The Search for Meaning:

Toward a Generative Constructionist Approach in Transforming

Identity-Based Conflict

by

Anastasia Melina White

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Dissertation Adviser: Dr. David Cooperrider

Department of Organizational Behavior

CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

May, 2004
We hereby approve the dissertation of

Anastasia Melina White

candidate for the Ph.D. degree *.

David Cooperrider
(signed)
(chair of the committee)

Eric Neilsen
Donald Wolfe
Paul Salipante

(date) 03/25/2004

*We also certify that written approval has been obtained for any proprietary material contained therein.
For my parents Dale and Tish White

whose example has been my life inspiration

We join spokes together in a wheel,
    but it is the center whole
    that makes the wagon move

    We shape clay into a pot,
    but it is the emptiness inside
    that holds whatever we want

We hammer wood for a house,
    but it is the inner space
    that makes it livable

    We work with being,
    but non-being is what we use

    - Tao Te Ching -
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1: Introduction</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview of the Dissertation</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sign-Posting each chapter</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2: Conceptual Frames &amp; Approaches</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Epistemological Stance</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defining Quality Research</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Post-Modern Worldview as Paradigm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generative Theory as Purpose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative Multi-Methodological Approaches</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lewinian Model of Action Research</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; Grounded Theory as Inquiry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Research Journey: An overview of conflict settings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel/Palestine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3: This Historical Moment</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cold War Era</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalization and the Post-Cold War Era</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narratives of Post-Cold War Conflict</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4: Overview of Conflict Resolution & Peacemaking Field

Introduction  60
Terminology in the Field  62
Overview of Three Schools of Theorizing  63
  Conflict Resolution (structural approaches)
  Conflict Management (integrative approaches)
  Conflict Transformation (social constructionist approaches)
Exploring the Nature of Identity-Based Conflict  70
  Towards a Definition of Identity-Based Conflict
  The Gap between existing theories and identity-based conflict

Chapter 5: Towards a new approach:

A Meaning-Narrative Framework  77
Introduction  79

A Meaning-Narrative Framework: a theory of the practice of conflict
  Terminology and Founding Disciplines
    Conflict Transformation
    Conflict as a social construction
  Hypothesis 1: The Nature of Conflict
    Helpful Theoretical Lenses
    Illustration
    Propositions about conflict
  Hypothesis 2: The Source of Conflict
    Helpful Theoretical Lenses
    Illustration
    Propositions about conflict
  Hypothesis 3: The Location of Conflict
    Helpful Theoretical Lenses
    Illustration
    Propositions about conflict
  Hypothesis 4: Intervention Strategies
Helpful Theoretical Lenses
Illustration
Propositions about conflict

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Key Insights
Hypothesis 1 & 2: Nature/Source of conflict as being found in the relationship between meaning, narrative, identity and conflict
Hypothesis 3: The location of conflict as played out between agency and structure within the parameters of the conflict game
Hypothesis 4: Identifying spaces that can shift the game from conflict to peace

Implications for the role of intervenors

A Final Word

Appendices

1 Propositions from Qualifying Paper
2 Itinerary for Interfaith Peace Delegation
3 Personal Journal Entry
4 List of Codes from Qualifying Paper
5 The Nature of Political/Electoral Violence in Nigeria
6 Idasa Preliminary Findings on the Election in Nigeria
7 Idasa Election Report on violence in the South South
8 Sample of Idasa Media Analysis Project
9 PowerPoint Slides for Thesis Defense

Bibliography
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1:</th>
<th>Overview of Current Conflict Theories</th>
<th>70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 2:</td>
<td>A Meaning-Narrative Framework</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3:</td>
<td>Levels of Representation of the Self</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 4:</td>
<td>Contrasting Narratives in Apartheid South Africa</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 5:</td>
<td>Levels of Institutions and Realities</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6:</td>
<td>Hypothesis 1 &amp; 2</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 7:</td>
<td>Hypothesis 3</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 8:</td>
<td>Hypothesis 4</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Behind every completed dissertation is a life-changing journey. This journey can be understood as a story in which a variety of people play their supporting role to the lead character. It is also a story made up of a thousand little moments – some significant and some completely insignificant; hundreds of conversations with random strangers as well as close friends; and lots and lots of pondering in front of an often strangely silent computer screen.

When writing the acknowledgements to all those moments, people, conversations and pondering it is very difficult to be either concise or do justice to all that has contributed to the final product. When reflecting on this, I realized that the defining characteristic of my dissertation journey was the people that held the faith in my ability even when I wavered in doubt.

A small explanation may be needed here. Unlike most people, when I entered the PhD program I never did have a clear intention to graduate. In my mind, this was the next step in my life journey which was important enough to commit time and resources to. However, it was not clear to me that I was meant to finish, rather that life had brought me to the program for an indistinguishable purpose which would be revealed with time. It has been both time and people who have shown me that I was indeed meant to graduate. And it is these people, who believed in me, my voice, my ideas, my ability, who I would especially like to acknowledge here.
This journey would never have begun had it not been for my Dissertation Committee Chair – Prof. David Cooperrider. It was he, who on meeting a rebellious and stubborn 20 year old, saw the potential for a PhD candidate. And it was his eight years of consistent and persuasive conversation that helped me decide that this was even an option. To Coop, thank you for seeing in me something that I had never dreamed possible, and for the many years of unconditional positive regard for my ideas and being in the world.

The other members of my Dissertation Committee each deserve their own appreciation for holding the faith. Prof. Donald Wolfe who is one of the kindest and most generous human beings I have had the privilege to meet. To Don, thank you for your complete and unwavering commitment to my holistic development as a human-being and for never allowing me to become trapped in something unworthy of my contribution. Prof. Eric Neilson, whose class helped me believe that there was a place for me in the program. Eric, I am deeply appreciative that you found the time to focus your awesome intellectual ability on my work, and by doing so greatly enhanced its quality and depth. Thank you for continuing to push me far beyond where I would have been comfortable going.

Prof. Paul Salipante, my outside committee member, who on faith agreed to walk this journey with me having never met or known me previously. Paul, thank you for being my link back into the world of conflict resolution and for helping me locate my voice inside this.
Besides the many people in the program who contributed to this dissertation there are three that deserve special mention. From my cohort group, Mary Winter and Alka Srivastava. Mary, it was you who helped me navigate the confusing world of a different context, and was my cultural interpreter whose friendship held my hand through the first two difficult years of the program. I trust that you are smiling now to see the fruit of that! Alka, our friendship is one of kindred souls. Thank you for helping me maintain my sanity, for the many hours of conversation, cigarettes and wine, but mostly for providing me with a safe space to replenish my life-force. And Mary-Grace Neville who was not in my cohort, but has become my reference point when all seems unclear and the way ahead uncertain. Thank you for the millions of redrafted work-plans which have finally paid off! You have been my role-model and inspiration, and I have learnt intellectual integrity and discipline from your example. But mostly, thank you for consistently being in relationship to me in a way that has liberated my voice and sustained this journey.

This dissertation would also have never been possible were it not for a core of very close friends, who have walked this journey patiently with me. Yvette Geyer, whose love and compassion literally saved my life and who for six years has continued to hold a space for me in Africa to return to. Yvette, it has been your belief that my life is worth more than the sum of its history which has given me the courage to continue and the insight to reframe my experience. Mariah
Neuroth, who has been my spiritual companion in these years of self-imposed exile. Riah, thank you for holding the sacred in my life in ways that have nourished my connection to the Divine, and for your consistent and deep love which has allowed me to believe that I have something important to say.

Shannee Stepakoff who by her life example inspired me and by doing so gave my life desperately needed direction and led me to graduate school. Shannee, thank you for blazing a trail so that others like me could find a place in academia which is relevant and meaningful to the world of practice. It has been your understanding of where I come from, and your enthusiasm with where I am going which has worked to sustain my commitment to writing what must be written.

