Peace-Building and the Media in Nigeria

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Abstract: The paper is centered on the peace that emanates from conflict transformation workshops, negotiations and mediation exercises which is often times misinterpreted. It argued that the most reasonable path in all conflicts is to reconcile the warring factions as well as address their immediate development needs. The paper which relied overwhelmingly on secondary sources of data, revealed that communication is central to conflict resolution, management and peace-building; that the media has vital roles to play in breaking down stereotypes, misperception and misrepresentations that lead to conflicts and after such conflicts. It however recommended that strategic and responsive monitoring tools be created as well as instituting intervention projects with some post-conflict peacebuilding activities.

1. Introduction

The field of peace and conflict studies is historically focused on the role of individuals and groups in the promotion, resolution and sustenance of peace (Wallace, 2002).

Conflict arises from the pursuit of divergent interests, goals and aspirations by individuals or groups in defined social and physical environments. As Otite (2001) rightly observed, changes in the social environment such as contestable access to new political positions or perceptions of new resources arising from development in the physical environment, are fertile grounds for conflicts involving individuals and groups who are interested in using the new resources to achieve their goals. The subject of conflict has become very topical in the contemporary literature of the social sciences. phenomenon has been particularly promoted by two significant events which occurred in the early years of the 21stCenutry namely; the September 11, 2001 attacks by the Al Qaeda on New York and the Niger Delta Crisis. The colossal impact of these events on global security and economy has given analysts and policy makers a matter for close attention (Sanubi and Ugbomeh, 2008).

In Nigeria, the past ten to fifteen years were characterized by the occurrence of some of the most violent conflicts among several ethnic and religious communities in different regions and states of the country. Best (2004) contended that hardly was any region spared some of these conflicts, even though the conflicts differed either in prevalence and intensity or their protracted or non-protracted nature. In the far north for instance, conflicts of religious nature continued to break out at locations like Kano, Katsina, Zaria, Kaduna and most recently, the spate of suicide bombing across the length and breadth of the North-Geopolitical zone of Nigeria. In the southwest, there were violent communal conflicts at Sagamu, Lagos, Ife-Modakeke etc. In the southeast, the UmuleriAguleri conflicts were most noticeable. The communal and oil-induced conflicts of the Niger Delta particularly in Warri, the Creeks and neighbouring communities also increased in scope and intensity.

In general social history and thought, the idea of conflict enjoys a high degree of attention and interest. The reason for this interest is multifaceted. First, the occurrence of conflict in human societies seems pervasive. It is an unbidden phenomenon and is found in almost every nook and cranny of the world. Secondly, interest on the idea of conflict is explainable in the light of the fact that human progress is attached to the minimal occurrence of this pervasive and prevalent phenomenon. Thirdly, it is even believed that the exploration and control of nature and natural resources for human development are not possible without the exertion and breakout of some form of conflict or the other. The rationale behind conflict over such natural resources is of compelling importance and of critical interest for intellectual analysis (Idowu, 2005). Fourthly, the interest in the idea of conflict by scholars over the ages, has been used as index in the demarcation and categorization of the world.

2. Conflict Resolution and Management

All societies have a framework of laid-down conventions or rules by which conflicts are resolved or managed. Such societies also have a body of rules that define and qualify people's relationships with each other and the state. These rules and regulations form the law of the land. But in those societies where there may not be a written constitution, the basic set of standards in which individual members have been socialized from youth to conform to and from which other standards in the culture derive, become the framework of conflict management and regulation.

Miller (2003) sees conflict resolution as a variety of approaches aimed at terminating conflicts through the constructive solving of problems, distinct from management or transformation of conflicts. According to Mitchell (1993), conflict resolution is essentially aimed at intervention to change or facilitate the course of a conflict. Other

problem solving techniques are known generally as "problem solving "Interactive problem-solving", workshops", "third consultation," or "collaborative analytical problem-solving". Although conflict resolution has been part of human-experience for centuries, Burton (1993) rather argued that the concept is comparatively new in academic discourse. He drew attention to the term "dispute" which some scholars interchange with conflict. For him, "settlement refers to negotiated or arbitrated outcomes of disputes while resolution refers to outcomes of a conflict situation. and "conflict resolution". We thus have "dispute settlement" However, dispute and conflict operate on the same principles and although they may refer to different conditions and scope of social they may, like the concepts of settlement relationships. resolution, be used interchangeably. Miall et al (2001) indicate that by conflict resolution, it is expected that the deep rooted sources of conflict are addressed and resolved and behaviour is no longer violent, nor are attitudes hostile any longer while the structure of the conflict has been changed. Mitchell and Banks (1996) use conflict resolution to refer to

