friend and classmate – Isreal, was the cause of the conflict involving him, Isreal and Tobi. Segun stated that after the first lesson on the timetable on one particular morning in the school, he remembered the pen he had earlier lent to Isreal and requested for it from Isreal who then told him he had forgotten the pen at home.

He further said that Isreal claimed that he had given another pen to Tobi too – another of his friend. When Segun looked towards Tobi he discovered that even the pen Isreal gave to Tobi was also his pen. On insisting that he must collect his pen, Isreal then directed him to Tobi, and on getting to Tobi, he snatched the pen away from him.

Segun further pointed out that even though he had another pen with him then, the pen was however not writing very well, and that was why he requested for the pen he gave to Isreal. In annoyance, Tobi got up from his seat and went to Segun seat and started shouting at him while Segun insisted that he would not give the pen to Tobi. Tobi forcefully snatched another pen from Segun's pocket. According to Segun, the pen that was snatched from his pocket was more precious to him than the pen at the centre of the controversy.

Sequel to the snatching of the precious pen, Segun got provoked to the extent that he stood up and began to drag the pen from Tobi. He said the struggle nearly went violent, but he had to

calm down when Isreal who started the whole trouble was laughing and making jest at him and Tobi while they were dragging the pen.

As aforesaid, it was at the point of making jest at Segun & Tobi that Segun resolved to stop the rough handling and also never to lend anything to Isreal again, even as he warned him to make sure he returned to him the following day the said pen he claimed to have forgotten at home when coming to school.

In my view, the conflict involving the three colleagues could have been averted if dialogue and good communication skills were employed. For me, I think suspicion was also one of the factors that fuelled the conflict. Segun was suspicious that the pen which he lent to Isreal a day before was the pen Tobi was writing with. This particularly made Segun angry because Isreal had just told him that he forgot the pen at home. He then thought Isreal lied to him and insisted on collecting then pen as Isreal directed him to Tobi. He went angrily to Tobi who was using the suspected pen to write, and snatched the pen from him forcefully. It is important to stay honest, but for Segun, Isreal was not honest at that point in time. Honesty is one of the important values that school going children and people of all ages need to possess if there must truly be non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in schools and communities at large. The forceful snatching of the pen infuriated Tobi. Rather than the violent approach, Segun should have conducted himself in a non-violent way as he approached Tobi with a view to collecting the pen. Though he was expected to feel bad amidst the lie he thought Isreal told him earlier, that was however not a justification for him to act violently against Tobi.

Problems are better solved through dialogue, and if Segun had engaged Tobi in dialogue the matter might have been resolved peacefully, but the matter became worse following the approach Segun adopted. Tobi, who was angry with Segun's action and began to shout and yell at Segun. This was a case of violence begetting violence which often leads to a chain of violent reactions. This only aggravated the conflict as Tobi also snatched another pen from Segun's pocket. Tobi might have acted with a view to revenging what Segun did earlier. There is no gainsaying the fact that revenge is one of the bedrocks to the cycle of violence in many societies today in the world. People must understand that vengeance is of God and that for

peace to reign one must learn to avoid the act of revenge, but try as much as possible to inculcate the act of forgiveness and dialogue even in highly challenging circumstances.

An environment where effective dialogue and forgiveness are low or even lacking among the relationship of people in such a setting can hardly truly experience non-violent social change (see section 4.4). It was against this backdrop that I emphasised to members of the peace club that there was the need for attitudinal change among them and all hands must be on deck to combat ill-discipline if a successful non-violent campaign (see section 4.6) for non-violent social change (see section 4.4) must be largely promoted in their schools and community at large by them as agents of change. This is in line with the specific objectives of the study which among others is focused at setting the pace for a non-violent social change in the study area.

Segun later calmed down when Isreal, whose attitude originally triggered the conflict, began to make jest and laughed at them as Segun and Tobi engaged in a physical combat. Segun stopped the fight because of the jesting, but I think a more convincing reason for people not to always adopt the violent approach to addressing issue is among others because adopting violence as a process often corrupt the outcome, and as I have often as I aforesaid violence often begets violence and does not really help to resolve disputes amicably.

9.3.7 Faith versus Samuel: the danger of uncontrolled anger

Faith's story was about the conflict he had with a boy in his former class named Samuel. He stated in the story that on a particular day after closing in school, most boys in his class were all out to play table tennis. He played and lost to his opponent, and thereafter left for class to sit down, while the new set started a new round of the play.

While in the class, Samuel began to make jest of him over the loss, and that got him angry and annoyed. He warned him that he should desist and if he did not he would slap him, but he dared him to slap him. This response further made him angry and he went to slap Samuel several times until Kunle held him back, but rather than calm down, he gave Kunle an elbow attack which made Kunle to leave him and he began to chase Samuel who was then running away from him.

Samuel eventually went to report to their teacher, Mr. Ogbu, who asked both of them to kneel down as punishment for their violent conflict. After some times, the teacher freed them from the punishment and they went home. The following day, Samuel begged Faith and they talked and resolved the conflict, and they became friends.

When most people lose in a competition, they are often not happy, and this was the experience of Faith, who lost against his opponent in a table tennis game. This kind of experience and violence emerging from it is common in high school and constitutes a large percentage of the causes of conflict (see section 2.4) among school going children. Hence, developing skills for non-violent strategy (see section 4.7.2) in handling such experience even amidst anger is, among others, critical towards the promotion of non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in schools and the community at large. The experience of Faith was however made worse by Samuel's action that was making jest of Faith.

One cannot gainsay the fact that the act of jest making is no doubt an anger stimulating action, and as such really contributed significantly in fanning the anger of Faith who reacted violently to Samuel's jest making against him. Faith was indeed angry and annoyed of the jesting, warned Samuel to stop making jest of him. This is usually the first line of action for some people, and for Faith, the idea of asking Samuel to stop making fun of him was not a bad idea. One would expect that after such warning Samuel would cease from such action, unfortunately, he did not but rather went on. The character exhibited by Samuel is akin to that of trouble makers, but again, it was not clear whether Samuel was joking or not serious with the jest making. Making jest or always involving oneself in jokes is not something I think is advisable, I think it often causes or leads to conflict (see section 2.4).

Faith could not stand the jesting action of Samuel and since Samuel defied the warning of Faith that he would slap him, if he did not stop making jest of him and dared him to slap him, Faith who, was even then more angry following the development, went ahead to slap Samuel. It was indeed an anger triggering context and was so provocative that Faith's inability to control his anger led him to react violently by slapping Bobo.

Responses involving effective anger management and non-violent reaction from Faith would have helped prevent the violence that occurred between Faith and Samuel. But Faith could not bring these to bear amidst the conflictual context involving Faith and Samuel because he lacked these skills. This gap was what the peace club resolved to fill as the activities of the peace club were focused at achieving attitudinal change and setting the pace for nonviolent social change (see section 4.4) as seen in the specific objectives (see section 8.1) for the peace club project for this study.

Kunle also tried to intervene in the conflict but Faith was so furious to the extent that he hit Kunle so hard and began to run after Samuel. Skills in mediation and negotiation are critical for a non-violent intervention in conflict. These skills would have been relevant for Kunle to effectively intervene in the conflict between Faith and Samuel, and eventually bring about the needed attitudinal change in the conflict parties and non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in school.

However, when the case was eventually reported to their Mathematics teacher by Samuel, he intervened in the conflict with a view to bringing the conflict to a halt. Their teacher however resorted to retributive justice approach in intervening in the conflict. He punished the conflict parties also by keeping them on their knees for some time. It was a good idea that he intervened, but conflict intervention involving restorative justice should be promoted in schools and the larger community if non-violent social change (see section 4.4) must be encouraged.

The conflict was eventually truly resolved when Samuel was magnanimous enough to take a step towards reconciling with Faith. He begged and apologised to Faith the following day, and this was critical to the resolution of the conflict as Faith accepted his apology.

Table 9.3 summarises all 30 essays, including the participant's thoughts about the same conflict after they had completed the peace club process.

*** Table 9.3 Summary of participants' essays about conflicts**

Conflict	Causes of conflict	Interventional	Outcome	Interview after
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parties		attempts		involvement in peace club
1. Iwalewa versus Henry	Iwalewa mistakenly stepped on Henry's foot, despite her saying sorry, Henry went ahead to revenge and also called Iwalewa an idiot. The revenge and insult made Iwalewa angry and thus slapped Henry which led to a fight between the two of them.	They were however separated from their fight by some of their colleagues who attempted to resolve the conflict.	Even after the said intervention Henry became fond of stepping on her for fun which she often reacted to angrily, and their conflicts soon resumed on a regular basis.	Iwalewa has learnt to be more peaceful in her dealings. She now realised after attending peace club that she should not have slapped Henry when he revenged and called her idiot. She looks forward to doing things differently in the future.
2. Ola versus 'Anu'	According to Ola, he and his sister, Anu, wanted to watch television. He wanted to watch a particular programme on the television while his	After a while, their mother came to the scene, and said since they could not agree on one channel/program	They stopped quarrelling and fighting following their	Following his involvement in peace club, Ola now look forward to a win-win approach in

	<p>sister was interested in another programme at the same time.</p> <p>Argument over which channel to watch led to quarrel, and afterwards began to fighting as they struggled for the remote control of the television (TV).</p>	<p>to watch, then they should both sit down and watch her own program.</p> <p>The fight stopped as they settled for their mother program.</p>	<p>mother's intervention.</p>	<p>tackling conflict rather quarrelling & fighting. He expressed determination to do things better in the future to the effect that would help prevent unhealthy arguments and violence.</p>
<p>3. Damilola versus Tomi</p>	<p>The conflict was caused by the misplacement of a calculator belonging to Damilola. According to Damilola, the calculator cost #1000 (naira) and "Tomi" insisted that he would not pay for the calculator even when Damilola wanted him to pay for the loss. The argument following this led to the quarrel.</p>	<p>However, after some times, Tomi began to pay for the lost calculator, and according to Damilola, when most of the debt following the losing of the calculator was paid, he decided to leave "Tomi" alone with the remaining balance.</p>	<p>The action calmed Tomi down and they were back on good terms again.</p>	<p>Haven learnt skills in problem-solving approach among others in peace club, Damilola now believes he would do things differently in the future. As regards his conflict with Tomi, he felt he should have considered an approach that would have</p>

				prevented the argument that further fanned the conflict.
4. Simon versus Kunle	<p>Kunle discussed issues relating to his girlfriend with Simon who in turn shared the information to “Tolu” after taking permission from Kunle (whose girlfriend they were talking about).</p> <p>Conflict however began between Simon and “Kunle” when “Tolu” went to tell Kunle, her boyfriend, that Simon was making attempt to start dating her. “Kunle” was not happy when he heard about it and therefore picked up quarrel against Simon.</p>	<p>Simon and Kunle worked out a plan to put Tolu to a test to ascertain if she was telling the truth. Simon went to Tolu disguising to be complaining of what she did. Tolu then replied that she would again lie to Kunle that Simon was asking her out for a date. Kunle who was hiding around came out after he heard the conversation, and when the girl saw him, she felt ashamed.</p>	<p>Knowing that his girlfriend was framing up issues against Simon, Kunle reconciled with Simon. This however led to conflict between the girl and Simon, and since then Simon has not been in talking terms with the girl.</p>	<p>Simon said he learnt a lot from his involvement in peace and would do things differently especially in reviewing his position of keeping the girl at arm’s length rather than forgiving and reconciling with her despite her attempt to betray him before his friend, and proceeded to restore communication with the girl.</p>

<p>5. Olabisi versus Tola</p>	<p>The conflict according to Olabisi was centred on her school result copied on a piece of paper which she threw away on the ground because of her poor grades and was picked up by her neighbour 'Tola' who according to Olabisi's sibling began to show the result to few other persons in the neighbourhood. Olabisi's sibling who learnt about the development told Olabisi. Olabisi was very angry and thus confronted 'Tola' and forcefully collected the said piece of paper from her. The action infuriated 'Tola' who began to talk harshly to Olabisi sister upon suspecting that she was the one that told Olabisi</p>	<p>The intervention of the conflicting parties parents however helped to dowse the tension and had the conflict settled.</p>	<p>The conflict settled such that they have started playing together again.</p>	<p>Olabisi said she was angry and that was why she collected the paper forcefully rather been polite about it. And that haven learnt a lot from the peace club especially skills in anger management, she is optimistic that she would handle similar or any other conflict in a more peaceful way in the future.</p>
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	that she was showing the result to other people.			
6. Bukola versus Olayinka	During their class assessment test, Bukola claimed to have caught her friend and sit-mate 'Olayinka spying on her and quickly copying part of her write up into her answer script when Bukola bent down to pick up her pen which fell on the floor from her table as she was putting her papers together during the test in the class.	The following day Bukola and Olayinka together with their parents came to schools on invitation by their class teacher. On seeing the swollen face of Bukola, Olayinka felt unhappy. Olayinka parents begged and apologised to Bukola and her mother as they worked to resolve the conflict.	Even after the intervention, Bukola kept avoiding Olayinka, until after a while when Olayinka further apologised to Bukola. Bukola later accepted the apology and reconciled with her, & also advised her to stop her bad behaviour.	Following Bukola's involvement in peace club which has among others built her skills in anger management and in the use of problem-solving approach, she expressed her determination to do things differently in the future in a way that would promote a nonviolent and peaceful tackling of any conflict.
7. Samuel versus	According to Samuel the conflict between him and his younger sister –	The matter was eventually resolved when Samuel's	The conflict was amicably	Samuel promised to do things differently in the

Aja	'Aja' was because she ate out of the food that was meant for Samuel. They shouted at each other over the matter to the extent that their mother and elder sister got involved.	mother took out of Samuel's elder sister's lunch and added to Samuel's food.	resolved and the siblings reconciled.	future. He said he would have used the problem-solving approach he learnt in peace club to resolve the conflict if he had learnt about it before the quarrel.
8. Hammed versus Seun	Hammed stated that while he was eating the biscuit his mother gave him, his elder sister "Seun" walked in and saw her eating the biscuit. She looked at Hammed bitterly and afterwards gave him a slap. Hammed became angry and put up a fight against his sister in a bid to revenge.	Their mother intervened & stated that she actually gave the biscuit to Hammed, and that although she initially gave it to "Seun" she later gave it to Hammed after giving "Seun" money to buy another biscuit. Afterwards, they apologised to each other.	After the apologies the siblings began to relate with each other again. So the intervention of their mother helped to resolve the conflict.	Hammad said that haven gained skill from peace club, she is optimistic of being able to handle such conflict or any other conflict differently in the future & in such a way that would help avoid violence.
9. Rashidat versus	It was because of Rashidat's garri that was stolen from her locker in the classroom. She	In spite of their attempt to stop her from reporting, she still went	Rashidat said that because she reported	Rashidat said that the idea of not talking to one another following