And finally those people in my life without whom nothing, let alone a dissertation would be possible. Michael Anders, my life partner who met me on the way and has been my guardian angel. Thank you for the practical ways you have helped me with my research and writing - for reading and editing the endless drafts, for hours worth of conversation, for your insight and ability to understand what I have been trying to say, and for finding me articles I never knew existed. You have fed my intellectual curiosity, and have honed my thinking in ways that allowed me to break through at critical moments. But most of all thank you for believing in my greatness and for your unconditional love and acceptance of my life path.

To my parents Dale and Tish White to whom I dedicate this dissertation.

Mommy, you are the keeper of our history, and it has been this memory shared

8
which has informed how I understand myself and the world around me. Thank you for keeping me connected, for your deep compassion and concern for those around you, for your strength of purpose which has shown me that sometimes we only require the will to go on and for your ability to fight against all odds for what you believe in. Daddy, you have been not only my father but my spiritual and intellectual mentor as well. It is your vision and faith that has created the bedrock of my life and continues to inspire me to consistently commit my life to being the very best of who I am. Thank you for seeing this journey through with me, without you this moment would not have been worthwhile.
The Search for Meaning:
Toward a Generative Constructionist Approach in Transforming
Identity-Based Conflict

Abstract

by

ANASTASIA WHITE

Identity-based conflict is a complex and pervasive form of contemporary war. These conflicts are macro-social and involve two or more groups that are organized around aspects of religious, ethnic or political identity. This dissertation focuses on the role of “conflict narratives” in the creation of identity and seeks to uncover this process of meaning-making in generating, sustaining and transforming identity-based conflict.

Using an action research methodology and ethnographic data from Israel/Palestine, Nigeria and South Africa, the dissertation inquires into the question “How can theory be adapted or enhanced to bring our understanding of identity-based conflict into closer alignment with the lived experience of participants and practitioners?” Having lived 24 years in the extraordinarily struggle to end apartheid and an additional 10 years as a conflict resolution practitioner, the author, through personal depth reflection, brings both personal and practitioner insights into the academic discourse to produce a theoretical construction that brings together ideas and action aimed at transforming the human condition for the better.
Through a first-person grounded theory approach, the author created a theoretical framework which offers a Generative Constructionist Approach to explain the nature and dynamics of identity-based conflict with a view toward fostering new intervention strategies and policy. This Generative Constructionist Approach brings into relationship three core processes of conflict: 1) the reciprocal relationship between agency and structure, 2) conflicting as a field of practice, and 3) the dynamic interplay between identities, meaning and narrative as source of conflict. Taken together this new perspective offers a platform to move beyond current conceptualizations to offer an understanding of intervention work, grounded in the notion that conflicts are socially constructed phenomena. This in turn encourages practitioners in the field to think about their intervention strategies from a broader perspective than current theories which emphasize structural and rational approaches to conflict.

Keywords: identity-based conflict, narrative, conflict resolution, peacemaking.
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

"You shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free"
- John 8: 32 -

The journey to a dissertation is by nature convoluted, filled with surprising new directions and often frustrating dead ends. It is also a deeply personal journey where others may join temporarily, but ultimately has to be walked alone. This form of solitude is not one of loneliness, as it has been filled with the voices and echoes of my past as well as the yearnings of my dreams. As you the reader enter this final written form of my innermost thoughts know that you are welcome. I am honored you have accepted my invitation. This is a form of witness in the religious sense of the word, for your presence here is holy, and holds the space for my contribution to enter this world.

This introduction has been written to offer you some signposts for what is to come, and prepare you for our journey together. As such, I aim not only to give you a sense of the whole but also to provide some context for where we will be going.

Through time, this dissertation has come to represent my lifeline back home. Home not only in the geographical sense of the continent of my birth, but home also in the spiritual sense. It has become the faint path that I have found and followed to lead me out of self-imposed exile. The story of how this exile came
about and the journey back is the essence of this dissertation, and together we shall uncover its pathway as we navigate these chapters. But to give you some sense of the breadth of this journey I will share the broad sweeps that have led us here and trust that the detail shall emerge as we move forward.

I cannot locate a single experience or faithfully trace the personal or professional journey that has led me to this topic. Instead I approach the subject of identity-based conflict for the simple reason that I was born into it; that my early life was shaped by it and that my very notion of “self” and my sense of personal identity stemmed from it. As Nelson Mandela writes in his autobiography “Long Walk to Freedom”:

I cannot pinpoint a moment when I became politicized, when I knew that I would spend my life in the liberation struggle. To be an African in South Africa means that one is politicized from the moment of one’s birth, whether one acknowledges it or not. I had no epiphany, no singular revelation, no moment of truth, but a steady accumulation of a thousand slights, a thousand indignities, a thousand unremembered moments, produced in me an anger, a rebelliousness, a desire to fight the system that imprisoned my people. There was no particular day on which I said, From henceforth I will devote myself to the liberation of my people; instead, I simply found myself doing so, and could not do otherwise. (Mandela, 1994:95)

Given where I was born and the circumstances of my birth, it is fair to say that the common thread that weaves through my personal and professional story is my identity as an activist and my commitment to this way of being in the world. However, as the political and socio-economic context has shifted so too has the manifestation of my activism and relationship to identity-based conflict. An easy
way to categorize these shifts is to use the notion of “phases” which were characterized by specific attitudes and located in certain circumstances.

The first phase would cover my teenage years in which I became deeply engaged in the student movement and was recruited to the armed wing of the African National Congress. Through my participation in these structures I engaged the conflict as an active participant who held allegiance to the notion of armed struggle and “just war” theory¹.

The second phase began in 1990, with the larger South African transition to democracy and its attendant national negotiation process. Although all participants in the Congress for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) process officially suspended the armed struggle, this period was marked by community conflict and political violence. It was at this time I became involved in the field of conflict resolution and peacemaking as a practitioner. Until the 1994 election I worked as a trainer, mediator and facilitator in communities experiencing the worst of the violence in the then Transvaal Province.

The third phase lasted from 1994 – 1998 and was characterized by the project of building a “new South Africa”. This larger national project was aimed at creating the policies, legislation, structures and relationships to support a democratic

¹ Just War theory is a particular theological interpretation which asserts the conditions under which Christians may engage in violence. Within the South African context this teaching was encapsulated by the Kairos Document which was written as a theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa and called on Christians to resist apartheid within the confines of just war theory.
South Africa and the new constitution. My primary role was as a facilitator within the new Ministry of Safety and Security and entailed the establishment of Community-Police Forums (CPF’s). This project was initially focused on relationship building and reconciliation between community and police members; as well as creating a new ethos and training within the police which was more in keeping with the new political dispensation.

It is difficult to find words that do justice to the incredible personal and professional learning experience that these years brought with them. But by 1998 I was completely burned out and had begun to question the field of conflict resolution and my contribution as a practitioner. It was this growing sense of disillusionment with the theories and practice of my profession which led me to apply to the program. I came to the department looking for some time out of the country and a different way to re-engage the field that I had left. This phase has been characterized by a deep period of reflection and the opportunity to witness the conflicts of two other societies (Israel/Palestine and Nigeria) from the viewpoint of a “consultant”. It has been this combination of witness and introspection which has opened up the pathway back into the field of conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

During my six years in the program I have carried these shifting roles of activism and the questions of engagement they have left with me. It is this very personal
quest that has provided the fuel for my dissertation, and it is my desire to be a better practitioner which has led me to its specific content.

The metaphor that has come to life for me during this time is that of the hero's journey. The hero is chosen to fulfill a task that only they are able to undertake, a task where failure leads to death or permanent exile, and success leads to salvation. It is a path which requires courage and dedication, that once begun cannot be left until complete. It is a path which transforms the hero, bringing her into intimate relationship with all that lives and breaths within. It is a path that holds the ultimate irony that we travel so far only to discover that all we seek has its seeds inside of us.