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

Conflict resolution in pluralistic societies can be quite complex, principally because of the determinate effects of culture and language symbolism. Hence, as Avruch and Black (1993); Albert (2001) rightly pointed out, it is quite dangerous to relegate culture to the background in conflict resolution. Although culture is a marker of

social differences, it should not be regarded as an obstacle to conflict resolution in multiethnic/multicultural societies. Perceiving conflicts through divergent cultural lenses is natural. People interpret social action and social reality through their indigenous conceptions and knowledge. Understanding the local indigenous theories of conflicts is essential to their solution. Culture also determines information processing as well as the use of metaphors and language in the bargaining and debating process. It is by paying attention to the intricate culture questions that even those apparently irresolvable conflicts can be broken down. The cultural question can muddle up and compound conflicts and make them appear impossible to resolve, (Otite andAlbert, 2001).

In general, these scholars stressed that conflict resolution provides an opportunity to interact with the parties concerned, with the hope of at least reducing the scope, intensity and effects of conflicts. During formal and informal meetings, conflict resolution exercise permits a reassessment of views and claims as a basis for finding options to crises and to divergent points of view. Those who organize conflict resolution exercises or workshops usually constitute the third party in a triangular arrangement and consist of traditional rulers, modern sector leaders, and outstanding opinion leaders and experienced key members of the public, capable of producing new ideas and reconciliative conditions and actions.

On the other hand, conflict management to Best (2005) and Burton, (1990) is the process of reducing the negative and destructive capacity of conflict through a number of measures and by working with and through the parties involved in the conflict. This term they further stated, is sometimes used synonymously with "conflict regulation" and covers the entire area of handling conflicts positively at different stages, including those efforts made to prevent conflict, by being proactive. It encompasses conflict limitation, containment

and litigation. Conflict management may be perceived as a wider concept involving conflict resolution and transformation when necessitated and it is more of a long-term arrangement involving institutionalized provisions and regulative procedures for dealing with conflicts whenever they occur (Otite and Albert, 2001). People must learn to manage conflicts productively otherwise the risks to society and its development are overwhelming. In some respects the concepts of conflict resolution, conflict transformation and conflict management overlap both in content and in practice.

In their "short course on conflict management", for instance, Wilmot and Hocker (1998), identified some ideas for dealing with These included clarification of communication checking of perceptions which in turn involve the following: speaking out what is in one's mind or heart, listening carefully, expressing strong feelings appropriately, remaining rational, asking questions, maintaining a spirit of give and take, avoiding harmful statements, asking directly what is going on, telling others one's opinion, looking for flexible "shades of gray" solutions, recognizing the power of initiating a co-operative move, identifying conflict patterns and engaging in negotiations of agreements and settlements. Appropriate communication skills and channels are crucial in conflict management. The term "conflict management" is perhaps an admission of the reality that conflict is inevitable but that not all conflicts can always be resolved; therefore what practitioners can do is to manage and regulate them.

3. Response to Conflicts

 Avoiding style, whistle-blowing, accommodation style, compromising, joint problem-solving, third-party decision making, etc are some of the measures adopted in responding

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to conflicts generally. However, people respond to community conflicts in four distinct ways:

- Avoidance
- Confrontation
- Third-party decision making and
- Joint problem-solving

Avoidance: means 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. According to Hellriegel et al (2001), avoidance style refers to unassertive and uncooperative behaviours. A person uses this style to stay away from conflict, ignore disagreements or remain neutral. The avoidance approach reflects an aversion to tension and frustration and may involve a decision to let a conflict work itself out. Avoidance as Wilmot and Hocker (1998) 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 getting listened to such people usually resort to violence. Writing on the disadvantages of avoidance, Wilmot and Hocker (1998) noted that it "allows conflict to simmer and heat up unnecessarily rather than providing an avenue for improving it".

