A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

The Study assessed conflicts and its management strategies in Nigeria, using the descriptive research techniques. In the application of this approach, all the conflict theories were reduce to two strands; the Structural and the Realist theories. The approach revealed that the management of conflicts in Nigeria had followed a particular pattern which often involve the drafting of the mobile police and the military to the scene of the conflict to maintain peace, after which a judicial commission is set up (often the contending parties reject the composition of the panel), the Government often take side as delineated from their actions, as revealed in the case studies evaluated in this study.

The Study exposed the facts that very often, before the report of the judicial panel is submitted, the conflict often re-occurs, it takes ages by the Government to release the 'white-paper' that is, its final decisions on the conflict to address the issues in contention. By this management rule, considerable scars are left behind which ignites further conflict in a vicious circle. The study then prescribes a management model, of conflict transformation, which reduces it to the barest minimum and takes advantage of the situation for social development. It recommends among other things, the establishment the. Ministry for Boundary and Conflict Management, and Good Governance where the Government would be an impartial party in all conflict situation. This style of managing conflict is often meant to placate the traumatized citizenry and revert to the normal mode once the feeling of anguish have been doused by the passage of time.

Introduction

Conflict is part of human existence but when it is not properly managed, it degenerates into several security problems. This has almost become the major indices for the description of the African continent. A cursory glance at the continent indicates that it is composed of five political divisions; North Africa which witnessed the first wave of nationalism and independence during the 1950s (Schraeder, 2004:4), West Africa, Central Africa, East and Southern Africa. None of these regions is immuned to conflict with security dimensions. African conflict profiles have ranged from 'state-based' conflicts, that is, those conflicts in

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which a government is one of the warring parties, to the killing of defenseless civilians by rebel groups, coup d'etat with sub-Saharan Africa retaining the dubious distinction of being the world's most coup prone region. This is true of Congo, Somalia, Sudan, Niger, Cote d'Ivoire, Zimbabwe and others. Jeffrey Gentleman of the New York Times writing on 'Africa's Forever Wars' averred that:

> *From the rebel-laden creeks of the Niger Delta to the inferno in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, are rebels uninterested in winning converts, content instead to steal other people's children, sticks Kalashinkovs or axes in their hands, and make them do the killings(2010).*

Most African fighters are not rebels with a cause; they are predators. That is why there are seeming atrocities like Eastern Congo's rape epidemic. He concluded that this is the story across much of Africa, where nearly half of the continent's 54 countries are home to active or recently ended wars.

Though Africa has taken advantage of modern civilization, the expediency of the technology of war has had a regrettable impact in Africa. It is safe to categorize Africa's conflicts into;
i)   Wars between African nations
ii)   Civil wars within African states
iii)   Secessionist/Separatist conflicts
Iv)   Conflicts within African states

One thing that is common to all these conflicts is that they are always man induced. Yet they have often proved incapable of being resolved. It is instructive to note that conflict goes with man everywhere, perhaps man is conflict himself. Man is essentially a selfish being and this predisposes him to always want to appropriate all to himself. This brings him into conflict with yet other selfish men thereby creating conflict. It is this conflict disposition, which translates into security challenges.

The objective of this paper is to illustrate that, it is the poor management of conflict, which transforms into security problems in Africa. In doing this, it would examine conflict and post-conflict systems in Nigeria. It is to further demonstrate the inefficacy of the management system and propose a paradigm shift. This paper averred that, it is conflicts, which translates into security challenges in Nigeria and Africa. Furthermore, that when conflicts at the State's level are not resolved against the backdrop of 'good governance' it escalates into security challenges for the continent. In order to evaluate these assertions the paper adopted a case study of the Nigerian situation for analysis. To guide the direction of the analysis, the paper raised the following questions;
i)   Could it be the low cost of the instrument of violence, which make it readily available and which is responsible for the proliferation of conflicts in Africa?
ii)   In the past era of the cold war, why was it customary to trace all conflict in Africa to the CIA, Russian-KGB, South African Apartheid regime etc?
iii)   Could it be the absence of 'Good Governance' by the various African governments, which has generated the revolutionary pressure for conflict in Africa?