I share this as the context with you so that you may understand the import of this work to me. So that as you stand at the brink of this moment to enter the dissertation you may also know the feelings that have been a part of this creation. These feelings have been captured in the two distinct “voices” which have emerged through this writing project. The more “personal voice” which shares the depth of experience and reaches within in a struggle to put words to those things that live beyond language. And the more “distant voice” which seeks to step back from the raw emotion of it all to find an intellectual framing with which to make sense of my experience. I trust that the flow between these two will not disrupt your sense of the whole, but rather hold the attention of both your heart and mind. And with that said, let us begin.
OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is a theoretical piece of work guided by the question “How can theory be adapted or enhanced to bring our understanding of identity-based conflict into closer alignment with lived participant and practitioner experience?” The focus is to develop a theoretical framework within which to locate new strategies for understanding and transforming conflict. The particular concern is “identity-based” conflict, otherwise referred to as ethnopolitical conflict (Lederach, 2000). For purpose of the dissertation this type of conflict is defined as macro-social; involving two or more groups; that are organized around aspects of religious, ethnic or political identity.

The theoretical perspective presented in this dissertation has been built using a combination of action research and grounded theory approaches. As such, the inquiry focuses on my experience in South Africa, Israel/Palestine and Nigeria, as a starting point for building a framework through which to understand both the nature and dynamics of identity-based conflict. This framework is then used to explore possible strategies for analysis and intervention.

Central to this framework is the notion of “conflict narratives” (Briggs, 1996). In protracted and deep-rooted identity-based conflict these narratives become fixed representations of self, which are reliant on the existence of an enemy, and where the conflict serves as an organizing principle for personal and group
identity. These conflict narratives are created through individual and group meaning-making and are socially constructed in nature. I argue that by focusing on and transforming these conflict narratives, actors can move toward new generative narratives which open up the space for healing and reconciliation to occur. This in turn leads to the possibility of coexistence and an end to violence.

The central hypothesis is that human beings are fundamentally creatures engaged in the existential questions of the meaning of existence. This search for meaning in the events and circumstances of our individual lives form the basis of socially constructed narratives which are experienced as an inter-subjective reality of any given group. In situations of identity-based conflict and violence the conflict itself becomes a central organizing principle for peoples understanding of their identity. As such the conflict plays an important role in creating and sustaining a narrative of self and the group which allows actors to meaningfully understand their circumstances and create parameters for action in the world.

What this suggests is that any analysis and intervention process needs to account for the role of narrative in sustaining and maintaining conflict. It further suggests that the cessation of the conflict poses a deep threat to participant's sense of self and place in the group and the world. This dissertation therefore proposes that the conflict is located not in the individual or structures/systems – but rather in the intersubjective nature of identity. In this way I would strongly
agree with Keneth Gergen’s (1994) reading of the self from a social constructionist approach as:

...I want to propose a relational view of self-conception, one that views self-conception not as an individual’s personal and private cognitive structure but as a discourse about the self- the performance of languages available in the public sphere. (Gergen, 1994: 185)

Thus in order to bring participants to a place of peace requires a social reconstruction of these narratives and the replacing of the conflict as the central organizing principle for identity. This needs to happen on both an individual and group level.

The ideas in this dissertation are an extension of my earlier writing on this topic captured most extensively in my Qualifying Paper “An Inquiry into identity-based conflict: Echoes and insights into Israel/Palestine and South Africa”. This work was guided by the research question “How do people who live in these conflicts experience and make meaning of it – and what implications would this have for conflict analysis and intervention practices?” The outcome was a set of propositions and hypothesis built out of my lived experience of the conflict in South Africa and Israel/Palestine\(^2\). This dissertation builds off these previous findings and seeks to expand them into a fuller theoretical framework.

\(^2\) See Appendix 1 for a summary of these.
The dissertation follows the same approach of the Qualifying Paper and adds Nigeria to the previous experiences in Israel/Palestine and South Africa. This approach is rooted in the notion of the fundamental link between theory and practice and is therefore grounded in personal practice/experience as the starting point for the development of a theoretical framework. The ongoing challenge has been how I, as a participant and intervener into conflict, draw out my reflections and experiences in a way that help with the project of interpretation and meaning-making. Margaret Mead offers the notion of immersing ourselves in another in order to see ourselves more clearly (Mead, 2004). Thus this work has relied on immersing myself in the conflicts of others as a vehicle to understand and help draw out my thinking. As such, the dissertation weaves the two worlds of experience and theory to give articulation and meaning-making to identity-based conflict and to allow for submerged experience to surface and lead to new interpretations.

The concern which has fueled this work has been very personal in nature. As a South African who grew up under the apartheid regime, lived through the turbulence of our transition, and actively engaged the project of building a new South Africa, I have struggled with a sense of disconnect between theories of conflict resolution and my own lived experience. Thus, the aim of my theorizing is to provide a framework which brings theory and understanding closer to the actual experience of participants.
Whatever the personal motivations for engaging in this work, what makes this an important arena of study is that identity-based conflict has become the major form of war in the post-cold war era (Lederach, 1997) which has on the whole proven resistant to peacemaking attempts. The field of conflict resolution and peacemaking continues to grapple with the seeming intractable nature of these conflicts, and it is to this larger discourse that this dissertation aims to contribute. The very particular contribution is my relatively unique perspective as both practitioner and participant, which allows for fresh insights into this phenomenon.

SIGN-POSTING EACH CHAPTER

In this introduction I have attempted to give a broad sweep to the focus and purpose of this dissertation. The remaining chapters each work to build out these ideas into a coherent argument which culminates in my theoretical framework.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of the conceptual frames which have informed this work. This chapter outlines both my understanding of the research process and the methodological approach that I have chosen in the dissertation. The central purpose of the chapter is to locate my findings within a particular research paradigm by which the quality and contribution of this work can be measured; and share with the reader the process behind this creation. The primary theoretical orientations that have informed this work are social constructionist

---

3 Between 1989 and 1996 there were 95 intra-state conflicts where 85-90% of all casualties are civilians and Save the Children estimates the involvement of over 300,000 child soldiers. (Nelson, 2000:18)
theory (Burr, 1995; Burton, 1990; Gergen, 1994a; Robinson & Tajfel, 1996) and action research (Burr, 1995; Burton, 1990; Costello, 2003; Reason & Bradbury, 2001; Robinson & Tajfel, 1996). This chapter outlines both of these perspectives and shares how their basic ideas and approaches have informed my research choices.

Chapter 3 shifts focus to the larger global context within which the rise of identity-based conflict as the major form of war has occurred. This form of conflict has become prevalent in the post-cold war era and can be seen as a major feature of the post 9/11 world. This chapter works to locate the dissertation in this particular historical moment and shares some insights from three authors (Samuel Huntington, Thomas Friedman and Francis Fukuyama). Again, this is not meant to be an in-depth analysis of current political theories, but rather to provide insights into how local conflicts are embedded within larger global events which in turn transform the experience and expression of identity-based conflict.

Chapter 4 is structured to provide the reader with a brief overview of the major existing literature and theory within the field of conflict resolution and peacemaking. My intent is to provide the reader with an introduction to rather than a thorough grounding in this field. The focus is to give a sense of the larger discourse which this dissertation is seeking to engage and contribute towards; as well as to make a case for why traditional models of conflict resolution may be
inadequate. The chapter ultimately seeks to provide a platform for presenting my theoretical framework.

Chapter 5 is the heart of the dissertation and outlines a new theoretical framework for understanding and intervening into identity-based conflict. The chapter is structured around the four core hypotheses of my theoretical framework and uses illustrations from my experience in three different conflict settings (Israel/Palestine, Nigeria and South Africa) to inquire more deeply into the nature and dynamics of identity-based conflict. The chapter ends with an exploration of possible intervention practices that flow from the theoretical perspective offered in this dissertation. This chapter is by no means exhaustive. Rather it represents an invitation to other practitioners and academics to experiment with these ideas, and it forms the basis of my ongoing work in the world.