Classmates	shouted angrily, and afterwards, some of her classmates such as Jelilat, Mariam Suliyat and Barakat among others who did not want her to shout, which according to Rashidat was probably because they knew the person who drank the garri, since they believed and kept telling her that the person who drank the garri was hungry and should thus be forgiven, engaged in a quarrelsome argument with her.	ahead to report the matter to their class teacher, who intervened in the conflict.	the case to their teacher, the said colleagues ganged up in a fight against her after school, and afterwards, they stopped talking to one another.	the conflict was no longer a welcome one to her as her involvement in peace club has taught her to work to ensure peace at all times. This motivated her to approach them for reconciliation.
10. Abiodun versus Tunde	In an attempt to avoid paying to watch a football match in a viewing centre, Abiodun resolved to watch it in one of the small opening at the wolden materials used to construct the centre, when Tunde saw	While they were rough handling each other and arguing bitterly, a man named "Afolabi" who met them arguing interferred in the matter and helped	The intervention of Afolabi help brought the fight between the two boys to a	So Abiodun claimed that with the skills he has gained by joining the peace club, he is sure of being able to handle things better in the future, and rather

	him, he attempted to report him to the owner, and that led to the quarrel and fight between them.	them to resolve the conflict.	hurt, as they apologised for their confrontational approaches.	than fighting Tunde, he would have used the problem-solving approach he learnt in peace club to tackle the matter.
11. Tomiwa versus Joseph	According to Tomiwa, Joseph was fond of making noise in the class and his name regularly appeared in his list of noise-makers as the class captain. Tomiwa who could no longer tolerate Joseph's noisemaking got angry one day and angrily asked Joseph to stop making so much noise. In response, Joseph slapped him on his face, and Tomiwa then confronted him with support from other classmates.	Following the siad confrontation, Joseph went to report to their class teacher, who upon knowing what happened blamed Joseph and beat/flogged him for his bad behaviour. Tomiwa later went to beg Joseph not to be angry and said sorry to him.	In the story narrated by Tomiwa, Joseph however accepted the apology, and since then, they have stayed connected as friends.	Tomiwa learnt skills in nonviolent communication in the peace club. So in the future he expressed determination to always act politely irrespective of the situation. He stayed encouraged of being able to do things differently in the future and to always react in a way the promote peace.
12.	The conflict story	According to the	They got	She said the

<p>Rebecca vs Samad</p>	<p>narrated by Adeniji Rebecca was centred on money. According to her, while she was sitting on her chair holding #200 (naira) in her hand, Samad suddenly collected the money from her hand. Rebecca then requested Samad to return her money but Samad refused, and that led to quarrel between the two of them.</p>	<p>story, some people who were around such as Sulaimon, Waliyat, Suliyat, Mariam and Azeez began to intervene in the conflict leading to Samad releasing the money to Rebecca. Samad released the money by force as understood in the story.</p>	<p>the matter resolved, and the money was released to Rebecca as aforesaid.</p>	<p>training on five approaches to conflict handling made her understood that the approach she used with Samad was not peaceful, and that the problem-solving would have been better for it. She resolved to do things differently in the future in a way that would always lead to win-win.</p>
<p>13. Muyiwa versus Kunle</p>	<p>As contained in the story, Muyiwa was given a piece of meat by his mother. He left the meat in his younger brother's plate, but his elder brother (Kola) who thought he was playing a prank accused Muyiwa of cheating, and that was why he did not put it in</p>	<p>Their parents intervened by blaming Kola and asked him to apologise to Muyiwa, which he did, while Muyiwa was also asked to apologise to their family. Afterwards, both of them</p>	<p>The meat given to Muyiwa calmed his angry feeling, as he reconciled with his brother.</p>	<p>Muyiwa said he learnt skills in how to communicate nonviolently among others. He resolved not to use harsh words and to always communicate in a nonviolent manner. Though</p>

	<p>his plate which according to Muiyiwa was dirty. So his elder brother removed the meat from the plate and put it on the table that was dirty. This made Muiyiwa angry and he started using harsh words on his brother.</p>	<p>hugged themselves. Their mother then gave Muiyiwa another piece of meat.</p>		<p>his harsh words were due to anger, he expressed confidence that he would act differently to the effect of preventing verbal violence irrespective of the situation he may find himself in the future.</p>
<p>14. Opeyemi versus Ayo</p>	<p>Opeyemi was not at home when Ayo visited; she then took a particular book from Opeyemi's room without the knowledge of Opeyemi. When opeyemi was looking for the book the following day, her mother told her that Ayo took the book. Opeyemi became angry with Ayo for taking the book without her approval and that led to</p>	<p>The conflict was however resolved when one day Opeyemi's mother, Ayo's mother and some of their friends came to Opeyemi's house to beg and apologised to Opeyemi appealing to her not to be angry. Opeyemi was asked to forgive and forget</p>	<p>Their friendship was restored back and they became happy with each other again.</p>	<p>After peace club, Opeyemi said she would have used the problem-solving approach rather than the force approach in her conflict with Ayo, and that peace club taught her the approach and the importance of patience in such approach that</p>

	quarel between the two friends.	after Ayo had said she was sorry.		leads to win-win outcome, as she now resolved to always use it in the future.
15. Idowu versus Ade	Idowu was sleeping at home when his sister, Ade, in an attempt to wake him from sleep beat/hit him so hard. Idowu shouted in annoyance and began to shout angrily at his sister which also made his sister angry, and thus slapped Idowu on his face leading to a fight between them.	When their father heard about it he became angry and thus punished Idowu. Idowu further stated that it was after few days it was dawn on him that he overreacted by being forceful to his sister.	Idowu said he realised he was wrong by overreacting. Also his mother called him and told him a story which he learnt from, and that further made him promised himself never to behave that way.	Idowu has learnt that as peace club member, he should not be involved in any form of fight, as such he would always work to ensure that he shuns fight and not respond with violence in the future, and that he would always use the problem-solving skills he learnt in the club.

<p>16. Temi versus Tope</p>	<p>The conflict story narrated by Temi was in connection with a piece of meat that was to be shared between herself and her brother –“Tope”. Tope insisted that he would be the one to share the meat while Temi argued she would be the one. They kept arguing and quarelling until they began to fight.</p>	<p>Their mother walked into the scene of the conflict. She asked them what the cause of their quarrel was. They told their mother that it was because of a piece of meat that they were fighting. After listening to their story, their mother took knife and shared the meat equally for them, and that settled the quarrel.</p>	<p>The conflict was settled amicably by their mother using compromise approach and they were happy with it.</p>	<p>Following her involvement in peace club, Temi said in her conflict with Tope, she would have adopted a nonviolent approach and even communicate in a nonviolent way rather than engaging in quarelsome argument which is also a verbal violence. Hence, in the future, she is optimistic that she will do things differently.</p>
<p>17. Yusuf versus Gani</p>	<p>The conflict narrated by Yusuf was the one he had with his younger brother – “Gani” over a note book of his. Yusuf requested to use the</p>	<p>Their father tried to settle the quarel but Yusuf initially refused to agree since his thinking was that what</p>	<p>As Yusuf bought another notebook, he left the notebook</p>	<p>Yusuf adopted forceful approach in the conflict, but learning about problem-solving approach in the</p>

	<p>notebook for lesson that was going on in his school, but Gani refused to give him the notebook. This made Yusuf angry and went ahead to take the book by force. The use of force led to an uproar between the two of them as they soon found themselves brawling according to Yusuf story.</p>	<p>belong to his brother also belong to him. At last, their Father gave Yusuf some money to buy another notebook which he did, and that settled the conflict.</p>	<p>which was at the centre of the controversy for his brother. They reconciled and were happy again.</p>	<p>peace club, Yusuf expressed determination to do things differently by adopting problem-solving approach in the future</p>
<p>18. Hosea versus Ibrahim</p>	<p>According to the story, Ibrahim mistakenly stepped on Hosea and stained his socks, which made Hosea angry and annoyed. He was however expecting Ibrahim to tell him sorry, but unfortunately he did not, and rather than saying sorry he shouted at Hosea, which made Hosea to hit Ibrahim hard at his back. Ibrahim however retaliated with</p>	<p>The matter was however reported to their class teacher who helped them to settle the matter.</p>	<p>The intervention on the conflict led to a negative peace between the conflicting parties</p>	<p>Hosea said he would do things differently in the future, since the training in peace club had taught him not to ever respond with violence in any situation. Skills in managing anger was also what he found useful, and assured that he would endeavour</p>

	a slap as the quarrel continued for a while.			to always bring the skill to bear at all times.
19. Abibat versus Kemi	The conflict was about a particular pen Abibat took from Kemi's bag without her knowledge, but later when Kemi realised that the pen was missing after searching her bag for it to no avail, she started to shout. It was then that Abibat noticed that Kemi was looking for the pen she took from her bag. Abibat then told Kemi that she was the one that took the pen, but rather than calming down and showing understanding, Kemi began to insult and abuse Abibat in annoyance. Abibat then became angry and annoyed resulting in a	Following the fight, they were summoned to the Principal's office where they were punished for fighting. Afterwards, Abibat was directed to buy a new pen as a replacement for the one at the centre of the controversy. She actually did, and while giving the pen she bought to "Kemi", she was asked to apologise to "Kemi" which she did.	According to Abibat, after the said apologies, the conflict between the two friends was settled amicably and their friendship restored.	Abibat said she has learnt the value of patience and never to react angrily when someone yelled at her. The skills on anger management was among others what she found very useful in the peace club training as she expressed confidence that she would do things differently in the future.

	fight.			
20. Adetunji versus Foranmi	It was as a result of Adetunji's misplacement of Foranmi's ruler. Foranmi who holding on to Adetunji's pencil was refused to give or return the pencil to Adetunji, against the backdrop that Adetunji misplaced his pencil. This led to quarrel.	The teacher intervened after listening to the two of them. The teacher found Adetunji guilty and consequently slapped him three times as punishment for being guilty. He then gave a new ruler to Foranmi and advised him not to hesitate to report to him if Adetunji confronts him again.	Adetunji said he tried to bury the hatchet when his anger subsided, and worked to restore his friendship back with Foranmi the following day.	Adetunji stated that his involvement in peace club taught him a better way to handle conflict, and that he is hopeful of a better outcome in handling any future conflict with anyone. Also, he said he learnt skills in anger management and is now able to manage it properly.
21. Isaac versus Deborah	According to Isaac, the quarrel and fight between him & Deborah was because Deborah always use abusive words on him. Isaac added that Deborah often abuse and curse	Isaac stated that upon hearing their voice, his mother came out and asked both of them to leave themselves and stop fighting, but	Following the intervention of Isaac's mum, Deborah and he, and, that	Isaac said he was going to do things differently in the future and that he indeed gained some basic skills that he requires to be able to

	people.	Deborah disagreed initially, but later she left him and his mum told him that he should not fight so that he would not wound her.	was how they became friends and they stopped fighting each other. He restated that they have now fully reconciled.	overcome the temptation of quarrelsome people around, who are determined to lure others into violent conflict through their actions.
22. Samson versus Bolanle	Bolanle saw Samson playing with another girl and without finding out what was the true state of things she went to report Samson's girlfriend that Samson was into opposite sex relationship with another girl. That action led to conflict between Bolanle and Samson.	Bolanle's mother intervened. She met with Samson and requested that Samson and Bolanle should be friends again, and that was how they resolved the matter.	Samson and Bolanle had their difference settled and became happy with each other again.	Samson is confident that he would do things differently in the future and he has learnt to exercise patience, talk and talk on the issue in question until amicable solution is achieved. Dialogue on the issue in question is one insight coming

				out of Samson's involvement in peace club.
23. Adetunji versus Foranmi	Adetunji misplaced Foranmi's ruler and Foranmi held on to his pencil in return, and refused to the pencil to Adetunji when he requested for it. This led to conflict between them.	Some of the students in the class reported the matter to their teacher who upon intervening blamed Adetunji and consequently slapped him, and gave another ruler to Foranmi	Adetunji said that the following day he had zero his mind and stopped being angry with Foranmi and had their friendship restored they began to laugh together again.	Adetunji said he would do things differently in the future. He further stated that his involvement in peace club taught him a better way to handle conflict including developing skills in communication and be able to communicate in a manner that is nonviolent.
24. Olabisi versus Roki	The root cause of the conflict was biscuit. The biscuit was bought by their mummy. According to Olabisi, the biscuit	Olabisi's mum intervened by stopping them from fighting and explained that the	On hearing the explanation , both of them	Olabisi said the training in nonviolence, anger management, repentance and

	<p>was given to her by her mum, and as her sister walked in and found her eating the biscuit she became furious and slapped Olabisi.</p>	<p>biscuit was for Olabisi, though she earlier gave it to Roki, she later retrieved it and gave it to Olabisi after she gave money to Roki</p>	<p>relaxed and began to steer at each other. Afterwards they begged each other as they began to relate with each other again.</p>	<p>forgiveness rather than revenge including problem-solving approach among others had really helped to build the requisite skills in her to address future conflict.</p>
<p>25. Segun versus Isreal & Tobi</p>	<p>Segun had stated that issue in respect to the pen he lent to his friend and classmate – Isreal, was the cause of the conflict involving him, Isreal and Tobi. When requested for the pen, Isreal told him he forgot it at home, he suspected it was a lie as he saw Tobi writing with what he thought to be his pen,</p>	<p>Segun action to stop rough handling Tobi following the jesting of Isreal somehow hurt the violent aspect of the conflict.</p>	<p>Though the violent aspect of the conflict was hurt, Segun was nevertheless still unhappy with the action of his friend</p>	<p>Segun said he would do things differently in the future. According to him, the problem-solving approach skills he acquired during peace club has helped changed his attitude in the handling of conflict as he now ends up</p>

	as such confronted Isreal and afterwards Tobi.			with positive peace which he always yearns for.
26. Faith versus Samuel	Faith said while he was in the class after losing a table tennis game against another classmate of his, Samuel began to make jest of him over the loss, and that got him angry and annoyed. He warned him that he should desist and if he did not he would slap him, but he dared him to slap him. This response further made him angry and he went slapping him several times	Samuel went to report to their Mathematics teacher, Mr. Ogbu, who asked both of them to kneel down as punishment for their conflict. After some times, the teacher freed them from the punishment and they went home. Samuel also begged Faith the following day.	The following day, Samuel begged Faith and they talked and resolved the conflict, and they became friends again.	Faith said he would do things differently in the future, and would not respond with violence when someone offend him. He added that peace club has taught him that it is not good to resolve to violence in an attempt to settle a conflict or resort to violence when someone offends one no matter the circumstances.
27. Erica versus Niti	Erica giving of one of her two A4 papers to another colleague of her in the class rather than her best friend Niti during their common	The parents of Niti intervened as they blamed Erica and said she was at fault. They thereafter	After the apology tendered by Erica was accepted by Niti, they	Erica expressed desire to do things differently in future, especially considering that she reacted harshly

	entrance examination made Niti angry of Erica who said she has given it out already before Niti requested for it. This development led to quarrel between the two friends.	requested Erica to apologise which she did. They also requested Erica to accept the apology which she did.	reconciled and became friends again	in anger when her effort to explain to her Niti that she did not intentionally refuse to give Niti the paper became fruitless.
28. Samuel Versus Dad	Samuel poor result in his junior secondary school examination made his Daddy angry, quarrelled and beat him. His father also told him that he would not give him pocket money for two weeks.	Samuel begged his Daddy but he refused Samuel's apology. Their neighbour later intervened and begged his father to bear with him	Samuel's own apology was not accepted but his Dad however reduced the punishment after neighbours intervened	Samuel said he would do things differently in the future as he now believes in preventative measure than curative approach. He wants to work harder to prevent failure as well as work more to prevent violent conflicts (better than spending energy resolving) by avoiding things that could lead to it.
29.	During a football game,	Some passers-by	The quarrel	Malik said he

Malik's team versus opponent	Malik played a shot that he and his team believed was a goal but their opponent team disagreed claiming that it was a handball on the ground that (Note: there was no net on the goal post and no referee) and this led to quarrel between the two teams.	elders tried to intervene as they also advised them to get a referee. The intervention led to the award of penalty kick which Malik team played and was a goal.	between the two teams came to end as the opponent agreed to the outcome, and the conflict got resolved	would do things differently in the future, as he would not in insults and other violent actions he exhibited during the quarrel.
30. Abiodun versus Zainab & Khafayat	Abiodun's friends Zainab & Khafayat engaged in gossiping about her. This made Abiodun unhappy as she began to fight with them. She said she hate people talking about her matter since she does not do same to others.	An elderly person around the vicinity intervened and stopped the fight, and afterwards settles their conflict.	After the intervention, the three friends got settled and did not quarrel over the matter again	Abiodun said she would not react violently to action against her in the future since peace club has taught her that violence begets violence, and does not solve conflicts.