Problem Statement
Lewis Coser (1956) has defined conflict as 'a struggle over claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize or eliminate their rivals. Conflict is warranted for a number of reasons, most of which is obviously land, the major means of production in all cultures, modern or primitive. It has devastating and negative effects on development. War according to Jim Wallis (1994) is the decision to go for victory rather than resolution. Peace making is an attempt to resolve the sources of the conflict and restore a situation of balance thereby eliminating the need for victory and defeat. Conflict resolution approaches in Nigeria, often create a vicious cycle for the same conflict to re-occur. It has dialectically generated further conflict rather than resolve it. Almost every conflict facing the Nigeria State has occurred before without being permanently resolved by the government and the actors.

Some of these conflicts are the 'Jos crisis' Plateau State, the 'Ife-Modakeke Osun State,' the Ijaw-Itsekiri-Urhobo'-Delta State, the Sayawa-Jarawa versus the Hausa-Fulani- in TafawaBalewa Local Government Area of Bauchi State- and the Matasine now 'Boko Haram' crisis in Borno State respectively. The conflict management paradigm of the NigeriaState, is considered faulty, hence the re-occurrence of these conflicts. It is this problem, which is the raison d'etre of this paper, for which a shift in paradigm to conflict transformation is herein being canvassed. It is the position of this paper that the intractable nature of these conflicts, is not because they are insoluble, rather, the approaches have been faulty, hence the conflicts have been repetitive. The focus of the paper is wholly on the conflict management style.

The structure of every conflict particularly in Nigeria indicates that it is habitually the elites who generate conflict. It is frequently executed by the youths, while women and children constitute the victims and the internally displaced persons (IDPs). It is important that the youthful population should be preserved from further annihilations from resolvable conflicts. This constitutes the significance of the paper and the imperative for a shift to conflict transformation to a lasting peace.

The Approach of the Study
The approach adopted in the study, was the Descriptive case study, by which certain case histories of conflicts in Nigeria were examined in detail. The thrust of the approach was to identify and describe the nature of the data by examining the prevailing approaches to conflict management in Nigeria. It did not explicate causal relationship of the conflict. Statistically, frequencies and averages of occurrences of the State's interventions in the conflict were observed. It is customary for this approach of the study to survey the cases of conflicts and adopt some into the study population. The criteria for inclusion of conflict in the study sample were those in which the government actually intervened.
Consequently, the approach revealed that in all the case histories of conflicts in which the States intervened, the system of approach were the same. The implications were that these conflicts often re-occurred sometimes before the report of the initial conflict panel set-up would have been submitted to the authority, which commissioned it in the first place. This pointed to the fact that, the prevailing systems of conflict management in the cases examined were faulty.

Framework of Analysis: Conflict Transformation

About the 1990s, scholars generated principles shared by these authors termed 'Conflict Transformation' by which is meant a system of addressing disagreements by transforming the mindsets, perceptions and positions of the disputants into congenial post-conflict situations which generate positive outcomes, marked by sustained peaceful interactions between the hitherto rival contenders. According to this principle, conflict transformation would include;

i) Long time horizon and interventions at multiple levels aimed at changing perceptions and improving communications skills and addressing the root of conflict including inequality and social injustice.

ii) Conflict should not be understood solely as an inherently n e g a t i v e   a n d destructive occurrence but rather as a potentially   positive and productive force for change if harnessed constructively.

The Framework revealed;

(i) The transformation of the causes of conflict;

(ii) Long term and gradual process requiring sustained engagement and interactions. When the right mix is obtained of the above processes, conflicts would disappear for new synthesis of interactive co-operations. The difficulty however is where it is of religious nature.

Propositions of the Study

In this paper, we take the following propositions;

i) That the prevailing system of conflict management in Nigeria is 'Re-Active' which seeks to merely manage and contain conflict without moving the parties away from the zero-sum position because of vested interest by people in government.

ii) Conflict management style in Nigeria, quell conflict rather than transforming it;

iii) That the traditional once for all approach to conflict management   leaves several sore issues unattended to, which germinates further conflicts;

iv) That conflict is an issue hence it should be treated by transforming it, by changing the perceptions of the conflict actors, enhances frequent communications among the actors and address the root causes which often include the contest for land, inequality and social injustices;

v) Conflict transformation is long-term and multi-level intervention strategy and not a one-stop intervention.

vi) To transform conflict with religious bias, the gatekeepers must be part of those to be transformed.

These propositions would be examined seriatim with the intention of validating or repudiating each of the tentative assertions.