Chapter 6 concludes this work with a summary of the major findings and implications for intervention practice.

This dissertation and the life experience that it accounts for is offered in the spirit of inquiry and exploration. I am hopeful that the finding of my voice and articulation of my ideas will have two impacts. First, that this work will enhance my quality of contribution as a scholar-practitioner. In particular I hope that this will enable me to re-enter my life work with more reverence and a clearer
understanding of how my beliefs about the world shape my practice. Second, I am trusting that this dissertation represents a contribution to the larger discourse on how to create a more loving and just world, in which peace is more than merely the absence of violence. It is to this vision that I have committed my life, and I desire to make a contribution to the larger community of academics and practitioners who have done the same.
Chapter 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMES & APPROACHES

“Any exploration of knowledge must be nature be interdisciplinary”

- Piaget -

Given the theoretical nature of the dissertation, this chapter replaces the usual "Methods Section" and describes how the nature of my topic and my own notions of what constitutes research has shaped the final product. In particular this chapter highlights a scholarship of integration defined by Boyer as “…interpretation, fitting one’s own research – or the research of others – into larger intellectual patterns”. (Boyer, 1990) This is done in two ways. First, I will place the dissertation within a larger research perspective by making explicit the conceptual frames and approaches which have influenced my epistemological stand. In doing this I hope to illuminate the assumptions I have made about the purpose of this research and how this has influenced subsequent decisions taken in exploring the topic of identity-based conflict. Second, I will describe in detail the specific qualitative multi-methodological approach that forms the empirical basis of this work and detail out the various forms of inquiry that have been the basis of my theorizing.

THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL STANCE

There have been two central epistemological questions for this dissertation. The first being what constitutes quality research and the second being what is the nature and purpose of theory. Although these are larger concerns of academia,
they are always asked and answered in relationship to the particular phenomena under study. This section outlines for the reader how I as the researcher have engaged these questions, thereby creating a very specific framework for this knowledge contribution. The importance of articulating these larger philosophical concerns lies in creating some common criteria for how the quality and rigor of this work can be measured.

**Defining Quality Research**

As a starting point here is how I define research more generally and what I believe are the criteria to measure quality research.

The first thing that I have learnt from being in the program is that research is a journey *not a destination*. That means finding an arena of inquiry that you are passionate about and working in a focused manner to inquire into its different aspects. This process is iterative and creative in nature, leading you on a journey of discovery that may leave you in places you would never have dreamed existed. What is called forth in the researcher is the ability to master openness and flexibility while not losing the thread of focus that feeds the inquiry. The second key insight is that research *has many purposes*. Depending on where you stand and what you are interested in, research can be about looking for ways to understand, explain, interpret, analyze or create theories. This makes the research project a constant invitation to cross disciplinary borders in order to discover those aspects most meaningful to you and the topic. And
finally, research is about *an ongoing conversation* with others, a journey is walked by the individual researcher in the companionship of many.

My research passion has been shaped by my own experience of conflict. As a South African born into the apartheid era, and caught up in the struggle that has gripped my country for generations, my *research journey* has remained focused on finding ways forward for both my own conflict and that of others. As such the *purpose* of research becomes to reflect on this experience with a view to building theories that allow for intervention. I have therefore deliberately framed my work as an *invitation to conversation* with both academics and practitioners by bringing voice to the experience of participants within the conflict.

The question of what constitutes quality research is more difficult to answer. Setting aside the academic debates on this topic here are some of the considerations I use when assessing my own work.

The first indicator of quality is that the research is *relevant and makes a contribution*. By relevant I mean that it is a meaningful topic both to the writer and the larger world, creating purposeful inquiry. By contribution I mean that the discoveries from this research journey enrich and enliven knowledge and practice in a way that creates generative and hopeful futures. The second indicator is that research is *grounded in lived experience* but provides a basis for inductive and systemic thinking regarding that experience. Lastly quality
research is accessible to others and is an invitation to ongoing conversation and excitement.

Each of these personal beliefs about what defines and constitutes quality research has impacted my approach to this dissertation. These choices have specifically been around the broader philosophical grounding of my work, how I frame the purpose of inquiry and what methodological approach to use.

**A Post-Modern Worldview as Paradigm**

The post-modern worldview that is emerging at this historical moment offers a substantial challenge to traditional notions regarding the research project. This includes not only what constitutes research, but also the role of the researcher within this project. The foundation of this post-modern worldview can be partially traced back to the implications of quantum mechanics and the linguistic turn which has been emerging since the early 1930’s. What this new paradigm offers is an emphasis on the participatory and relational nature of reality, healing the old separation between the knower and the known. There remains heated debate within academia regarding the validity of these contrasting claims to the nature of reality which will most probably not be resolved in the foreseeable future (Gergen, 1994b; Reason & Bradbury, 2001; Watkins & Mohr, 2001).

In the field of organizational behavior this emerging paradigm is being shaped and influenced by social constructionist theory. Social constructionist theory
approaches the work of understanding human systems and attendant processes of change; from the perspective that reality is constructed out of the conversations people have about the world. Heavily influenced by the linguistic turn, constructionism foregrounds the role of language and the inter-subjective nature of reality. For example, organizations are not entities that exist independently but rather are realities created by the people that live and work within them. Thus, the nature of any organization is created through the ongoing conversations that people have and their shared interpretations of these experiences.

Although there are a number of descriptions and principles of social constructionism my exposure to this has been heavily influenced by the work of Dr. David Cooperrider and Appreciative Inquiry (Srivastva, Cooperrider, & Case Western Reserve University., 1990). Here are the notions which I find most fascinating and have therefore most influenced my approach to research:

a) **Words create Worlds**:- the way in which we describe or explain events shapes our reality. In other words, there are many different interpretations of events, relationships and experiences and as we choose particular descriptions these come to frame our reality. To me this notion is very liberating because I am no longer trapped in a reality “out there” but have the power through discourse and relationships with others to shape the nature of the world and my own experience.
b) **The Principle of Simultaneity:**- this principle offers that inquiry and action are simultaneous moments. No longer are practice and theory considered two distinct acts, but rather the very question we ask and how we frame inquiry is an intervention in itself. This praxis between ways of knowing and ways of being has created the foundation for my own sense that new ways of conceptualizing conflict are central to finding new forms of intervention.

c) **Human systems are heliotropic in nature:**- just as plants grow towards the light, so human systems are drawn towards compelling visions of the future. It is this focus on a desired future which captures the imagination of a system and releases energy and creativity. This has become an important guiding principle in focusing the dissertation on uncovering ways to discover the life-giving processes that guide participants out of the cycle of violence and revenge, releasing the creative energy of conflict to construct a better world.

d) **The Centrality of Participation:**- to the extent that reality is socially constructed any intervention is reliant on full participation by all involved in that specific human system. Following on findings in quantum physics that the smallest building block of creation is a relationship, this principle moves us away from a subject – object orientation toward a fuller understanding of life’s interdependency. The implication of understanding the centrality of relationships
for identity-based conflict feeds into an inquiry focused on re-humanizing conceptions of the “other”.

In summary,

The emergent worldview has been described as systemic, holistic, relational, feminine, experiential, but its defining characteristic is that it is participatory: our world does not consist of separate things but of relationships which we co-author. (Reason & Bradbury, 2001: 6)

A post-modern worldview has been an obvious fit for this dissertation given its focus on the phenomena of social conflict and the intention to bridge the current gap between theories of conflict and the lived experience of conflict. The phenomenon of identity-based conflict is by nature concerned with how human beings experience and construct conflict which in turn requires a holistic, relational and experiential view of the world. In particular, taking a social constructionist view of conflict allows new interpretations as to the nature, source and dynamics of conflict to emerge, which moves beyond current rational actor models of conflict resolution into viewing conflict as a social construct where relationships and other non-physical aspects of the conflict experience can become the legitimate focus of inquiry.