The conflicts summarised in the above table mainly involved direct violence as the parties often resorted to physical combat. The conflicts were also expressed in verbal violence involving abuses and insults. Some of the conflicts involved parties who are siblings while others involved parties who are either colleagues in schools or neighbours at home. Shortcomings in anger management and desperate attempts to seek revenge were, among others, what basically fuelled most of the conflicts to the extent they got to. For instance, in the case involving

Iwalewa and Henry, the latter was eager to gain revenge even after he knew that Iwalewa did not intentionally step on his leg. Angry feelings were another commonality in the conflicts that fanned the embers of violence. For instance, Faith was angry feeling following jesting from Samuel made him responded violently to Samuel and this came out in many of the other conflicts.

The conflicts were also mainly peer conflicts as it occurred basically between young people within the same age brackets. The second column in the table above summarised the causes of the conflicts.

9.4 The participants' second essays about dealing with the conflict

In Isaac's second essay and interview on whether he would do things differently in the future, and to what effect, Isaac said yes, he would do things differently from how he acted in the conflict between him and Deborah (see section 9.3.1). This was one of the pointers that the specific objective of the peace club was to bring about attitudinal change in the participants and this was being achieved in Isaac. Isaac indeed expressed confidence that his involvement in the peace club has taught him some basic skills (as set out in the objective) that he requires to be able to overcome the temptation of quarrelsome people around who are determined to lure others into violent conflict through their actions. He was full of optimism in his renewed ability to handle challenging situations such as the one he experienced with Deborah among others in such a way that would prevent the conflicts from degenerating into fight or any form of violence, and that he will always adopt a non-violent method (see section 4.6). He lamented that he did apply a non-violent approach in the conflict he had with Deborah, and that simply walking away from Deborah when she was insulting him would have probably helped to subside his angry feelings and thus avoided the temptation to engage in a fight with her.

Furthermore, he specifically emphasised that the skills he learnt in the anger management and problem-solving approach will be helpful in handling conflicts in the future to the effect of promoting peace and harmonious relationships. Isaac was one of the enthusiastic students in the peace club and he was full of enthusiasm to such an extent that he volunteered himself to

vanguard non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) such as campaigns that shall help entrench, consolidate and sustain peace in the school. Recall that this is in line with the specific objective of the peace club project. The changes in Isaac can better be pictured when you reflect on his words, some of which are stated below:

Since I have been attending the peace club I have gained a lot of things on how to solve conflict using conflict approaches I learnt in the peace club. When my colleagues are quarrelling or having misunderstanding, I have seen myself several times calling them together to know what caused the quarrel or misunderstanding and helping them to settle it unlike before when I wasn't attending the peace club. Secondly, the benefit I have acquired in the peace club is on how to communicate with people in a respectable manner. Thirdly, I have learnt to forgive people being a peacemaker when they offend me, and also on how to control my anger in whatever situation or whatever the problem might be. Fourthly, I learnt how to live a life of happiness, joy and kindness. I learnt that we should be organised and careful in any state of our life, and also I have learnt that fighting is not good, for instance as our coordinator once said, if we are fighting with someone and the person give/blow us in our eyes and it swells up and in the fight we give him back and his own also swell up, what do we gain from such? That is to show that there is no gain in fighting and becoming a trouble maker. These among others are the reasons I enjoy being a peace club member.

The positive changes in Isaac's attitude cum behaviour including his vigour to herald a move in support of social change in his school indeed represents a veritable indication that the specific objectives of the peace club were fast being realised.

In Samson's second essay and interview on if he would do things differently in the future following his involvement in the peace club. Samson came up with an emphatic yes, and reaffirmed his commitment to do things differently from how he acted in the conflict between him and Bolanle (see section 9.3.2). He was particularly happy that he was involved in the peace club, and that among other gains, he has learnt to exercise patience and talk on any issue in question until an amicable solution is achieved. Dialogue on the issue in question is one insight coming out of Samson's involvement in the peace club. From his comment, it is clear

that he now strongly believed in the power of dialogue in making other the party see things from one's own perspective (and thereby understand the true picture of things), clarifies the issues in question and amicably resolves the issue in question. The attitudinal change in favour of dialogue is critical to the promotion of social change (see section 4.3) in any given society. The manifestation of this change in Samson no doubt lend credence to the argument that the peace club exercise indeed strived to achieve its specific objectives, see section 8.1.

Samson now believed that if he had engaged in dialogue with Bolanle, the conflict between the two of them would have been resolved earlier and not stayed longer than necessary. Dialogue is indeed in the heart of a problem-solving approach to conflict resolution. It is particularly important when the relationships involved and the issues involved are important to the conflict parties. In that case, a solution that is acceptable to the parties is indispensable, and to achieve this people must talk until the solution is arrived at. This is an important insight coming out from Samson's experience in the peace club. He had said that in the future, he will ensure that he continues to employ the tool of dialogue in resolving any conflict he is confronted with, and that he prefers it to an avoidance approach which he used in the conflict with Bolanle which made him not to talk with her for about seven months.

Samson also indirectly recognised the significant of patience. His comment relating to talking about the issue until an amicable solution is achieved I think implied his support in exercising patience as talks go on during dialogue until a solution is reached. His position which was further corroborated by Opeyemi's during an interview, underscores the significance of patience, as conveyed by this comment, "since I joined peace club, I have learnt to be more patient. Since when I started am a lot more patient and friendly to people. It has indeed changed my attitude". This is indeed a pointer to the fruitfulness of the exertions geared towards the attainment of the specific objective to promote attitudinal change among students through the peace club project.

Samson also stated that haven now understood the concept of perspective following the peace club trainings he would be more tolerant and try not to take decision until he is clear about the other person's perspective. Perspective was one of the topics treated during the peace club

training, and Samson appeared to have since realised that it largely contributed to the conflict between him and Bolanle. Bolanle's perspective when he saw Samson playing with Tope was that Samson had gotten into another relationship, while Samson's perspective following Bolanle action was that Bolanle deliberately acted to create a problem between him and his girlfriend. But when they talked the matter over at the end of the conflict, they got the true picture of things. So the understanding of the concept of perspective by Samson will no doubt help him handle conflicts in the future as he indeed attested to, as he resolved to share his understanding on perspective and the importance of dialogue to his colleagues, and thereby contribute to the promotion attitudinal and non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in his school, even as he came on board setting the pace for such change in a non-violent way in his school, as contained in the specific objective of the peace club project, see section 8.1. Samson submitted with a promise to do things to the effect that would help promote peace and cooperative relationship with whomever he may have misunderstanding/conflict with in the future.

In Adetunji's second essay and interview on if he would do things differently in the future following his involvement in peace club training, Adetunji stated that his involvement in peace club taught him a better way to handle conflict including developing skills in communication and be able to communicate in a manner that is non-violent. He said he would certainly do things differently in the future from how he acted in the conflict between him and Foranmi (see section 9.3.3). He added that he is hopeful of a better outcome in handling any future conflict with anyone. He further stated that having learnt skills in anger management he is now able to handle his anger and manage it properly.

The importance and skills in communication in a non-violent way is one insight coming out from Adetunji's involvement in peace club. Adetunji had realised after the peace club training that the manner he communicated the loss of Foranmi's pencil to Foranmi probably made Foranmi angrier and resolved not to release his ruler to him. I agree with Adetunji in this submission, in fact, there is no doubt that Foranmi was angry following the loss of his pencil, but he probably became angrier due to the way Adetunji went about passing the information across to him. If

Adetunji had communicated the loss to Foranmi in a polite way or in a manner that is non-violent, Foranmi would have probably seen reason to bear with him.

Communication was one of the topics the peace club training sessions discussed. Members learnt about the place of communication in either escalating or de-escalate conflict. They learnt among how to communicate in a non-violent way. Adetunji gained from this training and probably discovered that his failure in communicating in the right way with Foranmi probably made Foranmi reacted to him the way he did when he told him about the loss of his pencil. A right attitude in communication goes a long way in the promotion of peace and non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in every social setting cannot be gainsaid. Adetunji gained this skill in training which contributed to his attitudinal change and further showed the extent at which the specific objective of the peace club concerning promoting attitudinal change in participants was realised.

After the peace club training, Adetunji also began to feel that if he had employed the problem-solving approach in handling the conflict, the matter might have been peacefully resolved before it reached the teacher. Unfortunately, Adetunji had not gained skills in problem-solving approach when the conflict occurred, hence, the need not blame himself that much. I am happy, that Adetunji expressed optimism that having gained skills following his involvement in the peace club he would strive to employ these skills in resolving future conflicts.

He added, however, that anger also made him to act the way he did, but having also learnt skills in anger management he is prepared to act in a better way in the future. He said he was indeed angry after his experience with his teacher but that he tried to bury the hatchet when his anger subsided, and worked to restore his friendship back with Foranmi the following day. For me, his ability to bury the hatchet and work towards reconciliation is commendable, and like he utilised the training in forgiveness, repentance and reconciliation, in peace club further helped to build his capacity to carry on with this practice in the future as he joined others to work towards non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in his school. This I think also help bring to the fore the fruitfulness in the realisation of the objectives of the peace club project (see section 8.1) concern with setting the pace for a non-violent social change in the school.

In Temi's second essay, while answering the question relating to if she would do things differently from how she acted in the conflict between her and Tope (see section 9.3.4), following her involvement in the peace club, Temi answered with a yes, as she expressed happiness for being part of the peace club. She said she has benefitted a lot from the club, especially the training on conflict handling styles. She further added that she has now also learnt to be more forgiving and live at peace with her colleagues, and that the peace club training has really helped to change her attitude for better. The comment of Temi was indeed an indication that the objective of the peace club concerning attitudinal change (see section 8.1) has been realised in her. An attitudinal change in support of peaceful relationships with people and being able to forgive those who trespassed against one is critical to the attainment of sustainable peace and non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in communities all over the world.

The peace club sessions addressed the topic of forgiveness and repentance, during which members of the club learnt about various skills including steps victims take to forgive. Temi had added that she carefully learnt the steps and has been working hard to apply them in her day to day living. Forgiveness and repentance are the two paths that lead to reconciliation which is concerned with restoring the relationship that was broken down as a result of the conflict. This is critical to the promotion and consolidation of non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in schools and community at large.

Temi further stated that initially she found it difficult to forgive Tope following the conflict, and that she even used to find it hard to forgive those who offended her, but since she joined the peace club, she has become more forgiving and tolerant. Furthermore, that the training on conflict handling styles really helped to build her capacity in problem-solving approach and as such changed and reshaped her attitude to a win-win attitude in line with the specific objective (See section 8.1) of the project. She said she gained knowledge in compromising approach including other styles and that it was after the training she realised that the approach her mother tried to use in settling the conflict between her and Tope was compromising.

Temí who also expressed enthusiasm to continue to work for the sustenance of the club and towards non-violent social change (see section 4.4) in her school indeed showed signs that her involvement in the club has indeed brought about attitudinal change in her as it expressed confidence in her doing things differently in the future to the effect of promoting peace in her school and society at large. This development has indeed shown that the specific objective of the peace club was realised.

In her second essay, Olabisi was full of appreciation for the organisers of the peace club as she recounted her experiences and benefits following her involvement in the peace club. She expressed confidence that with the skills she acquired from the club, she was not in doubt of her ability to do things differently in the future from how she acted in the conflict between her and Roki (see section 9.3.5).

She said the training in non-violence, anger management, repentance and forgiveness rather than revenge including problem-solving approach among others had really helped to build the requisite skills in her to address future conflict. She said she now know that it is not good to want to get even with one's offender through revenge, and as such would not have retaliated when her sister slapped her. Though she said she acted out of anger, she however submitted that haven gained skills in anger management she would be able to handle her anger when confronted with such experiences in the future.

Olabisi now believe that her involvement in the peace club has changed her attitude to conflict, especially in defining her reaction to offender, and in the general handling of conflicts. She is hopeful that this positive attitudinal change will shape her to be a more responsible person in the society as she also expressed enthusiasm to work with her colleagues in the promotion of non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) in her school.

Olabisi participatory involvement in the peace club class was indeed outstanding, and her experience and testimony following her involvement in the peace club was momentous, and in terms of meeting the specific objective of the peace club project one can say, like in the case of several other participants in the project, the objective was met.

Olabisi has tried to convey her gain in the peace club in several forms, the following excerpt from her write up is one such attempt:

I have gained a lot in peace club, some of them include, I have gained not to fight with other people, gained not to involve in violent conflict, gained how to maintain peace with people. I have particularly gained on how to forgive when people offend me, even as the training has helped me to forgive those who I have offended me.

She has changed from one who used to seek revenge readily to a more forgiving person, from one with high anger outburst to one who can put her anger under control, and from one with poor conflict handling skills to one robust in conflict handling. Finally, Olabisi has now also developed a win-win attitude, and strongly looks forward to deploying these gains in living a more peaceful life.

Roki need to be more patience before taking action in the future and also need to be aware that violence is not a viable solution to any problem. Olabisi however promises to share her gain with Roki and also work towards influencing her positively, as she reiterated her resolution to stand in support for a non-violent action for social change (see section 4.4) in her school.

After undergoing series of trainings in the peace club, Segun admitted in his second essay and interview that he will do things differently in the future from how he acted in the conflict between him, Isreal and Tobi (see section 9.3.6). Following his involvement in the peace club, Segun said he had gained skills and insight in the use of problem-solving approach in handling conflicts. Problem-solving approach was indeed one of the five approaches to conflict style that was treated in the peace club, and it is a strong insight coming from Segun's involvement in the club. According to Segun, the approach has helped changed his attitude in the handling of conflict as he now experiences positive peace which he always yearns for. This attitudinal changed achieved in Segun further lend support to argument in favour to the attainment of the specific objective of the club (see section 8.1). He however lamented that he did not employ the approach it in the conflict involving him, Isreal and Tobi because he did not have the skill prior to the peace club training, and that after the club he is now fully convinced that the best

approach he would have used is the 'owl'/problem-solving method, and that for such conflict, the problem-solving approach was better for it. The problem-solving approach is rich in dialogue, and should be largely embraced by all a sundry in our communities if a just and sustainable peace as well as human wellbeing must be promoted in our societies.

According to Segun, the reason he chose or opted for the problem-solving (owl) approach was because both the relationship and the issue were important to him, in addition to the fact that such approach encourages a win-win attitude. During the peace club training, I strived to largely emphasise the importance of this and how to cultivate the win-win attitude. Segun also expressed satisfaction that the peace club training has helped entrenched the win-win attitude in him, thereby bringing about a positive attitudinal change in him in line with the specific objective (see section 8.1) of the project.

He also expressed enthusiasm towards encouraging other colleagues of his in the school including the other parties in the conflict he was involved in to learn skills in problem-solving approach including applying it in tackling any conflicts they are involved in. I strongly share Segun's point that if the win-win attitude is largely encouraged in the school as a whole, it would help bring about the needed social change (see section 4.4). Segun volunteered to support in leading a non-violent action for social change (see section 4.6) towards the promotion of win-win attitude and the attainment of sustainable peace in his school. This is indeed setting the pace for a non-violent social change in the school, and it is in line with the specific objective of the peace club project (see section 8.1). Segun said that now that he has acquired the right skills, he would now be able to apply the right approach to tackle conflict in the future. As such, he would definitely do things differently to help ensure a win-win outcome in the future.