Theories of Conflict

Theories offer the paradigm for understanding the various conflicts. These are;

(i) Structural Conflict Theory of conflict consist of the Radical perspective of the Marxian orientation (Marx, Engels and   Lenin). The Liberal structuralism (Ross, 1993, Galtung, 1990,   Coser, 1956). The main thrust of this school of conflict is that, conflict is built into the ways in which the societies are structured and organized. Conflicts occur because of the exploitative and unjust nature of human

societies, domination of one class by another.

(ii) The Realist theory of conflict traces the root cause of conflict to selfishness of human nature. This predisposes him to conflict with another. The Frustration-Aggression theory explicates conflict out of the inability of man to fulfill needs. The differences between what people want and what they actually get generates the impetus to conflict. The others are; Physiological, Economic and Systemic theories respectively (Best, 2006).

This study however averred that all of these could be grouped into two strands of theories, the Structural and Realist conflict theories for it analysis. It then examined the case histories against the backdrop of these two theories.

The Case-Study of Conflicts (1)

Sayawa and Jarawa versus the Hausa/Fulani in Tafawa Balewa Local Government Area of Bauchi State

Bauchi State is made up of twenty (20) local Government areas and Tafawa Balewa is one. It consists of the Sayawas and Jarawas who are predominantly Christians by faith, and consider themselves as the indigenous people of the local government area, while the Hausa-Fulani are mainly Muslims. The Hausa-Fulani are seen as settlers in the area by the Sayawa/Jarawa. The Sayawas however resent having a Hausa-Fulani Emir over them who appoints community chiefs in the territory of people who are mostly Christians. Some of the appointees are aliens to the people.

The combination of the desire to participate in the political decision, self-assertions and religion and religious differences, had resulted in conflict in Tafawa Balewa in 1942, 1948, 1973, 1977, 1991, 1995, and 2001 with no end in sight. In 1995, there was a cabinet reshuffle, where the commissioner for Education Mr. J.K. Manzo, a Sayawa was dropped and Mallam Ibrahim Musa, a Hausa-Fulani was appointed. The allegation was that Mallam Ibrahim Musa was originally an indigene of Alkaleri local Government of Bauchi who settled in Tafawa Balewa in 1959.

The attempt to organize a reception party in his honor in Lere district within Tafawa Balewa was resented by the women of Sayawa who barricaded the entrance into the local government area against the guests. By this act, the Sayawa felt marginalized from the government hence the women led the protest.

The Lere indigenes decided to organize a reception for their son in conjunction with the local government, which deducted the levies at source. This included Sayawas who resented this imposition. By the time the deduction was halted, tension had reached a fever pitch.

The organizers of the reception were requested to suspend it but they refused. On the day of the reception, women barricaded the entrance to the village and guests were turned back. These Hausa youths were infuriated and they confronted the women. This led to a confrontation between the Hausa youths and Sayawa-houses were burnt and lives were lost. Jarawa joined the conflict and it escalated.

In 2001, the implementation of sharia legal system in Bauchi state led to the posting of a sharia judge to Tafawa Balewa local government area. The Christian and the Muslim youths

confronted one another and this led to a major crisis of monumental proportion. Lives and property were lost.

The Sayawa had a head start in Western Education, which sensitized them to the unjust system in which they found themselves. It had been reported that by 1948 the Sayawa chiefs gathered in Bogoro village on a market day and took a decision that the Emir should withdraw the district head and appoint an indigene. The Emir sent the native authority police to arrest them, in the course of this, fighting ensued and the chiefs were arrested and detained in Bauchi prison (Otite and Albert, 2007 p. 313). It would be recalled that the Sayawa with other minorities in Bauchi formed the Habe Tribal Union and joined the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) in opposition to the Northern People's Congress (NPC), which later joined the Action Group (AG) presented Baba Peter Gonto to contest an election against late Sir AbubakarTafawaBalewa of the NPC. The latter won the election (Otite and Albert, 2007 p. 314.). This created animosity between these two groups. In 1976 after the local government reforms, a Fulani man was posted to Lere as the district head, which is predominantly Sayawa.

Government Line of Action
Given the preponderance of the crisis and its frequency, the Federal Government in 1991,
i)   Set up the Justice Babalakin Commission of Inquiry. The commission recommended inter-alia the creation of the Sayawa chiefdom and directed the Bauchi state Government to take necessary steps to bring this to be.
ii)   Bauchi state Government on its part set-up the ShehuAwak Commission to give effect to the recommendation of Sayawa chiefdom without a dateline to complete work.
iii)   In 1995 another conflict surfaced which we reasonably assumed would not have been if actions were taken on earlier reports. This led to another commission. Justice Ibrahim ZangoCommission was set up but was halted by a decision of a Jos High Court.