*Generative Theory as Purpose*

When I decided to write a theoretical dissertation my task became understanding not only the purpose and role of theory but also what constitutes worthwhile theorizing. It was in this quest that the notion of generative theory has been my
guide. In a socially constructed world there is a dangerous pull towards meaninglessness and absolute relativity. Nothing can stand as truth or valuable outside of the particular frame of discourse in which it is embedded. I have resisted this pull towards moral relativity and seeming lack of direction for our epistemologies. Kenneth Gergen uses the notion of generative theory to bring purposefulness to inquiry and counter this trend towards total relativity.

In effect, we require generative theory, that is, accounts of our world that challenge the taken-for-granted conventions of understanding, and simultaneously invite us into new worlds of meaning and action. (Gergen, 1999:116)

This is taken further in the work of Srivastva & Cooperrider (1999) as a call to scholarly inquiry which generates “fresh alternatives for social action” (p.403). Linking in with the notion that inquiry and action are simultaneous moments they offer that the purpose of inquiry should be toward the creation of a better, freer world and place theorizing at the centre of this project.

I have taken very seriously in my work this notion of generating new forms of being in relationship to each other, particularly because the purpose of my theorizing is to impact the way in which conflict resolution and peacemaking practice occurs. It is my concern with and commitment to human beings who live inside of these conflicts which drives my desire to impact the type of knowledge created and the social practices that this spawns. Within these conflicts the choice remains for each to answer how they will respond, how they will move on,
how they will continue in the face of human suffering. And it is here, in this realm of choice that the intervenor has her role. How can you hold the space which allows for choices to be made that move people through and out of this place? How do we support and value the humanity of those concerned while calling them forth to a higher purpose? How can we walk together in ways that make the path less lonely and how do we break the cycle of violence and revenge? Generative theory as purpose places these questions at the heart of the theory-building project.

**QUALITATIVE MULTI-METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES**

There are various choice points available to the researcher in constructing the design and implementation of a research project. However, these choices remain subject to certain constraints, which include: the topic under study, the purpose of the research, the type of data to be collected and the opportunities that exist for data collection. In terms of this dissertation these constraints have been:

**The topic:** Identity-based conflict is a very complex phenomenon requiring a flexibility of approaches that can be matched to the researcher's access to the conflict situation.

**The purpose of the research:** This dissertation seeks to bring the experience of conflict participants and practitioners into closer alignment with theory development.
The type of data required: Given the purpose of the research the kinds of data needed has been access to the lived experiences of people within the conflict situation.

The opportunity for data collection: Due to the type of personal immersion required for the data, the opportunities were limited to those cases where I could personally be present in the conflict situation.

As is true for all researchers, as these choices are made this fundamentally shapes the form and outcome of the research project. This section outlines for the reader the research design and inquiry methods that have emerged as I have struggled with finding the most appropriate methodological match for this knowledge contribution.

The Lewinian Model of Action Research & Grounded Theory as Inquiry

What initially led to my questioning of current theories regarding identity-based conflict was the apparent disconnect between these knowledge discourses and my own lived experience as a participant and practitioner. Therefore, it was important to find an approach to theorizing that worked to account for the experience of participants while still fulfilling the task of theory building.

The challenge in conducting academically rigorous research within the field of conflict resolution is to find legitimate and thorough source material and documentation. The journals within the field contain a number of case studies or analysis of country specific situations or experiences. There does not exist a
single compendium that tries to analyze or dissect the conflict dynamics occurring in multiple situations of conflict using the same methodological frame or survey technique. In addition, the perspectives of the researcher are often not grounded in the lived experiences of participants and therefore the methods of understanding and analysis do not incorporate or fully account for this lived experience. Therefore when I began my research into identity-based conflict the majority of quantitative and in some cases qualitative approaches were not applicable to the phenomena that I was interested in studying. The biggest driver of my selection of qualitative methods and more specifically the qualitative methods that I describe later has been my interest in studying the non-physical or meta-physical aspects of conflict. Action research has been a perfect match for this challenge.

For the purpose of this dissertation I have used the working definition of action research developed by Reason and Bradbury:

Action research is a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview which we believe is emerging at this historical moment. It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities. (Reason & Bradbury, 2001:1)

I have chosen the particular action research and laboratory training approach of Kurt Lewin (1951) as a process tool for generating new theories for conflict resolution for two reasons. First, I was trained in this model as a facilitator of
Human Interaction Groups and therefore am comfortable with the stages in this experiential learning cycle. Second, as noted by David Kolb (1984), this approach to learning was developed to address the imbalance between observation and action which often leads to ineffectiveness. This speaks to my own sense that the ineffectiveness of current models for understanding and theorizing about conflict can be traced back to a disconnect between concrete (personal) experience and abstract conceptualization.

There are four stages in the Lewinian model. The learning cycle begins with a concrete experience which then becomes the subject of observation and reflection. These reflections create the basis for abstract conceptualizations and generalizations which in turn are tested in new situations.

The process has been described in the following manner:

Imme...
First-person research can be understood as a process of explicitly developing inquiry practices to examine personal experience. Second-person research is a form of inquiry which creates a community of learning through interpersonal dialogue and other forms of conversation with others. Third-person research can be understood as participation in a larger community where personal interaction may not be possible, and includes writing and other processes for documenting inquiry for a larger public.

This characterization of personal experience as a form of research is grounded in the understanding of the relational and participatory nature of such activity. The development of my ideas has followed the phases of the Lewinian model with the recognition that it is a cycle that is covered more than once. As such, my personal experience both as a participant and practitioner in the three different settings (South Africa, Israel/Palestine and Nigeria) forms the phase of concrete experience. This experience has then become the subject of systematic observation and reflection in which I have developed a number of reflexive practices which in turn has led to the development of abstract conceptualizations and testing in the same and new situations.

My experience as a researcher indicates that it is often more insightful to have conversations with participants and practitioners over a beer at a local shabeen (bar) than to engage in formalized recorded conversation. As such, the primary sources of information and data that I have used to help to structure and advance
my thinking have come from a variety of sources in both formal and non-formal settings. I have used both first-, second- and third-person sources of data including:

- Personal journal entries from my time in South Africa, Israel/Palestine and Nigeria;
- Conversations with conflict participants and practitioners in all three locations;
- Formal taped interviews and group workshops in all three locations;
- Weekly meta-analysis of Nigerian newspaper articles from January – April 2003;
- Review of journal articles, media stories and case studies in the conflict regions that I studied as well as in other geographies;
- Field trips to local villages in all three locations;
- A journal article and book chapter that I have written on these experiences;
- Literature from a range of academic disciplines in order to push my thinking beyond the existing theory in the field of conflict resolution (e.g. psychology, organizational behavior, political science, etc);
- Presentations of my evolving framework to other practitioners and academics in a variety of settings.
However, this reflexive approach to experience was not sufficient to lead to broader conceptual understandings of identity-based conflict. Therefore, I have been guided by a second methodological approach, that of grounded theory.

Grounded theory was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and is a systematic approach to comparing qualitative narratives in order to discover common themes. Discovering the relationships between these themes becomes the basic building blocks of a theoretical framework. The grounded theory approach encourages “theoretical sensitivity” defined by Strauss and Corbin (1998) as a process which “reflects the investigator’s ability to use personal and professional experiences and the literature to see the research situation and data in new ways and exploit the potential of the data for developing theory” (p. 259).

**The Research Journey: An overview of the conflict settings**

This section provides a very brief overview of the two conflict settings which form part of the data streams for this dissertation. The purpose is to give the reader a sense of how I came to access Israel/Palestine and Nigeria and my specific professional role in these two settings.