Confrontation or forcing: This style refers to assertive and uncooperative behaviours and represents a win-lose approach to conflict. Those who use the forcing approach, try to achieve their own goals without concern for others. 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.

This style includes aspect of coercive power and dominance. As Hellriegel (2001) rightly asserted, it may help a person achieve individual goals, but like avoidance, forcing tends to result in unfavourable evaluations by others.

Third-party decision making styles "third-party decision-making", takes place when third parties acting on behalf of the larger society (e.g., a court of law) hands down mandatory terms of resolving the conflict. This strategy works best for resolving community conflicts in societies where the rule of law has not broken down as in several parts of the developing world.

The fourth conflict handling style is what is technically referred to as "joint problem-solving": refers to the situation in which parties to a conflict either by themselves or through the assistance of a third party, find solutions to their problems in a cordial environment. Problem-solving procedure according to Otite and Albert (2001) is non-judgmental and highly participatory in character. It promotes cooperation between antagonists who jointly analyse the structure of the conflict and carefully work out strategies for reconciling with each other. The dominant question in a problem solving setting is: "How can the parties to a conflict peacefully work together in the community they both own and share with one another? How do the groups develop rational empathy? Or to be more specific, how do the two cultures merge into the production of a "third cultures". This approach is popularly considered to be the best method of dealing with conflict, as its outcomes are usually self-supporting in the sense that it is advantageous to all parties in the dispute (Albert, 2001).

4. Towards Peace Building

The peace that emanates from conflict transformation workshops or conciliation, negotiation and mediation exercises, are often misinterpreted. As Albert (2001) observed, it is often taken as an indication that the conflict in question has been finally resolved. Albert (2001) further contended that this kind of assumption is misleading. It explains why many conflicts that have been "deescalated", re-escalate a few months or years after the cessation of hostilities. We need to address ourselves to the enormity of the damage that must have been done to community life in the course of a conflict. No intervention project no matter how well designed – would remove all these problems at once; the problems would have to be removed gradually.

According to Tschirgi (2003), the concept of peace building — bridging security and development at the international and domestic levels - came to offer an integrated approach to understanding and dealing with the full range of issues that threatened peace and security. Within this framework, key considerations in any peace-building process include the prevention and resolution of violent conflicts, the consolidation of peace once violence has been reduced and post-conflict reconstruction with a view to avoiding lapses that led to the violent conflict. As Tschirgi rightly noted, these new conceptions transcend the limitations of traditional military, diplomatic and security approaches of the Cold War era to include consideration of how to address "the proximate and root causes of contemporary conflicts including structural, political, socio-cultural, economic and environmental factors".

Haugerudbraaten (1998), succinctly identified six divergent uses of the term "peace building" namely: to remove the root causes of conflict as a way of resolving it; efforts at peace building involving security, humanitarian, political or economic interventions, separately or all at the same time; the duration of peace-building -

short, medium or long term; the main actors in peace building – indigenous or foreign, the dimension of peace building – specific actions or overarching and the organization of peace building – top to bottom approach or vice versa. Similarly, Fearnely and Chiwandamira (2006) averred that peace building refers to all the full spectrum of interventions that are focused on restoring relations between groups that have been in conflict. As such, peace building might involve forgiveness, cooperation, negotiation, mediation, facilitation, creation of mutual understanding and reconciliation. The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2004) also conceptualized peace building as:

...action to identify structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict... peace building does not encompass peace- making processes but can facilitate and support such processes. Peace building does not encompass peacekeeping operations but is often part of their mandate(Norwegian Mninistry of Foreign Affairs, 2004).

Lederach (1997) too argued rather dispassionately that peace building should be understood beyond "post-accord reconstruction" in its comprehensive meaning. The concept "encompasses, generates and sustains the full array of processes, approaches and stages needed to transform conflict towards more sustainable, peaceful relationships both in the pre and post-conflict situations. "Pre-war peace building" was expressed by Rechler (1997) as:

Preventive measures that aim to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor; to promote and implement human rights and the rights of the minorities and to promote durable development and the realization of a just and fair social order in which there is no discrimination based on race or sex (Lederach1997).