In Faith's second essay on whether he would do things differently in the future from how he acted in the conflict between him and Samuel (see section 9.3.7), following his involvement in peace club, Faith answered with emphatic yes. He added that peace club has taught him that it is not good to resort to violence in an attempt to settle a conflict or resort to violence when someone offends one no matter the circumstances. He now dislikes the force approach he used

in his conflict with Samuel, and said if it is now he would have used the problem-solving approach. He said anger makes many people do what they don't want to do, and now that he had gained skills in anger management, he is confident that he would do things differently in the future with an effect that would leave positive peace in the mind of both himself and the party that may be in conflict with him.

Faith reacted with a fight against Samuel because the action of the latter made him angry, but has however learnt that taking the path of violence when people hurt you is not a responsible way as he has now chosen an approach that is non-violent in responding to conflicts in the future no matter how challenging the situation may be. He said he has shunned fighting even at home, and his siblings and parents are already including his colleagues in school and are already seeing the fruit of positive change in him, and that he is so happy that peace club indeed changed his response to conflicts and handling to conflict situations in all its ramifications.

For me, this is a good thing for us at peace club. Faith's experience has also added to the testimony of many others who believe that peace club play a significant role. This is a fulfilment in an effort towards ensuring that the specific objective of the peace club concern with positive attitudinal change among peace club members is indeed realised.

Faith also claimed that he used to have problem with anger, and that following his training in anger management under the auspices of peace club, he has gained appreciable skills required for the management of his angry feelings. He said he particularly enjoyed the section on anger inventory which is concerned with measuring the amount of anger one absorbs, and that this has helped him be able to measure his level of anger, before he began to apply anger management skills to curtail his angry feelings.

For me, these kinds of positive changes are critical to promoting nonviolent social change (see section 4.4) in a nonviolent way in schools and community at large. With a cross section of changed students driving the nonviolent movement (see section 4.3) for social change in their schools, there is the hope that sustainable peace would soon be the order of the day in schools as the high violence is reduced to the barest minimum. The enthusiasm in Faith to champion

school approved nonviolent action for social change (see section 4.4) is another indication that this peace club project indeed achieved its specific objectives (see section 8.1).

9.5 Personal observation

The peace club activities that lasted from April to March 2013 no doubt helped create insight into peace club creation and operation in high schools. The preliminary peace club activities saw the students trained in a number of topics contained in the peace club curriculum of Mennonite Central Committee, South Africa (see Appendix 5). Recruitment of the peace club members commenced with addressing the students during their morning assembly about the benefits of joining such clubs to the students and the school in general. Afterwards, interested students were asked to come forward and write down their names in the recruitment sheet provided. Thereafter, the students who registered for the club agreed on the timing for the peace club meeting. During each training session, students shared their experiences in the various conflicts they experienced, as they often asked how I thought such conflicts would have been better handled. These were real case studies of their personal experiences and as the coordinator of the club I tried to share my opinion on how I think they should have reacted in such contexts. The peace club sessions were participatory.

Attendance of peace club members in the peace club meetings initially began to increase in the different schools but with time, the attendance began to decline partly because of inadequate funds to sustain the provision of incentives in the form of refreshment for the students during the peace club sessions. Refreshment was an important factor in encouraging the students and this was particularly so because the time allowed for the peace club meeting in school such as Immanuel College was shortly after closing of the school at 2pm, since the schools were day schools. At that time, most of the students were often hungry and tired having been in school for academic activities from morning till they closed at 2:00 pm in the afternoon. The College is Government owned public high school and children in the school do not have rich parents as most rich and parents' children attend private schools.

Other schools such as Wolbrook College, Yinbol College and Kingston College including the dropout Distinct Jubilee College are private owned secondary schools. The students in these schools are however from average homes or children of middle class parents. Co-operation and support was however better in Government owned public schools than in private owned schools, as management of most of the private schools created restricted context for the operation of the club. They seemed to be over protective of their students and often suspicious of external person in their quest to ensure safe schools and possible enticement of their students to other private schools.

Four new schools were engaged in the peace club that lasted from May to July 2014. The selection of the four new schools was guided by the experience gained while running peace clubs in the preliminary peace club activities that was conducted between April and March 2013. While the ratio of public to private schools engaged in the project under the preliminary peace club project was 1:3, that of the actual peace club project was 3:1. This decision opened up space to relate with students in the course of peace club activities. Though interested, most private schools always pretend as if there was no violence among their students. This could be because they do not want outsiders to have an impression about them that can jeopardise their school business. As such, it is more difficult to have access on statistics on violence in public schools than in private schools.

At Immanuel Grammar School (note that this school is different from Immanuel College), some of the students who were initially selected to constitute members of the club dropped out after the first meeting while new students who were not tipped to be part of the peace club volunteered to be members. A similar experience played out at Community High School, Methodist Grammar School and Bodija International College.

Organising students to settle down for peace club activities was better at the Methodist Grammar School and Community High School than at Immanuel College and Bodija International School. At the Methodist Grammar School, students were always early in preparation for the club meeting even before the co-ordinator's arrival. This could partly be as a result of the timing of the meeting which was usually in the morning at 8:00 am. While

members were in the peace club meeting, other students of the school were usually in the morning assembly, as members of the peace club were exempted from morning assembly by the school. Community High School was another school where students co-operation in terms of settling down before peace club activities began was impressive, however, it was better at the Methodist School than at Community High School. The timing of Community High School was usually during long break period as from 11:30 am. This was also the timing at Immanuel Grammar School, but it was usually more strenuous gathering the students together in the school than at Community High School, as the students were always interested to spend their break period playing and relaxing after a few classes before the break. The experience was the worst at Bodija International College, as the researcher virtually resorted to appealing to the students to settle down for club activities. This was partly because students in the said school, which was the only private school used in the peace club project, usually came to school with enough pocket money, and as such were not readily lured with the refreshments that were regularly provided for peace club members in the four schools each time a peace club meeting was held. Also, the students regarded break as the only time they could relax and spend their pocket money to refresh themselves, but with time this challenge decreased a little after relationship bond between peace club members and the researcher became stronger.

Peace club members also regularly did their exercises and assignments with enthusiasm. Responses were however better at Community High School than in other schools. It was also impressive at Methodist Grammar School and at Immanuel College, and was all the same at Bodija International College. The level of participation and involvement in various peace club exercises was impressive in the schools, and peace club members in the four schools advocated that the peace activities should continue after their third term which ended in July 2014.

9.6 Semi-structured interviews with teachers and one principal

Questions posed to some teachers and principals in the schools where peace club projects were carried out include: What is your overall impression of the peace club in your school? In terms of the conflicts and violence in your school, have you noticed any change since the operation of

the club? Is the peace club something you would want to promote? If so how might this happen?

Mr Opadeji expressed satisfaction on the way the peace club project was conducted at his school (community high school) and gave a good impression to the outing. "it was indeed good that peace club was created and had a number of our students trained. I am satisfied and the impression was a good one". In fact, it was "a positive development". Mr. Ayodele gave a good commendation of the peace club project in his school (Bodija International School) and also submitted that he was generally impressed with the activities, "the project gave a good impression of itself in this school and I commend the organiser for such a project that contributed to the promotion of a culture of peace". Mrs Chukwuma also gave a good impression of the peace club activities conducted in her school, Methodist Grammar School as she said the peace club was generally a success. She had initially thought that the students would be bored with time when the organiser told her that it was going to last for a whole term at the beginning of the club in May but she now expressed happiness that the energy at which the club started did not wane till the term came to an end. 'In fact, I can say the peace club was a success...and the energy throughout did not wane'. It was also adjudged successful and largely impressive by Mrs Itua in her schools. "All I can say is that you have done well, it was successful and indeed largely impressive. Keep up the good works".

The teachers also generally expressed that the project has helped to re-energise the consciousness for peace among the students and are putting up good impression in their conducts, as they said the peace club idea is something they would want to promote in their various schools. Upon asking how might it happen? Mr Opadeji further said that definitely it is a project the school would like to promote, he asked, who would not like to promote good thing?", and that many students life would be changed for better if more schools can create such peace clubs.

He further added that "since the club has been put in place the school authority would try to put a teacher who has interested to take charge of the club and be meeting regularly. It should not be imposed, but a particular teacher that has interest would make the project continue".

The Principal of the school also said that he wanted to have a report of the peace club project, and that she hoped to show it to Education Inspectors from the Ministry of Education, so they can support the sustenance of the project in her school. She added when talking with the researcher and peace club organiser "when I have your report I will work to let Inspectors from the Ministry of Education see it and support it. I want you to also write a proposal to Justice Development and Peace Commission to help fund and support this project in this school and many other schools in the state".

Also Mr Ayodele said he would continue to encourage the peace club and also encourage members to keep on with club, and added that he wished all students were part of the club. He said "the school would like to support and promote such project that helps students to develop skills in conflict resolution. The facilitator may need to do a few more trainings. Afterwards a teacher would be appointed to manage the club for sustainability. Mrs Iyoha also expressed her willingness to continue to encourage students to work to sustain the club in their school while Mrs Chuks expressed her desire to support the club and that the school authority would really be the one to work it out and ensure that the peace club is sustained and supported in all its ramification, "I shall support the club and encourage the school to do same. The students that participated need to approach the principal and ask for such assistance, it will be given, and the principal will now mandate a youth helper or teacher who will monitor or supervise what they are doing in the club. Again, the students that participated in the club need to go the principal and make such request because of the benefits accrued to them, and the principal will now inaugurate the peace club". At Wolbrook College, Mr Sunday resolved to take up the co-ordination of the peace club activities as well as facilitate the training programmes including continuously supporting students in the club to ensure the continuity of the club. Mr Olaniyi also said the he would work to encourage students who are members of the club to continue to run the club and also support them with resource material for them to continue to manage the club, " strive to encourage the student members & support the club with resource materials...". While at Kingston College, a teacher Mr Ire has been mandated to help in the co-ordination of the club and facilitate its training programmes for students, to help ensure its sustainability.

Mr Opade said he noticed changes since the operation of the peace club in his school. He further added that “the students showed increase interest in the club”, and that some of the students who were not original members of the club came to him several times begging him to allow them join the club, and that this could be because they were positively influenced by those in the club. “So with the general strong interest in the club by students and the positive influence the club had on them, one can really say that it had impact on them”. He submitted that lesser cases of conflicts and violence were witnessed in the school during the term, and most members of the club were not involved in conflicts and violence...”. Mrs Iyoha further corroborated the changes following the peace club activities by saying that “the peace club was not a waste of time, there was hardly any conflict case in the school that members of the club were involved in”. Mr Ayodele comment that he noticed positive changes in the attitude of the members of the club, and that he has seen a number of them using the skills they learnt from the club to intervene in conflicts. “They have been using the skills to negotiate for change and intervene in conflicts. I saw Iwalewa and few others trying to intervene in conflicts using the skills they learnt from the club, and this has helped reduced conflicts”. Mrs Chukwuma noticed a change in the attitude of students who participated in the club, “I have noticed changes in many of them in terms of their involvement in conflicts and violence since they joined the club...there is a positive change”, and added that this led to a decrease in conflicts and violence in the school.

The teachers indeed expressed their views and shared their observations during the interview conducted by the researcher. However, an attempt to organise focus group discussion for them did not really work out well for practical reasons of time in the school day. Towards the ending of last term at the end of July, the teachers were busy marking the examination scripts and recording the scores of the students, and since they were all working towards a giving deadline, they became too busy and it became even more difficult to organise in group for focus group discussion. A similar experience played out upon resumption following the late resumption of schools in Nigeria occasioned by Ebola outbreak in the

9.7 Focus group discussions

A cross section of the students (a total of 21) who participated in the peace clubs were selected for focus group discussions (FGDs), one group at each school. The key questions asked were 'Can you tell the main things you found to be beneficial from the peace club? Probes: Any change in attitudes? More competent in dealing with conflicts? Better anger management? Are there some things you have found difficult about the club?' Each focus group lasted 40-45 minutes. A number of them were leaders of the various sub-groups that were created during the peace club meetings to lead presentation of group assignments and projects in the course of the club meetings. There was in fact little need for the moderator to say much as the participants in all groups were very willing to talk to and with each other – just as FGDs are intended. The quotations reported below are typical of those made by participants and may be regarded as representative.

The FGD at Bodija International College regularly used phrases like, "it was ok, it came out well, it was something that was valuable, it was nice and the impression was generally good and they enjoyed every bit of it" to describe the general impression of the peace club project in their school.

On whether it was something they would want to promote, the group chorused yes. They suggested that money could be one thing to use to promote it. As such reaching out to sponsors and having members make monetary contributions no matter how small as well as having the school authority provide financial assistance to the club could be good way to make money available for refreshments during peace club, make materials available for training and sponsor excursions for members among others. They also believed that incentives for members can further help promote and give energy to the club, and that they can also approach the principal for such support. If effort is made to have the club continue and things like get together parties are introduced, it was further make the club more interesting.

On whether they think it has helped to reduce conflicts and violence in the school, they said "as for us, we no longer get involved in violence, it has increased our knowledge about peace, conflicts and violence and how to shun violence", and that their colleagues in the club also

share similar experiences. So they believed generally that the peace club project contributed to the reduction of conflicts and violence in the school.

The Methodist Grammar School FGD emphasised that “the club was very positive group”, and that everybody that participated loved what was happening there as the club was a very good one and of a very good impression and that they had a beautiful experience in the club.

They also collectively agreed that peace club is one thing that they would want to promote, and on how they think this might happen, that they “hope to canvass for more members that would also be trained in the club”. They believed talking to junior students to them to be part of the club would help to secure the future of the club and make it sustainable. They said they need to elect new leaders among the peace club members that will lead the club for their new session. They also think, they can also invite a reputable person from outside their school to give a talk in their club on a given topic, and that they want “the school to appoint a teacher or one of the NYSC (National Youth Service Corp) member posted to their school to help supervise and handle the club’. They also said if it is possible, it would be nice for all schools to have or create peace club to help promote peace in the schools. They added that they have noticed changes in terms of conflicts and violence in their school as a result of the peace club. They said “the conflict level has reduced and that we no longer fight as before in the school”, as they reiterated again and again that “conflicts and violence has reduced”.

The FGD at Immanuel Grammar School generally gave a good impression of the club. For example, “we know that peace club had a good impression on us and in our school last academic term” and “it helped us to settle problems, make peace talk to people in our community, society, and school in a polite and respectable manner”. They also agreed that they would like to promote peace club in their school, and how they intend to make that happen, they started by appealing to the researcher and coordinator of the peace club to accompany them to their principal to convince them to formally incorporate peace club in the school extra-curricular activities, and “that when this is done, the school will by itself take up the responsibility to run the club on its resources and arrangement”. This was agreed to, and we met with the principal and the teacher in charge of such activities, and they promised to

formally incorporate it into the school extra-curricular activities. The FGD said they will work with other members of the peace club to follow up in order to ensure that the school meet up with the promised.

The focus group also generally agreed that conflicts and violence has reduced as a result of the peace club activities. They said for peace club members, most of them no longer involve in fights and that fights and other violent acts has drastically reduced among them, and that even in the school conflicts and violence acts have also reduced, as they concluded that “peace now reign between and among them and friendship making among colleagues has also improved”.