**Israel/Palestine**

I did not intend to use my participation in an inter-faith delegation to Israel and Palestine in January 2001$^4$, as the basis of my Qualifying Paper. However, after

$^4$ See appendix 2 for full itinerary.
returning to the US and sharing my reflections with others, I realized that the trip had given me a means of articulating my own story and a springboard for raising questions about South Africa and the larger field of conflict resolution. Encouraged by others to explore the possibilities of where this process could lead, I began transcribing the interview tapes and reading over my journal and meeting notes\(^5\). Through this process themes began to emerge which carried through each of the interviews\(^6\). Each of these themes represented something about the nature of the conflict. Rereading these lists as well as the original data set, I began wondering why these themes emerged for me and realized that these stories all spoke to the experience of human beings living inside of conflict; there was a growing echo of similarity between voices in Israel/Palestine and my own.

The outcome of the Qualifying Paper was a set of propositions regarding the nature and essence of identity-based conflict and created a sufficiently compelling case for the need for new frameworks in understanding, analyzing and intervening into these conflicts. This task has remained the starting point for my dissertation.

**Nigeria**

The notion of writing a theoretical dissertation has remained daunting and exciting to me. As a conflict resolution practitioner I have been exposed to the

\(^5\) See appendix 3 for journal of reflection  
\(^6\) See appendix 4 for list of codes
world of theory via actual practice, and so this became the starting point for my own theorizing. What has created a challenge is the retrospective reflection required because at the time of being active in the field, I had not conceived of this theory-building project. Thus the insights and illustrations of my experience are largely constructed out of memory, and as such have the possible disadvantage of being reframed in the light of where I am now. Therefore at the time I began the dissertation, it became imperative to create the opportunity for a new experience which could be more systematically engaged and used as a sounding-board for my growing ideas about the nature of identity-based conflict.

An opportunity presented itself in September, 2002 when I was invited by a South African based NGO (the Institute for Democracy in South Africa – Idasa) to act as a conflict specialist for their country program in Nigeria. This assignment consisted of three separate trips to Nigeria with three different mandates. The first was a short five day visit in which the brief was to do an assessment of the capacity of an existing conflict resolution network (Conflict Resolution Stakeholders Network - CRESNET) which had been established by the Office of Transitional Initiatives (OTI) housed in the United States Aid and International Development (USAID). The outcome of this assessment was a report with recommendations for capacity-building work that Idasa-Nigeria could deliver for the network. The second trip flowed from this, and was focused on my delivery of a capacity-building workshop. The trip was initially planned for two weeks in November. However, during this period the Ms. World riots broke out in Kaduna.
(a State in northern Nigeria) which led to an extension of my visit by one week. Although the workshop went ahead as planned, my trip included the planning of a possible intervention into the ongoing Kaduna conflict. This work ultimately led to the third trip which was an offer to work with Idasa-Nigeria as a conflict specialist for six months over the election period\(^7\) (January – July, 2003).

Making the decision to engage in Nigeria has definitely added richness and quality to my ideas, even though it has postponed my graduation date by a year. The complexities of this society are enormous, and include dimensions of religious, political, ethnic and resource-based conflict\(^8\). In addition, the backdrop of the elections\(^9\) created a significant historical moment for engaging in the country, as the 2003 elections represented the first opportunity for Nigeria to successfully have a transition from one civilian government to the next.

On returning from Nigeria the first challenge was to review my dissertation proposal to account for what I had experienced there. This led to a revision of my existing abstract and chapter outlines, as well as some revising of my initial propositions. The task then became writing and continuing to read on my topic.

A major shift since my experience in Nigeria has been my growing sense of humility. Real situations of conflict are infinitely complex and its manifestations constantly migrate and seem to escalate and de-escalate randomly. It is very

---

\(^7\) See appendix 8 for sample of conflict analysis work done in Nigeria

\(^8\) See appendix 5 for an overview of the nature of violence/conflict in Nigeria

\(^9\) See appendix 6 for Election Report
difficult to find your footing in a new set of dynamics which has clearly been playing out for generations, and it also requires the learning of a whole new cultural interpretation of what events hold significance to the participants in the conflict. But, perhaps most importantly I was reconnected to the real people that these conflicts engulf. The scope and cost of ongoing conflict in Nigeria alone is staggering (e.g. in September 2001 two thousand people were killed in a week of religious violence in the city of Jos). When this is added to all the statistics that can be read about conflict throughout the globe, the picture becomes even more overwhelming. And within each of these microcosms are real people struggling to create a life for themselves and their loved ones. There are numerous civic and religious leaders who are striving for answers to the question of how to safeguard their communities, and there are committed activists and practitioners doing what they can to mitigate or resolve these conflicts.

The practitioner and participant do not care for theory or conceptual arguments as to which intervention at what point in time is most appropriate for which type of conflict or particular incident. The pressure is to act, to intervene, to do something that will save even one life. And it is in this momentous push for action that providing a concrete intervention strategy is deemed more valuable than an approach for thinking about conflict. Living with this pressure for six months has compelled me to be even more committed to building a theoretical framework within which to design and discover concrete intervention strategies. For as a reflective practitioner I can never let go of the knowledge that theory
guides action and action should guide theory, even though this knowledge was forced to succumb to the pressure of producing a “relatively violence-free” election.

This renewed sense of humility in the face of such important work has shaped the tone of Chapter 4 which gives an overview of current conflict resolution theories. I have moved from a position of scorn and criticism to one of respect and invitation to ongoing co-creation to find the solutions we so desperately need.

The second shift that Nigeria produced in me was a renewed sense of the crucial influence the global context and external stakeholders have on “local” conflicts. The global backdrop to the election was the war in Iraq and the reality that Nigeria is the fourth biggest oil producer in the world and, along with South Africa, a major power in Africa. These realities translated into huge amounts of resources being pumped into the country by the United States and United Kingdom in particular. Nigeria became a central focus for delegations of international and national observers who represented states with vested economic and political interests in the election outcome. These factors combined to frame both the work of intervention as well as how political adversaries engaged the existing fissures within the society to compete for political space and power. This in turn forced me to think through ways in which conflicts are systems that are impacted in a variety of ways by prevailing global concerns and
in turn shaped my writing of Chapter 3. In particular I have focused on issues of
globalization, the post-cold war era and political shifts created by the events of
9/11 and the subsequent “war on terror”.

CONCLUSION

Taking the experience from Nigeria and blending this with previous data from
Israel/Palestine and ongoing developments in South Africa has continued to form
the basis of the dissertation. Combining approaches from grounded theory
(Glaser and Strauss) and action research (Reason and Bradbury) has created
the methodology for this work.

Although the core of my thinking has remained relatively constant, I have
ventured out into the literature seeking different lenses for viewing these
propositions. In particular concepts from social constructionism, social identity
theory, narrative therapy and post-structuralism have been helpful in fleshing out
the kernel of my ideas. The process of uncovering these lenses has been a
combination of coaching by my committee, exposure through the program’s
course work, intuition and serendipity. Each of them has worked to shape ways
of thinking about identity-conflict more broadly and the dynamics of intervention
and practice more specifically. What has also been core to the evolution of this
framework are formal presentations and informal conversations with others to
check the resonance of these ideas. I have received an overwhelming amount of
enthusiasm and support for my work, and confirmation that the theory works to
give language and clarity to people in their work and thinking about identity-based conflict.

This combination of personal experience (my own and others) and different literature lenses has worked to shape and shift the focus of this work. Most importantly was the decision to place at the centre the notion of “conflict narratives” and their role in sustaining and resolving conflict. This notion in turn has caused me to delve into the processes which shape conflict narratives to be reliant on an enemy, how to destabilize this in order for new narratives to emerge and a focus on generative narratives that lead to healing and reconciliation. In chapter 5 each of these ideas are brought together in a theoretical framework.