Case Study (II)
Ile-Ife and the Modakeke Conflict OsunState 1839-2012
Ile-Ife is said to be the cradle of the Yoruba people of Western Nigeria. The old Oyo Empire encompassed several Yoruba people. The collapse of the empire and the subsequent internal wars caused a lot of migration and resettlements of groups within the region. One of such group is the Modakeke who reside within the locality of Ile-Ife. The Ifes claimed to be the aborigines hence the Modakekes are settlers, thus, should not have share in several privileges. They also seek to dominate the Modakeke politically and have since treated them with disdain. They derisively refer to the Modakeke as *'omoIsale Ife or eru'* meaning people of lower Ife or slaves. According to oral tradition, the Modakekes were refugees form Oyo who were given refuge by the Ifes.

Consequently, the Ifes demand that they should go back to their original home or pay tenancy for the farmland they were cultivating. None of these is acceptable to the latter who said they were not only Yorubas who originated from Oramiyan, but that Modakeke is their settlement. Several wars had taken place because of the disagreement between the two nations.

When the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) in the 1979-83 democratic dispensation could not guarantee the aspiration of the Modakekes for a local government area of their own, they decamped in large number into the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). This and many other factors gave the NPN victory in 1983 in old OyoState.

Phase of Crises
The Modakeke had earlier launched a development fund in 1977 to provide both infrastructure and capacity building for its citizens. By 1980 when they were doing so again, a truckload of police officers came to disperse them even with the Governor's representative as the guest of honor. This led to crisis as they fingered the Ooni as the one who was behind it.
i)   By August 16, 1997, violence broke out between them with devastating consequences. National Reconciliation Committee (NARECOM) was engaged to find solution to the crisis.
ii)   By September 15, 1997 yet another conflict broke out on the relocation of Ife East local Government Headquarters. This was before NARECOM could submit its report.
iii)   In December 1998 there was yet another with disastrous consequences.
iv)   1980/83 several violence between 1983-2012 there were several other skirmishes between these parties.

The Government actions in these instances were;
i)   Draft law enforcement officers to the affected communities to restore temporary peace.
ii)   Impose a dusk-to-dawn curfew and ban all public gatherings
iii)   Set up Judicial Commission of Inquiry such as the O.Ibidapo-Obe Commission and several others.
iv)   Delay in the implementation of the recommendation of the commissions.
v)   Re-occurrence of the conflict sometimes even before the commission of Inquiry submits its report.
These took place both under the military governments and the civilian administrations.

The Zango-Kataf 1992 Conflict
In 1992, conflict erupted in Zango-Kataf in kachia Local Government areas of the state. It was gathered that in 1988 the Kachia local Government Council of Kaduna State passed a resolution to the effect that the market should be relocated. The reasons adduced for this decision were that the old site was encroached upon by residential houses, which made it difficult for any form of expansion. In addition, there was the lack of public conveniences in the old site. It was also inaccessible (Otite and Albert, 2007: 223).

Zango-kataf local government was, however created out of former Kachia Local Government area in 1989. A Kataf man was elected as the Chairman of the new Zango-Kataf local Government area in 1990. He then went ahead to give effect to the subsisting resolution of relocating the market. He identified the site earlier located, and ordered the clearing and construction of the new market. February 6th was, fixed as the takeoff date for the new market.

It is perhaps important to state that the term 'Zango' is a term used to identify temporary sites

often allocated to the itinerant 'Hausa' traders to settle. In Ghana Eastern region town of Koforidua, is a 'Zango', migrant Nigerian Hausas who have settled there inhabit it. The essence of this allusion is to add to the argument of who owns the land. Let it be stated that the market that was about to be relocated was originally located in the Zango area of Zango-Kataf local government area.

On February 4th 1992, there was a radio broadcast on the Federal Radio Corporation Kaduna (JakarMogoriProgramme) in which one Mr. J.K Apple (no one knows if this is his real name given the insensitivity of the content of the broadcast). The Zango men also went to the court to obtain injunction against the removal of the market.

In compliance to the directive of the local government Chairman, some Kataf women went to the market against the subsisting court injunction and were met with Zango men who were armed and bent of ensuring that the market was not removed from their land.

There was outbreak of violence went Kataf men arrived at the market. Several lives were lost and property destroyed.