The concept of peace building was made popular in the contemporary world by Boutros-Ghali the former UN Secretary-General in his widely acclaimed publication; An Agenda for Peace in 1992. He defined "post-conflict peace building" as "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict". Boutros Ghali employed the concept of "peace building" in 1992 to refer exclusively to military and civilian post-conflict support for forestalling future eruptions by strengthening structures necessary for the promotion of sustainable peace and post-war reconstruction. He however modified his position in 1995 to include "pre-conflict peace building". He characterized "pre-conflict peace-building" measures including; demilitarization, the control of small arms, institutional reform, improved police and judicial systems, the monitoring of human rights, electoral reforms and socio-economic development (Boutos-Ghali; Cit Betrand 1997:324).

If a conflict would not go away that easily, it is therefore logical that those who live in post-conflict societies should not go to sleep with their two eyes closed at all times. Peace building therefore, requires the promotion of the following;

- Economic equity and sufficiency (development)
- The practice of true federalism in the case of Nigeria.
- Government at the federal level should be less presumptuous in dealing with the different segments of the country.
- Openness and transparency
- Political participation
- Respect for human rights and integrity of others

5. Challenges to Peace Building Efforts in Nigeria

Despite some achievements, peace building efforts in Nigeria is still at a rudimentary level; generally lacking established institutional

frameworks and structures. Because of the absence of institutionalized structures for conflict management, conflict resolution initiatives have mostly taken ad hoc forms.

There is often a relapse into violence in many post-conflict communities because of the reluctance of the conflicting parties to adhere to the signed peace agreement. It is therefore necessary for the third party interveners in the conflict to help establish the necessary framework for ensuring that each party keeps its own side of the agreement. The Urhobo/Itsekiri crisis in Delta State is a typical example.

Another problem often associated with peace building, is that agreements entered into by warring factions might not be able to address all the issues in the conflict. This kind of problem according to Albert (2001) can result from many factors. The parties could have failed to come to agreement on the issues because they are valueladen. Reaching agreement on religious or cultural concerns, for example, is often very difficult because of the values attached to such issues by conflicting parties. This was the case with conflicts between the Ijaw and the Itsekiri of Delta State over the location and relocation of a local government council headquarters. A peace agreement might therefore be silent on such issues.

Yet another crucial issue for concern in peace-building is that of arms control and improved law enforcement. A source of concern in every post-colonial society, is that of mopping up the illegal arms in the possession of the combatants. Disarming of the warring factions, whether in situations of local, national or international conflicts, is not an easy task. No combatants would want to surrender the weapons at their disposal unless they are assured that the issues that led to the armed conflicts have been totally dealt with. This was the case with the Federal Government and the Niger Delta militants in their agitation for the control of the oil rich region as well as the

agitation for the development of the area. Even when all the issues have been resolved, some of the combatants would want to see what would happen next. These later group of combatants might not be too far away from the current wave of armed robberies and kidnapping that has plagued the region. They also keep these weapons where they can be easily reached in case of any relapse into violence.

Lastly, a conflict cannot be said to have been totally resolved until the parties to the conflict have started to truly trust and tolerate each other. Trust stems from the sincerity brought into a relationship or the reliability of an institution (See Albert 2001). It would take time for former adversaries who had killed and maimed one another, to start to trust each other. Until such suspicion dies out and the people begin to work together, it will be wrong to assume that the last of the conflict had been heard. A deliberately crafted trust-building project is thus necessary for every post-conflict society. Trust comes easily if the two parties to the conflict could submit themselves to a project of reconciliation worked out by a third-party intervenor.

6. The Media, Conflict Resolution and Peace Building in Nigeria

Communication is central to any attempt at introducing change in any given society. It provides people with information, without which the understanding and appreciation of the need to participate in the change programme will not be possible. Communication brings people to the mainstream of socio-economic activities. Emery, Ault and Agee (1969) defined communication as "an act of transmitting information, ideas and attitudes from one person to another". Moemeka (1995) also contended that "communication is the exchange of ideas or opinions or messages between and among two or more people. He further argued that communication as an important feature of human relations are social interaction between

two or more persons with the objective of exchanging opinion, ideas, messages or information. Information is a vital element in communication because it provides the facts and figures that make meaningful communication possible.