The Community High School FGD concurred that the club experience was positive and, indeed, was life-changing. ‘Even our parents have observed the changes in us, and we now are able to settle conflicts and live more peaceably. We are happy we joined’.

They collectively concur to promote the peace club in their school and they said they plan to do this by ensuring that their “peace club meetings continue and operate on regular basis” and that “they would support the student coordinator of the club to ensure that the club is sustained”. They suggested that there is the need to meet with their principal again to further solicit for support” in all its ramifications in order for the club to run smoothly and be sustained in the school. They said they “sincerely enjoyed every aspect of the club and would work to continue to reach out to the organiser for support and update on training materials that would be used for the sustenance of the club in their school”. In their discussion, they also said “colourful pictures of what they are learning should be made to make presentations more interesting and lively” and they believe that would stimulate the interest of their students to join the club.

They also said that there was indeed a reduction in conflicts and violence in the school following the activities of the club last term, and that the skills in nonviolent conflict intervention they learnt during the training helped them to be able to intervene and transformed conflicts among themselves. They said “many of us did not fight or involved in violent quarrel last academic term, for we have indeed learnt to be more peaceful”. They added

that “there used to be a lot of unsettled conflicts among them before the starting of peace club, but these have now reduced very well now as a result of the peace club. There is reduction in fight and that if for one term these positive experiences happened, it means better experiences would result if the peace club is done for a longer time in the school”.

9.8 Semi-structured interviews with participants

As a follow up to the focus groups, and as a way of verifying the responses from a group context, a cross section of the students who participated in the peace club were interviewed on their overall impression of the peace club operation in their school, and how their involvement has benefitted them. The interviews took place in the last two weeks of the peace club operations and took about 15 minutes each. The main questions posed were similar to those given to the focus groups, the difference being that they were now personal: For example, can you tell the main things you found to be beneficial from the peace club? Probes: skills? attitudes? Are there some things you have found difficult about the club?

Deborah said she enjoyed every bit of the club activities and happy that it came out well. She further added that “since I joined peace club I no longer engage in fights. I now also learn to settle quarrels, avoid violent conflicts and make peace anywhere I am”. A good impression of the club activities was also expressed by Opeyemi who also added that she has gained a lot from the peace club and has empowered her to be able to settle conflict amicably and also be more at peace with herself than before as she added that “it has changed my attitude and has made me a peaceful person, and the level of my quarrelling has decreased”. Idowu commented further corroborated the positions of Deborah and Opeyemi as she said “I learnt not to fight anymore since I joined peace club. I now know how to settle quarrels and keep away from violent conflict, and always work to maintain peace. He expressed his opinion that the peace club was successful and has made a lasting impression in the minds of many people in the school. Zainab and Blessing shared related opinions also as regards how peace club has positively influenced them as they are now more involved in settling quarrels than involving in fights and taking sides as they used to prior tot their involvement in peace club.

Other students also reported positive impression about the peace club as they all shared related story line in support of good impression created by the peace club in the mind of the peace club participants in general in the schools for the project. Yemisi was among many others who narrated how the peace club trainings and meetings positively influence her. She said “I achieve a lot of things because I used to like quarrelling, abuse and like fighting, but now I have changed even my parents are happy for my change from my stubborn attitude. I now avoid conflict with people and I am now more peaceful in relationship with others. Seun has learnt to be “a peacemaker and developed a forgiving attitude”, Rebecca has acquired conflict handling and anger management skills, and the experience “do not allow me to fight...and the level of my quarrel has reduced”. Isreal has learnt a number of things including “how to relate with people in a more peaceful way and communicate non-violently with people”, while for Segun, the training has indeed made him “to be patient, control his anger and be less violent”. Opeyemi is also now able to cope with challenging situations, manage conflict and anger, and “I now also have my attitude shaped in a positive way”, while Emmanuel developed skills “to be of good behaviour and exhibits self-control during misunderstanding”. Philip is not left out as he confessed that “joining peace club has helped in changing my attitude” as he recounted how very unfriendly he used to be prior to joining the club, while Salau did not mix words when he said that the peace club has helped to train me to settle rifts with people in conflict with me and I now also think more reasonably especially in conflict situations, and this has made my behaviour totally change”.

Hosea added that the skills he acquired have helped him “to be patient, settle and help friends to settle quarrels, and it has brought about attitudinal change in me”, and in the expression of Tomiwa and Doyinsola peace club has indeed re-moulded them. While Tomiwa said “I now know that violence is a very wrong way of solving conflict, and that a non-violent or peace way is the best way because nobody gets hurts, and everyone is happy and the conflict is solved in the correct and right way”, Doyinsola submitted by saying “Peace club has changed my attitude a lot. The time we talked about the approaches in solving conflict, it touched me a lot. Anytime I have conflict with anyone, I try to pick one approach that is suitable for resolving the conflict, and anytime I picked the suitable one, the conflict is always resolved. Thank you peace club “

The winds of change occasioned by the peace club did not only positively affect members of peace club, but to others who were not peace club members as those who directly benefitted from the club as members also began to affect other people positively. Tobi was one of several other peace club participants who channelled the winds of change to some others. Tobi said “I have changed to be a patient person since I joined peace club. I indeed changed for good as my attitude has changed for good. I have also begun to change some persons, for instance, one girl in my class that liked to be angry so much has been changed by me and she is a better person now and does not get angry readily at every slightest provocation”. Friends and family members are among those who now enjoy the attitudinal changes that have taken place in the participants, and as expressed by Peter who said “I now behave in better ways to my friends, family members and others”, peace club has indeed positively changed a number of participants and added value to their behaviours and this was beautifully summarised by Peter who said “my attitude has improved and changed for the better” following his involvement in peace club.

9.9 Process evaluation

The teaching and learning methods indeed worked in the four schools for the peace club project. The training sessions were essentially interacting and participatory as participants’ experiences were useful in the promotion of understanding of the areas of training.

The training processes involved the use of group work, class exercises and assignments (see section 8.1) including presentations in assessing how well the participants understood the areas of training and how well the learning methods worked. The participants submitted their class exercises, group works and assignments promptly and they were indeed enthusiastic in doing so. The training sessions including other parts of the peace club project went very well.

Interacting interrogation was strong in all the peace club training sessions.

The spirited questions and answers sessions were significant aspects of the process evaluation. A cross section of the participants also shared how well the teaching and learning methods went during series of interviews tot that effect. For Isreal, the training, teaching and learning

methods contributed to his understanding of what he gained in the peace club. He further added, “I have learnt the five finger approach of handling matter. I have now also acquired the skills for settling conflict. I have learnt how to calculate my level of anger ...”. Simon also confessed that the methods of training was good for him, and has helped to grasped what was taught in the peace club, he added that “I have learnt to control my anger and temper, as well as learnt and understood skills on how to nonviolently intervene in conflicts” following the teaching and training in the said areas.

The comment of Esther further corroborated the positions of Isreal and Simon including other participants that shared their views which were indeed typical. She said “I have learnt how to make peace with people, how to solve conflict with people, and gained skills in the various approaches to handling conflicts such as accommodating and problem-solving. I have also gained skills in the use of five finger methods approach”. This was also related to what Suliyat said “I now know the difference between conflict and violence, as well as know how to solve conflict whenever I am in anyone. I gained how to maintain my anger and how to relate with people better”. As regards the exercises and assignment aforementioned, they were drawn from the MCC curriculum, see section 8 for some of them.

9.10 Validity and reliability

Validity relates to the truthfulness of the data. It means that the data actually measure the specific phenomenon that was researched or studied, while reliability relates to whether the data collected for the study is accurate (see section 6.6).

Triangulation, which involves the use of a range of data collection methods, was employed as the major means of ensuring the validity and reliability of the study. The methods, as we have seen, included interviews, focus group discussions, essay writing, tests and personal observation. Interviews were conducted for participants and selected teachers including a principal in the target schools for the study. The questions they responded to and their opinions that they shared during the FGDs were largely related to the specific phenomenon being measured in the study.

Clarification questioning approach and reflecting back were also used by the interviewer for the interviewee to be sure he or she was saying what he or she wanted to say. The interviewer asked clarification questions which helped to get the feelings and thoughts of the interviewees across properly and clearly. The interviewer also used reflection which involves restating what the interviewee said and this helped to summarised both facts and feelings expressed by the interviewee, as well as helped the interviewer listen to what the main emotion was and linking it with what happened that made the interviewee felt that way. The FGD discussions were recorded in order to be sure about what was said.

Pre and post-training tests included a similar test for non-participants i.e. random control testing, in case some external factors other than peace club training were influencing the test scores.

The participants wrote two different essays, the first on a conflict which they had faced and the second on whether they would do things differently following their involvement in the peace club. The summaries of the essays (see Table 9.3) were shown to the students for their verification.

In sum, the validity and reliability of the data collected would seem to be of a high order. This point is also shown by the consistency of the data, which points very strongly to a positive change in attitudes and behaviour in the direction of peace and non-violence.

9.11 Summary and conclusion

The test results, the essay contents, the interviews, focus group discussions and observation consistent in pointing to a very positive outcome for these peace clubs. The next chapter (chapter 10) was devoted to the conclusion of the thesis based on the findings from the study.

PART VI: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 10: Summary, conclusions and reflections

10.1 Introduction

In section 1.7, the overall objective of this thesis was outlined as being to undertake a participatory action research project aimed at building an infrastructure for peace in Nigeria.

The specific aims were to:

- To examine and explain the nature, extent, causes, trend and consequences of conflict and violence in contemporary Nigeria.
- To document the attempts made by the Government and NGOs to intervene in conflicts and build peace, and to assess their outcome.
- To examine and explain the concept and development of infrastructures as a means of non-violent social change.
- To use action/participatory action research approach to implement a plan to establish infrastructures for peace in Nigeria.

10.2 Findings

Regarding the first specific objectives of the study was to examine the nature, extent, causes, trend and consequences of conflicts and violence in Nigeria, the study identified resource-based, ethno-religious, indigenes-settlers, school-based violence, gender-based conflicts/violence and terrorism occasioned by Boko Haram, in addition to the challenges of human insecurity, as the bane of Nigeria's stride towards corporate co-existence (see section 2.2).

On the extent, the study established that conflicts and violence have been so severe to such an extent that got the country teetering at the bricks of precipice, see section 2.3. The level of gender-based violence is alarming and cut across cultures, traditions, class and ethnic groups. School-based violence has also risen to an alarming state, as intimidation, bullying, gangsterism and recruitment into violent groups now largely pose danger to the future of the Nigerian child and the yearning for peace in the country (see section 2.3).

The causes of the conflicts and violence identified by the study include, drug addiction by youths, low level of social cohesion, inequality, corruption and bad governance, including an appreciable disconnection between government and people argued in the 'individual survival hypothesis' advanced by this study, see section 2.4. The causes of violence in many cases have ethnic, religious, resource-based, gender-based, school-based, electoral cum political, and indigene-settler conflicts together in the multi-lingua, multi-ethnic and multi-religious Nigerian society (see section 2.4). While the systemic violence occasioned by years of infrastructural decay and bad leadership have left larger proportion of the populace struggling to survive amidst high rate of unemployment, poverty and other human insecurity challenges, see section 2.4., direct violence on the other hand is on the rise and has continued to debilitate the strength of several others.

Though no region of the country is spared of conflicts and violence, worst case scenario has in recent times as identified by the study, shifted from the south-south to the North-east geopolitical zone of the country (see section 2.5). The trend and pattern of violent conflicts in Nigeria revealed two characteristics: firstly, the conflicts are often multi-dimensional and geographically discrete as well as involves a diverse range of actors pursuing distinct goals.

The second specific objective of the study was to document the attempts made by government and NGOs to intervene in conflicts and build peace, and to assess their outcome. As identified by this study, government has often resorted to the use of security agents such as the police and the military in the management of conflicts and violence in Nigeria (see section 3.2). In schools, corporal punishment and expulsion are some of the approaches identified. Students are beaten or given hard labour while retributive justice rather than restorative justice dominates the system (see section 3.2).

Other approaches that were also identified within the larger society, but in many cases compromised in the face of corruption included the court systems, panels of inquiry, legislation enactment, state creation, power sharing, quota system, committees, and national conferences, see section 3.2. The national dialogue inaugurated by the Goodluck Jonathan government early in 2014 cast a ray of hope in the minds of many Nigerians. Months after it has wended down its activities Nigerians are still on the look for its impact.

Nongovernment and other civil society organisations have not stayed aloof in the search for a just and sustainable peace in the country. Many of the organisations became even more active in their effort at intervening in conflicts and violence and build peace in Nigeria within the nation's fourth republic. Some of the organisations included Christian Association of Nigeria, Media Concern Initiative for Women and Children, Nigerian Alliance for Peace and Ipas Reproductive Health Cluster, among others (see section 3.3). However, in the failure of past attempts to make considerable impact and outcome robust enough to ensure sustainable peace in the country, it became critical to advocate for the creation of infrastructures for peace. Other specific objective of the study was to examine and explain the concept and development of infrastructures for peace as a means to promote nonviolent change in the study area. See section 4.4 for this.

The third specific objective examined peace infrastructures as a potential means of building peace. The extensive experience in these was reported in chapter 5.

The fourth and central specific objective was to use an action research/participatory action research approach to establish infrastructures for peace in Nigeria. As discussed in chapter 6, the study was originally focused at working towards the creation of a ministry of peace using nonviolent campaign approach, but this was changed to advocating and creating a local peace committee and other peace infrastructures such as peace service academy and centre for peace and the rehabilitation of displaced persons.

The study then focussed on building peace clubs in selected schools and used the peace infrastructures to train students/participants with a view to bringing about attitudinal change including the promotion of nonviolent change in the target schools. Peace clubs became the major focus of this study and these were established in four schools and operated over a 12 month period.

The peace clubs had the aim of empowering students with skills and knowledge of peace and conflict resolution so that they can resolve their own conflicts amicably at schools, homes and in the community. This was achieved, insofar as we can take the positive responses of the participants as an indicator of future behaviour. Follow-up studies months and years into the future, together with an appropriate control group, would be needed to be sure of this conclusion. Various methods (see section 8.2.1) were used to train the students in a number of areas which led to building their capacities and skills in handling conflicts and promoting peace in schools and community at large. This could be seen expressed in their second essay (see section 9.4). Also, the interviews with a cross section of the students (see section 9.6) further lend credence to the extent at which the students have gained knowledge and basic skills in conflict resolution which has helped to positively influence their contributions to efforts aimed at resolving conflicts amicably in their schools, homes and the community at large.

Another objective of the peace club was to use the infrastructure created to effect positive attitudinal changes in students and have them contribute to the process of nonviolent social change in their schools. The peace club training sessions have indeed helped changed the

student's attitude to handling conflicts. A large number of them who shared their experiences in the course of the peace club meetings said that they no longer engage in fights, and other types of violence, see section 9.7. They added that they have also imbibed other virtues such as patience, respects and love among others. They submitted that the peace club project indeed positively changed their attitudes in all its ramifications.

Another objective of the peace clubs was to set up a forum where students and teachers can express their viewpoints. The peace club platform created in the schools for the study indeed provided the forum when students particularly and even teachers largely expressed their viewpoints on peace and the promotion and sustenance of peace in schools. The forum provided teachers the opportunity to further advise students on the need for them to be the agents of change in the school as well as also share in the opinion of the researcher and coordinator of the peace club on how teachers and students can work together towards an institutionalised peace in the school. The forum set up via the creation of peace club provided opportunities for the participants to share their points of view on their conflict experiences (see section 9.3) and how their involvement in peace club has helped changed them. In short, the participants reported considerable positive changes in the direction of dealing with their conflicts non-violently and effectively.