The Management of the Conflict

i)   The Kaduna State Government instituted the Zango-Kataf Market Riots Judicial Commission of Enquiry on 10th February, 1992.

ii)   Armed Mobile Policemen were stationed in the locality as management measure. Before the Judicial, commission could submit report another crisis erupted between Zango and Kataf people on May 15th of the same month, which spilled almost throughout the State. It was said, that Zango men went to the Kataf farms and removed their seedlings claiming the farms were theirs.

iii)   Nigerian army men were sent to the area to maintenance peace.

iv)   When the executive Governor of the State, AlhajiDaboLere visited the scene, he ignored the Chairman of the Local Government Area who was the chief security officer of the   area. He did not visit the district head, who was a Kataf but r a t h e r the Magaji of the Zango the Hausa head.

v)   Relief materials sent were not shared to the Kataf people but only to the Hausa of Zango.

vi)   The State Government set up a peace committee headed by the deputy Governor who came from an ethnic group with which the Kataf had a long-standing dispute. The Kataf protested and stated their dissatisfaction with the peace committe.

vii)   Another panel known as the Justice RahilaCudjoe Panel. It consisted of five Hausa, one Yoruba and One Easterner as its members (Otite and Albert, 2007: 236). The Kataf protested the composition and they were not listened to. To further, aggravate the situation the ZangoKataf local government was dissolved.

The actions of the government left so much bad feelings hence could not assuaged the conflict passions in the conflict. They had taken side and had lost the ability to be objective. The conflict could not be transformed.

An analysis of the causal factors revealed; cultural differences between the two dominant groups in the local government, religious and economic differences. and lack of extensive interactions between the groups. The actors in the conflict theatre included; the elites, youths, media and the government.

Elements of the Approach to Conflict

The application of the Descriptive analysis to these conflict case studies revealed the following steps;

i)   Whenever conflict occurs, detachments of some Policemen are dispatched to keep the peace in the area;

ii)   Once the conflict subsides, the police are withdrawn on the assumption that the conflict is over, without changing the perceptions of the conflict actors;

iii)   Where the conflict escalates, it is followed with the addition of a detachment of military officers;

iv)   It is followed by the setting up of Commission of Inquiry to look into the civil disturbances, which take evidence from all parties to the conflict;

v)   The report is usually presented to the government usually in a colorful ceremony;

vi)   Sometimes it is followed with un-implementable white paper, in   most cases the people hear nothing from the government again on the issue and often the same conflict re-occurs.

This style of managing conflict is often meant to placate the traumatized citizenry and revert to the normal mode once the feeling of anguish seemed to have been doused by the passage of time. This popular way of responding to conflict indicates that not much attention is given to problem solving procedures by the Nigeria government (Otite and Albert, 2007 p. 38).

Probable Causal factors

The philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) the author of the 'classical western work on statecraft' was certainly right in commencing his political analysis from the psychoanalytical perspective-that man is essentially propelled by personal greed. The clash of selfishness of men in society generated conflict with which he described life in the state of nature. The introduction of private property and the appropriation of land laid the foundation of most conflict. This perhaps explains why land is the principal cause of conflicts at both the municipal and international levels respectively.

i)   Land- Man is *'Homo Economicus'* economic activities takes place on the land, extractive, cultivation, residence etc. Land defined in this context includes the resources buried underneath and above the earth. The community or extended families own a major means of production. Each family owned land and there was no landlessness. Landless people and families were mostly settlers in new locations. The urge to also own land for economic sustenance in the community, are often resisted and results in conflict. It is instructive to note that land when taken away from those who depend on it for their livelihood, unjustly result in conflict.

ii)   The practice of 'Good Governance'. Good Governance is an indeterminate term used in development literature to describe how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources in order to guarantee the realization of human rights. According to the UN, good governance has eight characteristics; consensus oriented, participatory, follow the rule of law, effective and efficient, accountable, transparent, responsive, equitable and inclusive. It is instructive to state that most governments in Nigeria and Africa do not meet these criteria hence conflict and its threat defines the national relationship.

ii)   Cultural relativity-the idea that 'my culture' is better than 'yours' hence you should be acculturated into the superior   culture. This breeds prejudice and stereotypes. The various religious relate crises come under this.

iii)   'Indigene/Settlers' conflicts (structural). Man is subject to m i g r a t i o n   a n d settlement. The demand of the settlers for equal   rights and opportunities where they are settled without   granting it to others in their original home, has been found to generate tension and finally conflicts. This has accounted for a number of conflicts in Nigeria and elsewhere.

iv)   'Functus officio' procedural irregularity in obtaining value over the other-injustice.

v)   Fears of domination and the desire for political participation and self-determination.

vi)   Political re-configuration, local government creationsand political odernization.