In summary, this part of my research journey has been deeply fulfilling and intellectually challenging. I have come to love the act of creation and writing that has been so central to the development of my ideas. I have also continued to feel intimidated and self-conscious in each step of this process and it has been the affirmation of others and a deep inner commitment which has enabled me to remain articulate.
Chapter 3

THIS HISTORICAL MOMENT

“The ways in which we commonly understand the world, the categories and concepts we use, are historically and culturally specific.”
- Burr, 1995:3 -

This chapter seeks to place the contemporary phenomenon of identity-based conflict within this particular historical moment by describing some of the larger dynamics that shape and influence these conflicts. The importance of placing this research in a historical moment is two-fold. Firstly, conflict is not a closed system, but finds its articulation and manifestation in relationship to the larger trends within the world. Secondly, as the above quote by Burr suggests, any attempt to explain or describe current concerns (in this case conflict) is by nature linked to available concepts which are specific to the moment of research.

We stand on the brink of a new millennium and looking back at the last century can inspire both hope and desperation. This last century has seen two world wars, the development of the atom bomb and advances in the technology of war to levels of sophistication never seen before. But we have also seen the end of colonization, the great leadership of people like Gandhi or Mother Theresa and medical breakthroughs which dramatically extend the lives of people fortunate enough to have access to them.
Whether we emphasize the good or the bad, and how hopeful we feel about the future of the human race, is in part a factor of the side of history on which we find ourselves. Are we a species flirting with disaster, out of control and intelligent enough to find new and innovative ways to destroy the planet? Or are we a species with an urge to survival and on the brink of a shift in consciousness which will open up ways of peaceful coexistence? At the heart of this choice is a fundamental assumption about the nature of humanity. Those who are wedded to the notion that history shows us the inherently violent and aggressive nature of humanity will continue to believe that force and war are inevitable strategies. But, there are those of us who hold the belief that humanity has the soul of the sacred and therefore the ability to live in harmony with the planet. Each of these views not only influences our levels of hope or fear, but also brings with it how we react to the global events unfolding around us.

We are now in the era of globalization, a post-cold war world where the interconnectedness of the species has increased exponentially. In this world we are faced with major challenges to our ongoing existence as well as the technology and knowledge that may lead us out. But how did we get here and what does that tell us about the future?

**THE COLD WAR ERA**

I argue that the Cold War has helped set the stage for the emergence of identity-based conflict. To see the world this way is to understand that current forms of
conflict are a natural outcome of choices we have made as a human species about the kind of people we are. This in turn opens up a nuanced understanding of the protagonists and victims of these conflicts; holding them up not as individual aberrations but as players in a larger unfolding of history. Following this logic, one can lay the responsibility for current world-affairs at the feet of all humanity, forcing us to ask questions about the nature of power and how it is at work in the world.

The Cold War era lasted from 1948 – 1989 with its distinctive feature being a nuclear arms race between two superpowers (the USSR and USA). The battle for world supremacy took the form of an ideological and socio-political fissure between economic and political systems. However, although both sides were ultimately prepared to utilize their nuclear capacity if attacked, there was a realization that such a direct confrontation would annihilate the entire planet. Therefore their conflict manifested in what has been labeled “cats-paw wars” (Karabell, 1996; Rodman, 1994). In essence these conflicts became “proxy” wars whereby each super-power invested ideological and resource support. The purpose of these proxy wars was twofold. First, they avoided a direct nuclear confrontation; second they served to gain the allegiance of other nations in the world (thereby preventing the spread of enemy ideology and way of life).

The majority of these wars were fought in so-called developing nations (of particularly Africa, South East Asia and South America) as East and West Europe were already linked to a super-power. In Africa these cats-paw wars
were particularly destructive. As a continent emerging from slavery and colonization the new leadership were committed to building a continent which could take its rightful place on the global stage. The majority of these leaders emerged from the anti-colonial struggle, and as such sought to break with the Western powers which had occupied their land and subjugated their people for generations. This, and African values of equality and community made ideologies of socialism and communism very attractive. The ensuing struggle between the USSR and the USA for the allegiance of the continent, coupled with the arbitrary nature of nation-state boundaries, led to years of civil war within most nations. By the end of the cold war the majority of these nations were headed by corrupt leaders who had stolen the wealth of their country, leaving a society decimated by years of civil war and neglect.

The key material legacies of this era for the one to follow were the proliferation of small arms, the increase in nuclear capacity and the threat of developing such capacity throughout the globe, and the creation of dictators like Saddam Hussein and Mobutu Sese Seko (to name but a few). But, this power struggle between the “west” and the “east” to preserve and expand their way of life also focused energy and resources on perfecting weapons of mass destruction and the contorted logic of “deterrence”, at the expense of building institutions and systems within societies to create sustainable forms of life for citizens.
GLOBALIZATION AND THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

The Post-Cold War era was heralded by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. This event signified the fall of the Soviet Union and what some consider the victory of a capitalist and free market economy world view (see Fukuyama “The End of History and the Last Man” 1992). This victory of capitalist over communist ideology and the creation of a single super-power have had many different impacts and those effects have been particularly widespread due to the rise in globalization.

Jan Aart Scholte identifies in the literature at least five broad definitions of globalization (Scholte, 2000). There are some who define globalization as internationalization (focused on the growth in international exchange and interdependence), or liberalization (the creation of a borderless world economy), or universalization (the spread of objects and experiences across the globe), or westernization (the spread of the social structures of modernity), or even deterritorialization (the distanciation of time-space relations). Thomas Friedman talks about globalization as

The inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies to a degree never witnessed before – in a way that is enabling individuals, corporations and nation-states to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper and cheaper than ever before…the spread of free-market capitalism to virtually every country in the world. (Friedman, 1999:7-8)

In my own view this increased integration and interconnectedness of the world, facilitated by advances in technology, is happening in the realms of both capital
and culture. The globalization of capital can be understood as the creation of a “borderless economy” driven by capitalist free-market ideas. The globalization of culture is the spread of western ideologies that form the support structure to capitalist economics (e.g. western forms of political democracy). Some specific impacts of this globalization of capital and culture are as follows:

- The creation of a world economy has seen a rise in multi-nationals who in turn are replacing nation-state based forms of trade. This weakening of the nation state signifies losses in “sovereignty, functions and power” (Huntington, 1998) which are being partially assumed by global institutions such as the United Nations and World Bank.

- The spread of western forms of organizing can be seen in the rise of a hegemonic discourse grounded in Western ideological notions of democracy and individual human rights. This process of modernization has led to prescribed status and customs coming increasingly under question. Coupled with the “discrediting of radical and Marxist philosophies” (Rubin, 1994:33) religiously-based values are increasingly becoming a foundation for political action.

- The dislocation of time-space relations has led to the increased impact of global events on local situations and visa-versa. This in turn also has increased the public role of religion as a strategy to define local communities and assert the right to contend for political power and autonomy (Rubin, 1994).
The impact of globalization is not uniform, but these major shifts in forms of human organizing and consciousness have a direct impact on how contemporary conflict and war become manifest. Although there is no single definition, an analysis of major forms in war today has been offered by Johnson & Sampson:

> With the decline of the East-West confrontation and most of its regional manifestations, few of the conflicts that evolve will be rooted any longer in the old Cold War ideologies. Instead, most will derive from clashes of communal identity, whether on the basis of race, ethnicity, nationality, or religion. Such disputes tend to occur at the fault lines between rival nationalities or in situations where societies are suffering from the strains of economic competition and rising expectations. These are the most intractable sources of conflict, and they are the sources with which conventional diplomacy is least suited to deal. (Johnson & Sampson 1994:3)

These clashes of communal identity have been labeled as ethno-political or identity-based conflict. As noted above, these conflicts are not new tensions, but represent longstanding fault-lines which were submerged by cold-war dynamics. The most striking example of this is the Balkans, where a myriad of rival nationalities contested for political space in the pre-cold war era. With the rise of the Soviet Union these small countries were submerged under the soviet system even though the underlying tensions were not resolved. The fall of the Soviet Union, and increased interdependence forced by globalization, caused these tensions erupted in nationalistic struggles forged around ethnic identities.