10.3 Validity, reliability and limitations

Validity relates to the truthfulness of the data. It means that the data actually measured the specific phenomenon that was researched or studied. Reliability relates to whether the data collected for the study is accurate (see sections 6.6 and 9.10). The key validity strategies adopted in this study were triangulation and participant checking. Triangulation involves the use of a range of data collection methods, i.e. it involves triangulating "different data sources of information by examining evidence from the source and using it to build a coherent justification for themes" (Cresswell, 2014:201). In this study, data was sourced from different methods such as interviews, focus group discussions, essay writing about the conflict they face, essay writing about whether they would do things differently following their involvement in peace club, pre and post-training tests and personal observations. The convergence of the data (see sections

9.2, 9.3, 9.4, 9.5, 9.6 and 9.7) from these various sources helped to establish the findings that peace clubs created by the study actually brought about positive attitudinal change of the participants and contributed to social change process in the target schools.

Interviews were conducted for participants (students) and selected teachers including a principal in the target schools for the study. Since the people interviewed were students who participated in the peace club, teachers who were involved in supporting the researcher to create the peace clubs including following up with the activities of the club and principals who approved the peace club project in the schools, the information collected from them were thus from people who should know following their involvement in one way or the other in the peace club project, as such the data is truthful. Also, the questions they responded to in the course of the interviews and their opinions that they shared during the interview were largely related to the specific phenomenon being measured in the study.

A clarification questioning approach was also used by the interviewer for the interviewee to be sure he or she was saying what he or she wanted to say. The interviewer asked clarification questions which helped to get the feelings and thoughts of the interviewees across properly and clearly. The interviewer also used reflection which involves restating what the interviewee said and this helped to summarised both facts and feelings expressed by the interviewee, as well as helped the interviewer listen to what the main emotion was and linking it with what happened that made the interviewee felt that way.

Focus Group Discussions were also conducted for selected peace club participants who were leaders of the four sub-groups within the peace club in each school. The discussions were recorded and at the end of the FGD, the recording device was played to the hearing of the FGD members in order for them to cross-check that what they said during the discussion was actually what they wanted to say.

Pre and post-training tests and random control tests were conducted for the participants (students) of the peace club and these data including data from personal observations were useful in evaluating the peace club project. Participants scripts were returned to them for cross

check their scores and how their scripts were marked among others. This was to allow the participants cross check and be sure that what he or she scored are actually in relation to what the number of question answered and what he or she wrote during the tests. The questions also related to the phenomenon being measured in the study.

The participants wrote two different essays. The first essay was on common conflicts which they face, while the second essay was on whether they would do things differently following their involvement in the peace club. The strategy involving the “use of member checking to determine the accuracy of qualitative findings” (Cresswell, 2014:201), was adopted in this study. To this end, the second essays were taken back to the participants at the end of the peace club and were asked whether they think the researcher got it right. Each of them responded with a yes answer. Similarly, their first essays were also taken back to them at the end of the peace club training for them to reassure themselves on whether what they wrote was actually what they had planned to write. The participants also confirmed that, and in the same vein, the researcher took back the recorded one on one interview and focus group discussions to participants, weeks after the activities for checking to determine the accuracy and consistency of their position, they confirmed their agreement with the data. This was also done to the teachers and a principal who were interviewed, and they also confirmed their agreement with the data. Finally, the summary write up (brief report) put together by the researcher was taken to the participants and teachers interviewed to see if they agree with it, and they again confirmed their agreement with the data.

The researcher also spent prolonged time in the peace club project, especially the preliminary peace club project. 15 months was spent on the peace club project altogether, and this helped the researcher to develop deeper understanding of the phenomenon that was being researched, including detail knowledge of the schools and the people/participants involved in the project. In addition, the researcher has also spent over two decades in the community where the field study was going on. There is no gainsaying the fact, that all of these contributed in lending credibility to the narrative account of the participants, especially considering that

‘the more experience that a researcher has with participants in their settings, the more accurate or valid will be the findings’(Cresswell, 2014:202).

In sum, the validity and reliability of the data collected is not in doubt as it measures the phenomenon being studied and were collected from people who should know, and who the researcher is largely familiar with. This familiarity advantage helped to mitigate the effect of the limitation of time in the main peace club project to such an extent that the management of the peace club within the timeframe still came out impressive.

10.4 A personal reflection

At the proposal stage, I had thought that building or creating a ministry of peace would take the centre stage of my research. This was partly because campaign for such infrastructure in Nigeria had caught my interest and attention and my drive to ensure peace perspective in government was strong. However, this aspect of the research could not proceed significantly due to financial constraint to implement the plan which the constituted participatory action research team came up with. This led to a change in plan to building a local peace committee, peace service academy, and centre for peace and rehabilitation of displaced persons. The emergence of the idea to build peace clubs in schools however introduced another dimension to the research devoted to building infrastructures for peace in Nigeria. The peace club project which was conducted through action research design seemed to have generated larger interest in Government owned public schools than in private owned schools. The peace club meetings provided opportunity for the participant’s to share their experiences with conflict and violence, and learn new ways of tackling conflict in a non-violent way.

On reflection, perhaps one need not be surprised, given the purpose of the research. While it is quite clear that a complete institutionalisation of peace in the country also depends on a number of other factors such as good governance and justice among others, what this study has shown is that building infrastructures via peace clubs can play a significant role in promoting just and sustainable peace in schools, local communities and the Nigerian society at large.

10.5 Conclusion

Overall, the research contributed to participant's knowledge in the areas of training and also contributed in bringing about improved and positive attitudinal changes of participant's. It also contributed to non-violent changes that promote the betterment of the situation of the participant's and the schools. While a lot could still have been done to further advance non-violent social change in the study area, I believe that what has been done so far meets significant aspects of the specific objectives of the research and that the integrity of the research process and data analysis is intact.

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Appendix 1

Questions, pre and post-training tests

Part A

Instruction: Answer with T for true & F for false.

1. A conflict is when two or more people cannot agree on something. True or false?
2. While all violence contains elements of conflict, not all conflicts are necessarily violent. True or false?
3. Peace, or *shalom* means health, healing, justice, reconciliation & right relationships. True or false?
4. Perspective is a way of looking at something, a point of view. True or false?
5. In conflicts there are often different perspectives. Not seeing someone else's perspective can also lead to conflict. True or False?
6. Confusion, unfairness, different ideas, miscommunication, hurt by words or actions, different values or beliefs, are some of the causes of conflict. True or False?
7. Conflict resolution can be defined as the processes during which disagreements and problems are talked about and a solution is found. True or False?
8. To stereotype means to categorize individuals or groups into an oversimplified image or idea. True or False?
9. To stereotype other religions or cultures means to limit one understanding of that culture, and it doesn't recognize diversity. True or False?
10. In the five approaches to solving conflicts, the following correctly described the main characteristic and benefit of each style.
 - i. Fox compromises and is good when your conscience is involved or you need to do something quickly.
 - ii. Owl problem solves and is good if you have time to come to a solution that satisfies everyone.
 - iii. Turtle avoids and is good if you don't care about the issue.

iv. Teddy Bear gives in and is good when you care more about the person than the issue.

True or False?

11. All of these are NOT the three tools for problem solving. (Tool #1 - Attack the problem, not the person; Tool #2 - A win/win attitude; Tool #3 - Go back to needs. True or False?

12.. The difference between anger and aggression is that anger is a feeling while aggression is an action. True or False?

13. Body language is not concerned with how we communicate with our bodies. True or False?

14. Feeling and fact are not the two components that must be included when you use reflective listening. True or False?

15. I feel . . . when you . . . because . . . what I want is . . . , is an example of an "I" statement.

True or False?

16. The fair method of problem solving include's, taking turns, sharing, apologizing, chance.

True or False?

17. Brainstorming can be defined as the thinking of all possible ideas and then together deciding which is the best option. True or False?

18. The steps in the problem solving method or Five Finger Formula include: Thumb: Cool down, if needed. Pointer: Discuss and agree what is the problem. Middle Finger: Brainstorm solutions. Ring Finger: Select a solution that seems reasonable to all. Pinkie Finger: Try it out!. True or False?

19. All of these in the bracket are options if you can't reach a solution. (Try again, get help from another person, look again at what are the underlying needs.) True or False

20. The two paths that need to be walked for there to be reconciliation are the Path of Forgiveness & the Path of Repentance. True or False?

21. Reconciliation is not a process of healing broken relationship. True or False?

22. Repentance is when we feel and express deep regret and admits our guilt when we have done something wrong. True or False?

23. Restorative Justice is not a process whereby broken relationships are healed and restored. True or False?

24. The Path to Forgiveness include: Name the wrong and acknowledge the pain, refuse to seek a penalty from the wrongdoer, begin to have some understanding for the humanity of the wrong-doer, enter into a relationship with the wrong-doer? True or false?

25. The fair method of problem solving does not include, taking turns, sharing, apologizing, chance. True or false?

Part B

Instruction: Fill in the blank space with what you feel is the best approach to each conflict and give reasons in not more than 30 words.

What approach to conflict would be best in the following situations?

1. You and your friend are deciding on a movie to watch. You don't really care what you watch but your friend really wants to see Ice Age. _____
2. Your friends are trying to convince you steal a candy bar from the store. _____
3. You are waiting in line and someone is trying to sell you a broken toy that you don't want to buy. _____
4. You are playing soccer and you and your friend both want to be the goalie. _____

5. Your sister borrowed your favourite shirt and accidentally spilled paint on it and now it won't come out. _____

Appendix 2

Marks in the pre and post training tests

2.1 Community High School test results

Name of	Marks in pre-	Marks in post-	Name of	Marks in	Marks in

participants (Experimental group)	training test	training test	participants (Control group)	1 st test	2 nd test
Blessing	9	21	Amoo	8	8
Mariam	8	21	Supo	9	9
Lekan	9	11	Yemi	8	9
Mary	9	21	Chichi	9	9
Akin	9	25	Esuru	9	9
Suliyat	10	28	Gbesa	10	10
Victoria	11	27	Koji	10	10
Rebecca	11	30	Niyi	9	9
Yemisi	10	29	Adewo	8	9
Seun	11	29	Ola	11	11
Titi	10	22	Tomi	12	12
Shehu	9	29	Muda	10	10
Peter	8	17	Adelo	10	10
Kenny	10	23	Salawu	9	9
Zainab	12	30	Fati	8	8
Grace	10	25			
Tohi	11	29			

Total	168	417		159	161
Average score	9.9	25		9.3	9.5

2.2 Methodist Grammar School test results

Name of participants (Experimental group)	Score out of 30 in pre-training test	Score out of 30 in post-training test	Name of participants (Control group)	Marks for 1 st test	Marks for 2 nd test
Idowu	10	26	Adeshina	8	9
Abdulazeez	10	22	Abdulkarim	10	11
Olumide	9	27	Adeyemo	10	10
Temitope	12	24	Lawal	11	12
Tomiwa	9	22	Okunubi	9	8
Adedamola	11	21	Adedamola	11	11
Hosea	10	20	Akande	11	10
Tobiloba	11	22	Oyebola	9	9
Daniel	11	23	Eliyas	9	10
Adetunji	10	24	Monsuru	10	11
Olaide	9	23	Alo	8	8

Marvelous	10	23	Idowu	8	9
Samuel	11	25	Ajayi	10	10
Isreal	12	25	Akinyemi	8	8
Olajesuniyi	12	29	Alawode	12	13
Oyinlola	9	25	Olaniyan	8	7
Bashirah	9	23	Afolabi	9	10
Aminat	10	23	Sulaimon	9	9
Segun	14	25	Akinyemi	12	13
Sinmiloluwa	13	28	Oluwatunwase	11	11
Ololade	10	28	Yusuf	7	8
Adunola	12	25	Lawal	10	10
Olabisi	11	25	Roki	8	9
Oluwaseun	13	25	Sikeola	8	8
Bunmi	-	25	Aremu	9	9
Samson	14	25	Adekanmbi	10	11
Aanuoluwapo	-	25	David	9	10
Oluwole	-	22	Oni	10	10
Temidayo	-	22	Ogundipe	9	9
Emmanuel	-	21	Ogunrinde	8	8

Total	278	723		281	291
Average score	9.3	24		9.4	9.7

2.3 Immanuel Grammar School test results

Name of participants (Experimental group)	Marks in pre-training test	Marks in post-training test	Name of participants (Control group)	Marks for 1 st test	Marks for 2 nd test
Success	11	24	Daniella	11	12
Esther	10	19	Olubayo	9	9
Abibat	8	20	Oluwamojuore	8	7
Aishat	9	17	Abiodun	8	8
Islamiat	10	20	Adekola	10	12
Deborah	11	21	Ishor	8	9
Adedayo	9	23	Gbadamosi	11	11
Blessing	11	20	Iwebunor	9	10
Kehinde	11	20	Idowu	8	8
Simon	12	26	Amuduche	10	10
Samuel	10	25	Amusan	9	9

Isaac	11	26	Chibueze	12	12
Bukola	9	19	Awosejo	8	8
Christianah	8	17	Feyisipe	11	11
Olobisi	12	25	Olorode	10	10
Ayo	9	21	Theresa	9	9
Niyi	11	24	Blessing	11	10
Kola	8	20			
Bode	10	22			
Philip	11	25			
Lucy	11	26			
Total	205	460		202	204
Average score	9.8	21.9		9.6	9.7

2.4 Bodija International School test results

Name of participants (Experimental group)	Mark in pre-training test	Marks in post-training test	Name of participants (Control group)	Marks for 1 st test	Marks for 2 nd test

Faith	11	26	Bola	7	7
Dapo	8	25	Teju	9	11
Damilola	9	25	Titi	11	11
Shola	8	25	Muz	8	9
Lewa	9	24	Iwa	11	12
Ola	11	21	Ade	9	9
Patrick	9	20	Bello	10	11
Tomisin	12	22	Oni	9	9
Nike	11	23	Goke	9	10
Samuel	10	29	Omo	7	7
Daniel	11	22	Leke	7	8
Kunle	11	29	John	7	9
Tosin	9	17	Jimoh	10	10
Agboola	12	23	James	11	11
Habib	13	30			
Deji	8	25			
Pamilerin	9	29			
Total	171	417		170	170
Average Score	10.1	23		10	10

Appendix 3

Report of workshop on non-violent conflict resolution organised by Centre for Peace and Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons

The event took place on the 3rd of November 2012 at the conference room of the University of Ibadan Alumni Centre. About 15 participants took part in the training, which lasted between 10am and 3pm Nigerian time. Participants were drawn from a cross section of Nigerians, which

the Peace Institutions built by the PAR team focused at positively influencing and building their capacities for a culture of peace.

In his opening speech, Prince Ose Irene, the President of the organisation stated that, the training is one of a series of training's lined up by the organisation to build the capacity of participants in non-violence. The project, he said was focused at promoting a culture of peace in Nigeria, and equipping participant's with relevant skills for non-violent action for social change, and by utilising the skills to contribute to towards social change in Nigeria.

The capacity building on non-violence was facilitated by Dr. Adeola Adams - Peace and Conflict management specialist. In his presentation, Adeola Adams, among others, mentioned the importance of communicating non-violently. With the aid of projected slides, the said facilitator painstakingly took the participant's through the basic steps of addressing conflict situations non-violently, and built participant's capacities in non-violent communication.

The session on non-violent conflict resolution was also followed by that of a spirited questions and answer session, which remained vivacious throughout the session.