The above seven elements though not in any way exhaustive were derived from the case histories analyzed above as the causal factors. These are the fundamentals, which need to be transformed on a continuous basis.

Re-Active Approach to Conflict: An Analysis

The premise that informs Nigeria's 'Re-Active Approach' to conflict Resolution is known as "Avoidance' theory rather than 'transformation and problem-solving' approaches. The Avoidance approach describes a situation where a group alleging injustice or discrimination is literally ignored or denied recognition by those being accused and those who have the capacity for helping to redress the injustice done to the group. Avoidance, as Wilmot and Hocker (1998 p.114) observed, is characterized by 'denial of the conflict, equivocation, changing and avoiding topics, being non-committal, and joking rather than dealing with the conflict at hand.' This kind of response to a conflict situation compounds problems, as the party that is 'avoided' will later seek other means of being listened to. One of the expediencies of avoidance is that it 'allows the conflict to simmer and heat up unnecessarily rather than providing an avenue for transforming it.'

It keeps one from working through a conflict and reinforces the notion that conflict is terrible and best avoided. It allows partners to each follow their own course and pretend there is no mutual influence when, in fact, each influences the other. It usually preserves the conflict and sets the stage for a later explosion or backlash. The more a group is ignored, avoided or denied attention, the more it becomes confrontational (issuing threats, getting verbally aggressive, resorting to litigation or even physical violence) with a view to getting a win-lose outcome (Albert, 2007 p. 34).This approach to conflict indicates that those in Government have stake in the conflict hence the intention to manage rather than transform conflict. When the elites who generate the conflict do not change their perceptions and rigid positions, the conflicts do not get transformed. This is what has made it imperative for a paradigm shift.

Conflict Transformation: The new Paradigm

It is a truism that the current approach to conflict in Nigeria is not yielding any positive result. What then is the new approach required to change the situations. Conflict transformation is therefore a process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, discourses and, if necessary, the very constitution of the society that supports the continuation of violent conflict. The details of this approach include;

i)   Transforming the relationship that supports conflict- this   would enhance greater interactions between the Ifes and Modakekes, the Sayawas/Jarawas and the Hausa Fulani in Tafawa Balewa local government in Osun and Bauchi states respectively. Thiscould be done through intermarriages and mixed settlements as well as joint use of resources sited in disputed areas.

ii)   The disputants must be encouraged to move away from hard line positions in negotiations. This would move the conflict away from zero-sum position towards positive synthesis or outcomes.

iii)   Transforming conflict situation such as Ile-Ifes versus Modakekes and Sayawas/Jarawas against the Hausa Fulanis, transforming it should not commence with the conflict but rather it should be a long-term exercise, which should commence even before the conflict become manifest. This should be done at multi-stage levels. Perceptions, the way Ifes sees Modakekes should be changed to the perspective that they are all descendants of Oranmiyan, hence no one is more Yoruba than the other. Communication between them should be enhanced on the basis that 'if you should know me, you would see that I am not as bad as you think that I am', couple with addressing the roots cause of the conflict.

Conclusion

It is untransformed conflict, which degenerates into security challenges in Nigeria and Africa at large. Evidence has shown in the structure of conflict that the elites create conflicts, the youths execute it, while women and children become the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). It is the youths who carry the mindset for revenge, reinforced by the elites by forming militias; they must be the focus of change, peace and transformation. When this is pursued, Africa would reduce conflicts enroot achieving security in the continent.

Recommendations

i)   The Government should at all times be base on 'good governance' with the 'political will' to execute   recommendations of conflict transformation agencies.

ii)   African States should set up a bureau consisting of people with the capacity to transform conflict, locate projects of joint usage   in disputed areas, adjust boundaries, educate people and change their perceptions. It is important to factor the youths into the conflict transformation exercise in order to stop the formation of militias for vengeance.

iii)   Alliance for Conflict Transformation (ACT). Many such groups s h o u l d b e consulted to assist in building sustainable relationships, and changing the context and conditions that foster violence. Empowerment enables a person to influence the conditions and decisions that affects them. These are the elements of the paradigm shift needed to transform conflict.

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