Similarly, attitude has been defined by Littlejohn (1999) as "a disposition to act in a positive or negative way towards some subjects". He explained that an attitude is formed as a result of an accumulation of information about an object, person, situation or experience. Barron and Bryne (1984) viewed attitude as "a relatively lasting cluster of feelings, beliefs and behavioural components. A psychologist and one of the foremost researchers on attitude, Rokeach (1972), explained that at the centre of belief systems are those well-entrenched relatively unchangeable beliefs that form the core of the belief system. Communication scholars believe that the process by which people develop cognition, attitude and behaviour patterns result from their mass media exposure. Mass media have played and can play important roles in bringing about changes in society, particularly in conflict resolution and peace building in Nigeria. The news media are very important organs of spreading information about issues in society. As Hofsteller and Loveman (1982) noted, "the mass media comprise the most important surge diffusers of information about public affairs in the society. They establish and alter the subjective agenda and thereby alter the saliency of various public issues once initial awareness has been created.

One issue that has dominated discussion among change agencies and initiators in Africa particularly Nigeria, is that of dealing with the people's attitudes and responses to issues of change. This is based on the observation that many change programmes initiated by governments and non-governmental agencies alike towards improving the living standard of the people, have either achieved

minimal success or failed because of the negative attitude of the people. An attitude is formed in part by the information available to them about the development. Although the people are capable of interpreting and understanding development-oriented messages and taking decisions on them, they have sometimes been kept in the dark or misinformed about important projects that require their cooperation and participation to succeed. As rightly observed by Ochonogor (2005), this explains why in Nigeria, for instance, many people participate in programmes because they have been asked to, not because they understand the essence or relevance of the project.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the media has important roles to play in breaking down the stereotypes, misperceptions and misrepresentations that lead to conflicts and after such conflicts. Journalists who report community activities must see themselves, first and foremost as conflict interveners. They must cultivate the attitude of reporting what can unite rather than divide the people. The language used must not be partisan but neutral and must report from the two sides of the conflict and have the objectivity for sound conflict analysis. They must look beyond the positions of their informants; they must unearth the interest, needs and fears of each side. Where the journalist or his sources are not sure of what happened, the news must reflect this. Rumours must not be sold to members of the public as facts.

Members of the conflicting communities too, have roles to play. As Albert (2001) rightly cautioned, they must carefully use the local media in a manner that can build peace. Uncomplimentary words describing relationship in the post-conflict environment must be minimized to build the necessary trust. Folklore that characterizes others in uncomplimentary terms must not be told to the young ones.

Again, the mass media, relying on the fairness doctrine, must make its space and airtime available to all those involved in a conflict to ventilate their views. By so doing, the persons on the opposing side of the conflict are able to know their opponents' views on the issues at stake. A socially responsible media institution appreciates the link between peace and societal development. Since the media operate in the society, it must work hard to ensure peace and tranquillity. To achieve this, the media must continually work for the enthronement of genuine democracy, good governance and a society that is anchored on equity, fairness and justice.

No society can make any appreciable progress in the absence of peace and order. Since conflict is always present, it behoves on all concerned to work towards conflict management and peace building which necessarily require communication. That is where the media, equipped with communication messages and devices, come into the matrix.

7. Conclusion

Conflicts are perennial features of social life and if not well managed, could have devastating consequences on the socio-political configuration of a nation like Nigeria. These conflicts not only threatened the unity of the country but also the opportunities for development.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that good communication plays a crucial role in the resolution of conflicts, reconciliation of conflicting individuals, groups and communities as well as sustenance of the emergent peace. This was what Wiemann and Giles (1996) observed, when they contended that high quality communication leads to satisfying and productive relationships among all interacting societal elements in any given society. Communication is indispensable in any human activity (Nwabueze,

2005) relating to conflict management, resolution, reconciliation and sustenance of peace. Effective communication is very important in conflict resolution, reconciliation and sustenance of peace rest. As Myers (2001) noted, without communication, those who expect others not to cooperate will usually refuse to cooperate themselves. In other words, in the absence of communication, people work on assumptions and guesses and in conflict situations, resolution and reconciliation are seriously jeopardized as mistrust and suspicions become rife. All forms of communications are essential in conflict management but the emphasis in this paper is on the media which is the form of communication whose delivery system permits the flow of information to large and scattered audiences which might also be far removed from the message source. The message is often voluminous, mass produced and mediated by trained intermediaries referred to as "gatekeepers" (Folarin, 1998).

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