The programme ended on a happy note as participant's expressed their joy and satisfaction as they prayed the organisers to come up with another such conference as soon as possible.

Appendix 4

Certificate of Incorporation/Registration of Centre for a Peace & Rehabilitation for Displaced Persons

CAC/IT/NO 55150



**CORPORATE AFFAIRS COMMISSION
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA**

Certificate of Incorporation

of the Incorporated Trustees of
CENTRE FOR PEACE AND REHABILITATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

I hereby certify that

OSEREMEN IRENE, GEOFF HARRIS, MICHAEL ABKIN, BIANNCA PACE,

*the duly appointed Trustees of CENTRE FOR PEACE AND REHABILITATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS have this day been registered as a corporate body, subject to the below mentioned conditions and directions.
Given under my hand and the Common Seal of the Corporate Affairs Commission at Abuja this Eighth day of August, 2012*

CONDITIONS AND DIRECTIONS

This certificate is liable to cancellation should the objects or the rules of the body be changed without the previous consent in writing of the Registrar General or should the body at any time permit or condone any divergence from or breach of such objects and rules.

Note:

This certificate does not bestow upon the Organization the right to establish any institution, engage in any business and the like without permission from the appropriate authority.



BELLO MAHMUD

Registrar - General

547677

Appendix 5 Mennonite Central Committee

An introduction to peace clubs



Peace Clubs

Introduction

A Teacher's Handbook

RSA Version 1.0

July 2012



This material is based in large part on the “Peace Club Curriculum” developed by Mennonite Central Committee, Zambia. This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported License.

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Introduction to Peace Clubs: Theory and Practice

General Training Objectives

- The general aim of the course is to give participants an introduction to Peace Clubs, themes and methodology of Peace Education for young and older people, while staying result-oriented and efficient.
- This course will provide a broader view of issues affecting people of all ages with an African perspective relevant to peace building, with the contextual aim of providing the right attitude and techniques necessary for efficient conflict transformation.

Specific Objectives

- To introduce Peace Club as a course that empowers participants on how to use Peace Education in order to achieve sustainable, durable and positive peace.
- To unearth the potentials for improvement of relationships inherent in conflicts that affect all sectors of society.
- To acquire knowledge and skills that will make participants well equipped as peace scholars and practitioners, and able to set up Peace Clubs in their respective situations.

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

- Describe Peace Club and know why and how to set up a peace club;
- Identify the types of conflicts and understand the causes of conflict;
- Understand the reflection on peace practice, and develop and design a plan which will help to set up Peace Clubs relevant to their respective settings;

- Explain some conflict handling styles and pitfalls in dealing with young people, as well as all other members of society;
- Understand the use of Peace Club curriculum and methodology in addressing
- Issues affecting young people and adults;
- Discuss how a Peace Club approach can vary depending on the context; and
- Draw up a plan to set up Peace Clubs in order to respond to contextual needs.

A Brief History of 'Peace Clubs' – the Organisation

Peace Clubs is a Zambian non governmental organization devoted to empowering teachers, pupils and parents with skills and knowledge in the area of peace and conflict resolution. This training and discussion is conducted within the school context. Peace Clubs began in Zambia on the 15th of January in 2006 by a peacebuilding and conflict transformation graduate from Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation, Kitwe, Zambia. This graduate took the initiative of starting this organization because he saw the possibility offered by teachers, parents and pupils to play a role in the promotion of peace in their respective schools and communities. This was precipitated by the growing number of conflicts in schools, and the hope that this training would enable these groups to address not only the conflicts already present, but also to prevent future conflicts. A learning exchange was organized in March 2012 with delegates from Zambia coming to South Africa. As a result of some presentations in Pietermaritzburg and Durban, Peace Clubs are now being implemented in South Africa.

The Logo for “Peace Clubs” in Zambia is the Baobab tree as it is indigenous to Zambia. The South African curriculum displays the Acacia tree, for the same reasons.

- Firstly the tree represents our understanding that conflict transformation and resolution must start at the root of the conflict.
- Secondly, it represents our belief that sustainable peace is built through community involvement, as African communities would traditionally gather beneath a tree to discuss conflicts and solution.
- Thirdly, the Acacia tree is indigenous to South Africa, and represents our commitment to indigenous wisdom in conflict transformation and resolution. Traditionally, elders of a village would come to share their wisdom in conflict resolution beneath the shade of a tree.

1. Essentials of a Peace Club

1.1 What is Peace Club?

A Peace Club is a group of people (e.g. students, pupils, and two teachers as instructors or facilitators) operating within the same institution as a co-curriculum program. Peace Club is like any other club existing in a given setting such as Scripture Union, Red Cross, anti-drug or Aids clubs. It is committed to empower members in order to promote a peaceful environment.

1.2 Why a Peace Club?

- As peace activists, we believe that the development of the whole world in general, and Africa in particular, will arise primarily at the skilled hands of its indigenous people themselves, especially the next generation. Education is imperative to enable the next generation to build a healthy and prosperous Africa.

- In order to be able to study successfully, children need a school without violence; children need to

know their rights and their responsibilities. Children need to know how governments, parents, and the community protect them, and also how to protect themselves from violence and aggression. This naturally applies to all members of society – needy of peace.

- In this modern-day world, young people are sometimes used as instruments of violence and injustice, while at the same time falling victim of the same violence and injustice. Not exclusive to them but we have to especially guard against this in relevant ways.

- Therefore, Peace Clubs has a mandate to help young people realize that they have the ability to use their own means for positive change. That is why it is important that young people are exposed at an early age to the importance of peace education, conflict resolution and non violence. Because children who are exposed to any forms of violence are more likely to grow up

mentally and emotionally handicapped, resulting in a failure to meaningfully contribute to society - peace education is needed.

- Peace Clubs provides a platform where young people can learn skills, exchange experiences, teach others and apply the knowledge of peace in their everyday life.

1.3 Peace Club objectives

- To develop, research, and implement proactive peace education
- To empower pupils, parents, and teachers with skills and knowledge of peace and conflict

resolution so that they can resolve their own conflicts amicably.

- To carry out dispute resolution, and conflict-prevention and -management in schools.
- To raise social, culture and legal consciousness among young people and others with a view of providing mechanisms for building the culture of peace in schools
- To set up a forum where pupils, teachers, and parents can express their view points around issues relating to peace or conflict
- To promote the rights of the child and also their responsibilities

2. How to Set Up a Peace Club

2.1 Procedures

Although still not established in South Africa, in Zambia the Peace Clubs initiative has a coordinating team, which:

- Carries out research and finds out the most vulnerable school(s) and/or person(s) affected by conflict and violence.
- Coordinates the activities of all the Peace Clubs
- Sells the initiative to the school managers and requests their full support.
- Asks the school management to select two teachers, one female and male teacher, willing to run a Peace Club on humanitarian grounds like any other clubs operating within the school.
- Selects teachers to advertise Peace Club and recruit members among the students who shall be meeting once or twice per week.
- makes follow-up visits to schools to see what is happening on the ground (schools and elsewhere) as part of their fieldwork. This kind of visit encourages teachers and students and helps the coordinating team to evaluate the impact of the project on the ground.
- may make special arrangement to meet peace club members on their unusual meeting day. The frequency of this monitoring depends largely on the number of schools in a particular

area participating in the peace club program. In general, each peace club should be visited once a month as a minimum.

As Peace Clubs develop in South Africa, it is hoped that individual(s) will identify themselves as being willing to be part of a coordinating Committee.

2.2 Peace Club Conflict Analysis And Processes Of Intervention

Analyze the conflict – ‘What's really going on’

- It is helpful to work with the school management team, teachers, parents or guardians, students (pupils) and group of community members to discuss the history of the conflict affecting young people; its causes, the people involved, and so on. This team would then work together with people from all sides of the conflict. This is ideal, but even if working alone, one can still work to gain a better understanding of the often confusing conflict.
- When you are involved in the conflict, it often feels very different from any other conflicts.

And, in many ways, each conflict affecting young people is unique. However, many similarities also exist among these conflicts around the world, and tools have been developed that can help you understand the conflict you are working with. One such tool is what is referred to as the ‘Triple-P triangle’ tool.

2.2.1 Tool: Triple---P triangle: Problem, People, Process

Problem: How To Perform A Context Assessment Of The Conflict

The Substance of the Conflict

- What are the issues?
- Ensure an understanding of the situation.
- Treat conflict as a system.
- Are there conflicting values and needs.
- Is the conflict deeply rooted in the dysfunctional social or civic structures?

The History of the conflict

- What is the history of the Conflict?
- Have there been identifiable steps or stages to the conflict; has it recurred over time?
- What assumptions and/or common knowledge do people have about one another?
- Has communication broken down?
- Is there a lack of trust?

The Factors, their Causes and the Effects of the conflict

- Factors for and against peace (de-escalating or escalating)
- List factors contributing to peace / conflict resolution, and factors impeding peace
- Driving forces: Among impeding factors, identify priority factors or driving factors of the conflict
- Causes and effects: For each driving factor, identify the various causes and effects.
- Develop dynamic loops showing how the causes, effects and major factors interact in a logical manner.
- Central/ principal factor: If possible, identify one factor that appears to be the main force of the conflict to which the others contribute.
- Dynamics among factors: Arrange the analysis of major factors, showing how they all connect to the central factors.

People: All Parties, Including Third Parties In Conflict And Their Interests

People in conflict:

- Who are the people or parties in conflict?
- Are there other “stake holders”: interested or involved parties
- What is the power base of each party?
- What are the interests of each party? Have they taken any positions?
- Are there negotiations representatives with constituencies?

People and their relationships:

- What relationships exist between parties?
- Are the parties dependent on each other? Do they acknowledge each other?
- How do the parties communicate?

Processes: Third Party and Conflict Handling Processes

- The programme strategies must be linked to an analysis strategy.
- Do the parties want to negotiate, need mediators, arbitrators, and legal processes?
- What is likely to happen if one of these options fails?
- Considering the major areas of the conflict system, what are the most important areas to address? Why? If this particular factor is changed, what would happen in the overall system?
- Are there conflict-handling resources and/or structures available to the parties?
- Distribution of tasks: Who is working where?

- Discuss the distribution of efforts. It is important to appropriately delegate all the work sensibly and not overload any one person.

- Inadvertent Negative Impacts: What negative impacts might come from the programme and the way it is designed: asking the questions of 'Who, What, Where, Why, When, How...?' If there are potential negative impacts, what options for redesign exist?

2.3 Programme Monitoring and Evaluation Plan

- Establish baseline conditions regarding a set of identified indicators, ideally before beginning your peace club. (see templates on resource CD)
- Continue to monitor changes in indicators and adjust programme accordingly
- Conduct periodic evaluation at key programme points. Consider programming questions as above (timing, scale, sustainability...).
- Conduct evaluation at the programme level as well as at the social/political impact level, using the indicators and other relevant evaluation methods.

3. Peace Club Activities

3.1 Training Of Trainers:

- Ideally, teachers are trained before taking on the responsibility of a running peace clubs in school. The training provides the necessary skills and knowledge of conflict resolution and non- violence already set in the curriculum at different levels so that they can also teach pupils or students in order to promote the culture of peace in schools and in the community.
- The training is conducted by a variety of learning processes, which include role playing, demonstrations, small group discussion, drama, and video viewing discussions between teachers over the lesson or topics. This provides them with a more in-depth understand and grasp of the topics under discussion, which, in turn, will make them more effective teachers of these lessons. During this training period, an emphasis is made on the teaching methods, many of which are outlined in the section on methodology and the curriculum.

3.2 Peace Club members sessions

- Teachers are to train pupils or students during these sessions.
- Peace Club meetings should only be between one hour and one-and-a-half hour in length.

Holding meetings that last longer than this may make it difficult for students to focus for the entire period. However, having meetings that are much shorter than this may not give sufficient time to carry out full discussions or activities. This timeframe though is only a guideline. The most important thing is that students understand the topic and know how to apply the skills that they are learning about.

- It is advisable to have the number of participating or students to be in the range of 25 to 50 members.

- Pupils in turn, are expected to use the knowledge acquired from teachers in three ways:
 - o They have to share this knowledge with other non peace club members
 - o They have to share this knowledge with their parents and friends in the community
 - o Finally they have to apply this knowledge in their daily life
- Pupils or students are expected to include it in their weekly report, indicating the number of their schoolmates and friends at home whom they have shared this knowledge with, the response from their parents, and stories on how they applied the knowledge in their everyday lives.
- Teachers may collect these reports and compile them to make a progress report after three months.
- Pupils may be given a badge or pin to wear indicating they are part of the Peace Club. This allows other students to recognize their training and seek guidance from them in conflict issues.
- As the pupils grow in leadership skills, the conduct of the class may evolve to students leading some /all of the class.

3.3 Parents training:

- Peace club leaders in conjunction with the school management select influential and active parents in the community for the training.
- In Zambia, two teachers from each school train 25 parents so that trained parents can train others in the community. For example, since the Zambian school year calendar has three terms, each school sets as a goal to train 75 parents per year who should then train others.
- Parents are asked to submit a report covering the impact of the training taking place in their communities.

3.4 Monitoring Peace Clubs: Sessions and Behavioral changes

- The monitoring of Peace Clubs after they have been set up is extremely important. This follow-up allows the peace club leaders to receive feedback that will help them become more effective teachers of the peace club curriculum, and also allows for cohesion amongst the various schools involved in peace clubs.
- Some peace clubs may meet once in a week while others meet more often after classes for their activities, such as learning and discussion of different topics, exchanging their experiences and challenges, and finding alternatives together.

3.4 Peace club Festival/Conference

- In Zambia the coordinating team has a tradition of gathering all peace club members once in year, depending on the funding and the school calendar. The event starts from 9am and ends at 4pm.
- Activities may include presentations of peace messages through poems, traditional dances, debates, sketches, songs, drama, testimonies and stories related to the impact of peace clubs in schools and in the community.
- School managers, community leaders, government representatives and sister institutions are invited to attend and witness peace club activities.

3.5 Progress reporting: Annual General Meeting and other intermittent gatherings

- In Zambia, the coordinating team organizes two ordinary meetings; one after six months to review the progress of the peace clubs, and one at the end of the year to evaluate the impact and the challenges of the project and draw a future plan.
- The number of extraordinary meetings may depend on the need arising during the implementation of the project.

- As with monitoring, general meetings of all peace club leaders from the various participating schools allows for cohesion between their various clubs. This gathering enables sharing of ideas amongst peace club leaders and helps these leaders build networks of support amongst themselves.

4. Zambian Peace Club Curriculum Overview: Layout Of Lessons And

Methodology

4.1 Curriculum overview

In the Peace Club curriculum, you will find four sections pertaining to various aspects of conflict, violence and conflict resolution. Generally, these sections should be taken in order, but you may feel that certain sections are less relevant to an age group or prevailing situation(s).

Section One on Conflict acts as the foundation for other sections in the curriculum. Often times, you will find that these later sections in the curriculum reference Section One. For this reason, Section One on Conflict should be the start-off point for your Peace Club. If you have many new members, you may Consider returning to Section One with the club.

The sections of peace club curriculum are as follows:

- Section one: Conflict (It covers 14 lessons)
- Section two: Violence (It covers 9 lessons)
- Section three: Gender-based conflict (It covers 13 lessons)
- Section four: Journey to Reconciliation (It covers 12 lessons)

4.2 Layout of the lessons (class sessions):

Teachers' Introductions

- “Teachers' Introductions” sections within the manuals are intended to be read by teachers before they teach the corresponding lessons.

- These introductions can act as a "refresher" for teachers, or allow some further insight into the intentions of the lesson, to gain deeper understanding of the contents of the lesson and offer some history or legal aspects of the topics themselves. You may choose to share these

introductions with students, particularly students in high schools and secondary schools, to help them gain a deeper understanding of the subject matter.

Discussion Questions:

- Discussion is a key component of peace clubs meetings. They offer the chance for students to discuss conflicts or situations that are relevant to their own experiences. Discussion also gives the students the chance to gain a deeper understanding of the lesson or topic, and to apply the nonviolent conflict transformation skills that they have learned.
- Remember to allow students to answer the discussion questions first before providing some of your own suggestions. You will notice that sometimes there are answers following the questions *in italics*.
- However, these are just *suggestions* for clarification of the question's intentions and may just serve as a jump-start for discussion itself. These responses are not necessarily the right answers for your school or community, and they are not the only answers. The best way for students to learn about something is to explore the ideas for themselves and to discuss it amongst themselves. It is your job to help guide the discussion when necessary and to ensure that everyone is being respectful and that everyone has a chance to contribute toward the discussion.
- If the discussion goes off the topics or lesson related to peace clubs, gently bring the students back on track with the topic on hand. However, if the discussion encompasses important and relevant issues, or leads into a specific example of a conflict that the students are experiencing, allow the students to explore this issue. You should remember to keep in mind that the conflict may be very serious and personal for one or more of the students in the

club. Sometimes, a student may raise a hypothetical situation that is actually a reality for him or herself. Allow this conflict to remain hypothetical, but be sensitive to the student's feelings and give him or her opportunity to follow-up with you afterwards if necessary.

Activities/Exercises ('within' a session)

- Activities provided in the lessons are important for students to better understand the topics. They are particularly important for students in primary or elementary school. Activities also allow students to try out the concepts and engage with them in a different way.
- Activities may require the class to be broken into smaller groups. Although you may feel that this takes up too much time, it is important to realize the benefits of breaking into these smaller groups. Smaller groups are good because they:
 - Allow students to feel comfortable voicing their views, especially younger students.
 - Allow students to learn from each other and explain the lesson to each other better
 - Allow for more in-depth and more personal discussions of the topics
- During these smaller group discussions, move from group to group to listen in on the discussion and encourage students who are getting stuck on one of the questions. An essential part of small group discussions is bringing the class back together afterward and having each group share about what their group discussed. Consider asking each group to assign a group secretary to write down some notes during their discussion. If you have their own ideas for activities, feel free to use them with the class.

Brainstorming:

- If many of the lessons, there may be a request to conduct a “brainstorming” session. A “brainstorming” session is a group discussion meant to produce ideas and ways of solving problems. It allows all to offer any ideas that are related to the topic of the brainstorm.

- Brainstorms are very useful tools because they help us think outside of the usual answers. When the brainstorming session is complete, it is easier to see all of the possibilities available and then evaluation of all these ideas takes place.

- Brainstorms at the beginning of lessons also helps the teacher gauge what knowledge the class has on a particular topic, and can therefore help to tailor the lesson accordingly.

Stories and Role Plays:

- Stories are great ways for students to learn. They take students into a narrative that illustrates the lesson in a more tangible and personal way. These can also actually include real-life stories of peace builders from around the world, showing students how people are actually applying concepts of nonviolence in their lives and thereby providing models for students.

- If there is a story of someone from a community or country that exemplifies the topic of a lesson, or of someone who lives their life as a nonviolent peace builder, these must be encouraged to be shared with the class. Role models are very important for students as they allow students to see how these principles are actually being applied in life by real people, and offer the students much encouragement. They also allow students to see themselves as part of a bigger movement for peace and justice in the world.

- Like stories, role plays take students into the curriculum, offering narratives that illustrate the principles of the lesson. Role plays are also helpful and unique in that they provide students with a more interactive way to engage with a narrative or a particular conflict. By acting as someone in a story, students may be better able to place themselves in the position of that character, providing them with fuller insight into how that particular character may feel leading up to and during the conflict and conflict resolution time.

- Discussions that follow stories and role plays are very important. They help students draw meanings from the narratives and gain deeper insight into the different aspects of the perspectives of the characters involved.

4.3 Peace Club Methodology

- Peace club uses the methodologies of dialogue and conversations. The Facilitator (Trainer) creates open space, for example for story telling, that offers students (group members) an opportunity for reflection.
- It is important to realize that the goal of Peace Clubs is not to ask students to merely memorize principles or the exact names of the different problem solving techniques. Instead, Peace Clubs is about helping students to develop a new way of thinking about peace, conflict and violence, and helping them to develop skills that allow them to peacefully address and prevent conflict in their school, homes and communities.
- Because of the constantly changing and contextually embedded nature of violence and conflict, to be peace builders, students need to learn how to be critical and creative thinkers so that they are equipped to appropriately face unexpected situations. In other words, they need to learn the skills of peace building and conflict transformation in order to address the wide range of conflicts and violence that they will encounter during their lifetime.
- Peace club curriculum seeks to address students across a large age-span. For this reason, teachers play an integral part in tailoring the lessons to match the age group of their club. If it is felt that the ideas are too complex for the students, consider breaking the lessons into smaller components to be addressed one at a time. Using many examples to illustrate a new concept is also very helpful. A good way to ensure that the students also understand each concept and are engaging with it is to ask them to supply examples of the topic from their own lives.
- If your class spans a wide range of ages, consider using small groups to facilitate discussion. By breaking up the class into smaller discussion groups of 4 to 6, students can then be grouped with others in their own age group. This will make them feel more comfortable in

sharing their ideas with each other, and will ensure that the conversation is at a level that is appropriate for them.

5. Peace Club Stories

First Story: Kiete Kuza

By Linda Espenshade

Carrying knives and poles, parents advanced on Mancilla Open Community School in Lusaka, Zambia's capital city, prepared to take vengeance on the school leader and to damage the school if they didn't get any answers. They were angry because none of the school's 9th grade students had gotten their results from the national exams they were required to pass to go on to 10th grade. The parents felt that they had done their part. Despite living in one of the poorest and most dangerous areas of Lusaka, they had managed to pay the fees for their children's exams, on top of the monthly school fees. By this time, several months later, they concluded the fees had been misused. As the school supervisor continued to stall in providing answers, parents decided to take up arms. When they got to the school though, they were met by Moffat Mutebele, a leader of the school's MCC-supported peace club, and he asked them to leave their weapons outside. "Your metals, poles and knives you have come with, will not give us a solution to the problem," parent Kitete Kuza remembers Mutebele telling them. "Select a few people who can come in and talk. What is important is dialogue, communication."

Parent Kitete Kuza, learned about peace clubs from his son Amani Kuza. These words calmed the parents down and immediately resonated with Kuza, whose 9th grade son, Amani Kuza, previously had questioned the long-term consequences and effectiveness of using violence to resolve a situation.

What Kuza didn't realize was that when he did not act on his son's concerns, Amani told peace club leader Mutebele the details of the parents' plans, hoping that Mutebele could formulate a peaceful plan to thwart the violence. As members of peace club, Amani and other students had learned that violence is never a good resolution to conflict. This concept is central to the curriculum used in MCC-sponsored peace clubs in current group of 16 Zambian schools.

Through the clubs, students learn to resolve conflicts without violence. As they use their skills, they and the teachers who train them influence families, schools and entire communities for peace.

"If you just go and see a peace club meeting", says Kitete Kuza, the Mancilla parent involved in planning violence at the school, "you can't believe the bigger things that are coming out of it."

During a peace club meeting at Mancilla Open Community School, Chanda Thrasa left, and Miti Phillip act out a greeting in an activity to help students bridge their differences.

The involvement of his son and other students in peace club and the work of their peace club teacher brought a potentially deadly, destructive situation to a peaceful solution. Parent Kuza says, I learned "that dialogue is the strongest tool to resolve violence."

They saw it happen. Through the dialogue that Mutebele facilitated that night at the school, parents and administrators came to an agreement. Students would be allowed to repeat 9th grade free of charge, and would retake the exam at no cost.

Kuza was so impressed by the peaceful process that he asked Amani to teach him more about what he was learning in the peace club. "I learned how young people can be empowered to bring peace and prevent violence which can affect adults," he says.

Before the conflict began, Amani remembers he did not think peace club was that important — 'just another club'. Now he understands its far-reaching value. "If we can all be able to join," he says, "it can change the whole family, the whole society and even the whole world". Linda

Espenshade is MCC's news coordinator. Silas Crews is MCC's photographer and multimedia producer.

Second Story: Maria Buchinke

When Maria Buchinke, 17, learned about demands on children to do chores they are not physically capable of doing, or do work that infringes on their education, she recognized her own situation.

Because her parents required her to clean, cook, bathe her younger brothers and take them to school before she herself could go to school, she was always late. At school, administrators would beat her or punish her with more chores. As a result, Maria's grades were slipping and she sometimes didn't go to school.

Her peace club leader advised her to explain the problem respectfully to her parents, even though it is not culturally acceptable for an unmarried child to question her parents.

Maria Buchinke, her mother Esperance Musau, and her father Leonard Tshishiku Muntenemuine talk about how peace club helped their family.

"When she brought the news, we felt very bad because we thought this girl wants to bring revolution in this home," says Esperance Musau, Buchinke's mother. However, Buchinke's parents realized that after thinking about it that their expectations of her were negatively affecting her performance in school, for which they were paying.

The parents agreed to get up at 5 a.m., instead of 6 a.m., so they all could do more of the work in the morning before they went to work. Buchinke's job, they told her, was to get to school on time and complete her homework and evening chores.

Her grades improved, and her final exam qualified her to attend the university. Her brother's behavior improved when he began attending peace club because he saw the positive effect on his sister, and Musau began to talk to other mothers about the problems of work demands on children.

"If someone is telling us something important, we parents need to listen," says Buchinke's father, Leonard Tshishiku Muntenemuine. "I know in the traditional pattern it was not like this. It's always top down, top down, but this time, we are getting something new now from the bottom up."

"Not everyone has as much courage to speak up as Buchinke did", says Ebombolo. That is why the coordinating committee of Peace Club will arrange meetings for all parents to address a problem that students identify during peace club. Parent meetings about children's work and sexual mistreatment of orphan children have led to marked changes in families and the community.

Third Story: Mwale

Mwale is a double orphan who lived with her aunt. Every morning, her aunt made Mwale prepare breakfast, clean the house and wash her cousins' breakfast dishes before she could go to school. The aunt never asked her children to help Mwale so that she can get to school on time. Usually, this meant that she arrived late at school and was punished by her teacher.

Mwale tried to explain to her teacher that she was doing her best to arrive on time, but that she had so many chores to do in the morning and was not able to leave the home and to make it to school on time. Mwale's teacher did not care, however. He told Mwale that these were just excuses and that she was an irresponsible student. Mwale was forced to stand in the

corner of the class for forty five minutes while the other students were taught the morning's lesson. She could hear them laughing at her behind her back as she stood in the corner. Her legs got so tired and

she felt so embarrassed. The teacher gave her sharp scoldings for failing to stand in the corner for the forty five minutes

The next day, Mwale was again detained at home while she cleaned up after her aunt and cousin. When she was finally finished and looked at the clock, it was nine hours (9 o'clock, for some). She was going to be late again! She thought about how she would feel missing out on the lesson while she stood in the corner, staring at the wall and was laughed at by the other kids in the class. Even just thinking about it made her feel sick to her stomach. Why should she even go to school if she would not get to learn anything anyway? It did not make any sense to go to school. She decided to just stay home.

This became the daily pattern and eventually Mwale dropped out of school and started living on the street and abusing herself with drugs and others in the community. A year later she was approached by Sikanyika, her former classmate who joined peace club after Mwale had dropped out of school. She shared with her the following words: "When we are hurt by someone, it is important to deal first with our anger so that we can find a solution to the problem that does not create more violence".

"Instead of spreading anger, I will share with you some problem-solving methods that we learned in peace club so that you can stop the seed of violence from growing and stop violence from becoming a cycle of violence. We need to recognize that we have our power to make decisions that bring justice instead of spreading more injustice and violence" Sikanyika added. These words were very helpful for Mwale and she decided to go back to school and living with the grandmother. She is doing grade 11 this year and God willing she will complete her secondary school next year (2011).

Fourth Story: Kamulanga High School

Kamulanga High school peace club members have covered half way of Section One of the curriculum. A 16-year old school girl by the name of Miriam Sinyangwe, doing grade 11 at a government institution, Kamulanga High School, managed to resolve one complicated conflict at home in a professional manner by using the “win-win” method - a problem-solving approach learnt in peace club sessions at school.

The conflict involved her brother who is a school-leaver and who had impregnated a schoolgirl from her school. This conflict could have caused the two families to have some physical confrontation and end up taking the matter to court.

Mr. Musosa, the father of the girl who is a teacher at El-oia private school in Kabanana compound was impressed by the conflict resolution skills that his daughter had developed and reported this good news to the school authority and expressed interest to open a peace club at the school where he teaches and involve other 5 neighboring schools. The school authority consulted other school managers to do a study together on how to approach the Ministry of Education and advocate for peace club curriculum to be integrated in the regular school program.

Fifth Story: Banda

In November 2010, a fifteen-year old girl peace club member by the name of Banda, from Millennium basic school was asked by a male Mathematics teacher to come later and collect her exercise book from the teacher’s home. The teacher had to make sure that there is no one at his home at that particular time. When the school girl arrived, the teacher welcomed the girl inside and directly requested sex from the school girl.

The girl child used a non-violent skill learnt in Section Two of the curriculum (Violence: page 41) where the paragraph states: “If you are about to be abused by a person who thinks he/she is

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more powerful than you, find a wise way of getting away from him or her, find evidence, and then tell an adult person you trust, until something is done”.

The girl child assured the teacher that she is ready to have sex with him, on condition that the teacher gives her the exercise book and then allows her to go home so that she can cook a different story to the parents and come back to have sex with the teacher.

She said “Because I told my parents I had gone to collect my exercise book from the teacher’s home, and now that that the sexual act might take long, I might be questioned”. The teacher accepted the suggestion. When this girl was released, she went straight to report to her parents with the exercise book as evidence, and the following day the parents reported the matter to the school authority and requested to be informed about the action that will be taken with the teacher so that he can be accountable over his action.

When the school disciplinary committee met over the issue, they decided to expel the teacher from the education system. Now his family is also suffering because he was the family breadwinner. Because this was later announced to the whole school, it was a lesson to both teachers and pupils.

6. Sample of an assignment, as part of a way forward

1. Give the name of one of the most vulnerable school, or educational institution you know in your area where conflicts and violence affecting students or learners are rampant.
2. Write down an account of the situation happening - What is really going on in this school?
3. What are the substances, factors, causes and effects of these conflicts?
4. Analyze the people in conflict and their interests?
5. Draw up a realistic and achievable plan that you will implement then in your area to address the situation in that particular school:
 - State the goal of this plan and identify the objectives that you will seek to achieve by these
 - Describe the things you will do in order to meet each objective.
 - What are the outcomes you would like to see after the implementation of these above activities?
 - State five things that will indicate you having reached your goal and of your planned objectives?
 - How will you measure each indicator of success?
6. Draw a time table to outline this above-mentioned plan.

Note

☒ The material covered in this document is best used and adapted to its own context, so the
Zambian references at times are for: giving the due credit for the authorship of this work; and
also for a reference point to particular cases themselves.

☒ Due to the need in schools and the vision of the originators of this work, certain terms like
'school, learner, teacher, etc', are obviously interchangeable as per your own use and context.