Shifting global dynamics influence existing conflicts to manifest in new and specific forms. For example contemporary conflicts differ in the following ways:
- The actors have shifted from nation states to intra- and inter-state players;
- These group boundaries have shifted from cold-war ideologies to political, ethnic or religious identities and ideologies;
- Conventional armies have been expanded to the mobilization of entire communities, blurring previous distinctions between civilians and soldiers
- Weapons of choice are often light arms, landmines, machetes and small bombs.

However, the effects of these wars still cause untold human suffering in the dislocation of large portions of the population, ethnic cleansing and rape as specific strategies of war, and the large-scale disruption of economic and socio-political life.

**Narratives of Post-Cold War Conflict**

How are we to understand and interpret these new forms of war and what are the local and global narratives that intersect to sustain or interrupt these dynamics? Most importantly, how does the field of conflict-resolution and peacemaking respond to these shifts in the manifestation of conflict and its deep-rooted and endemic nature?

Identity-based conflict can partially by explained by the ongoing legacies of the cold-war era. Specifically conflicts started by cold war dynamics became institutionalized with the help of other forces, such as the alignment of ideological
camps with historically conflicting tribal or ethnic cultures, which in turn continued to fuel conflict even after the cold war ended. For example, in places like Africa the continuing legacy of cats-paw wars is seen in ongoing civil wars in countries like Rwanda, Burundi, Angola and the Sudan. In addition, the break-up of the USSR led to an increase in conflict. As noted by Huntington:

As of early 1993, for instance, an estimated 48 ethnic wars were occurring throughout the world, and 164 territorial-ethnic claims and conflicts concerning borders existed in the former Soviet Union, of which 30 involved some form of armed conflict. (Huntington 1998, 35)

However, these more localized conflicts; although detrimental to the people involved, have to date not threatened world peace on a global scale. This all changed with events of September 11, 2001 and the subsequent “war on terror”.

On September 11, 2001 four passenger planes in the United States were hijacked. Two of these were flown into the World Trade Centre, killing approximately 3,000 people. The third was flown into the Pentagon with no reported loss of life, and reports say on the fourth plane passengers overpowered the hijackers, crashing it over Pennsylvania. The initial general reaction around the world was one of horror, with candle-lit vigils throughout the globe for the victims of this tragedy. By the United States this event saw the initiation of a “War on Terror”, with Osama Bin Laden and his Al Qaeda network as “public enemy number one”.

55
This event and subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq could be interpreted as the fulfillment of Samuel Huntington’s’ theory of the clash of civilizations. Huntington argues that “in the post-Cold War world, the most important distinctions among peoples are not ideological, political or economic. They are cultural” (Karabell, 1996; Rodman, 1994). This search for cultural identities is at the broadest level the search for distinctions between civilizations, and as the forces of integration in the world increase, so do the counterforces of “cultural assertion and civilizational consciousness.” (Huntington, 1993)

This notion of the “clash of civilizations” holds continuity with the Cold War storyline of the world as an epic struggle between contesting world-views. How organizations like the United Nations, the coalition forces and the broader Arab world have responded indicate some of the complexities underlying this issue. Whether Huntington is accurate in his assertions is less at issue than where the narrative takes us in our global relations.

What is true is that the World Trade Center tragedy and America’s subsequent response has drawn our species further away from the possibility of a harmonious world. The agenda of global peace has been hijacked by powerful players’ intent on each others’ destruction. This path of destruction is underpinned by the new global narrative of “terrorism”.
This polarizing narrative is being articulated by the current US administration where events of 9/11 are interpreted as an attack against the American way of life by cowards who hate freedom. On the other side, Bin Laden’s ideological narrative paints the US as infidels and imperialists who are intent on destroying the Islamic way of life.

This new global narrative of terrorism is being appropriated by local conflict actors to legitimate and build constituent support for their own actions. For example, Israel has increasingly drawn parallels between the Palestinian armed factions and Al Qaeda, while Islamic extremist groups in Asia have relied on the ideological teachings of a Bin Laden to pursue “terrorist attacks” on western targets.

In his book “Longitudes and Attitudes: The World in the Age of Terrorism” Thomas Friedman explores more deeply the links between contemporary conflict and the post-cold war era. His work is based on his time as a foreign affairs journalist for the New York Times, and forms a trail of inquiry that he followed after 9/11 to find an answer to how and why this event happened. Although I do not completely agree with all the views he expresses, I do recommend this as a thought-provoking and rich work which attempts to delve beneath the surface analysis being offered by mainstream media (both in the Western and Arab world). It’s most compelling narrative lies in exploring the different world-views that have supported both the war on terror and the perpetrators of this “terror”.

57
The outcome of these events and their interpretations by different sides is the erosion of the space for compromise or peaceful resolution strategies. This is in part due to the clandestine nature of organizations like Al Qaeda which makes it impossible to bring identified leadership to a peace process, as well as the military-based response of nations to “terror” where negotiation with terrorists is not an option. What is clear is that long-standing guerilla tactics like suicide bombings are increasingly perceived as illegitimate, while conventional warfare techniques are increasingly unsuccessful (the current situation in Iraq refers). Thus, even as space for peaceful resolution is decreasing the stalemate between different military strategies is increasing.

Friedman gives a very clever description of this stalemate as offered by Danny Rubinstein, the Haaretz newspaper’s Palestinian affairs expert. It goes as follows:

Suppose Israel discovers that ten Palestinians from Nablus are planning suicide attacks. Israel says: If we can kill at least two, that will be progress, because only eight will be left. The Palestinians by contrast, say: If you kill two, four more will volunteer to take their places, and you will be left with twelve. So for Israel ten minus two is eight, and for the Palestinians ten minus two is twelve. (Friedman, 2003:271)

CONCLUSION

The powerful have set a world standard and globalization has increased the communication of this standard to the rest of the world. Rising expectations
coupled with a spread in the capacity to wage war has led to a world where distrust and fear are pervasive.

Johnson and Sampson (1994) argue that new approaches to intervention that recognize the shift of conflict from state-centered philosophies to human relationships will be required “if the goal of achieving peace in meaningful terms is to prove any less elusive…” (p.7). They offer that this in turn requires

…not a shrewd understanding of the interests of both sides, but rather an understanding of the emotional stakes of the parties, which are often deeply rooted in history, and their respective interpretations of first principles such as self-determination, justice and freedom. (Johnson & Sampson, 1994:3)

What complicates this peacemaking project is how notions of justice and freedom have become appropriated by all sides in an effort to legitimate their struggles. Post-modernism is highlighting how an interpretation of seemingly unproblematic concepts (like justice and freedom) requires a deeper acknowledgement of context specific experiences and localized meaning making. This in turn challenges peacemakers not to be drawn into the current characterizations that parties assign to the “enemy”. What is required is a different narrative which seeks to open up space for coexistence grounded in the lived experience of conflict actors.
Chapter 4

OVERVIEW OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION
& PEACEMAKING FIELD

"Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God"
- Matthew 5:9 -

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to give the reader a theoretical overview of the conflict resolution and peacemaking field so as to locate my knowledge contribution within this larger discourse. This deliberate focus on a discourse of conflict theory rather than practice is grounded in the assumption that all intervention strategies (either implicitly or explicitly) flow from a particular theoretical orientation to conflict. It is my contention that current theories of conflict do not fully account for the lived experience of identity-based conflict as a specific phenomenon. This in turn can be traced to a disconnect at the level of assumptions that current theories make regarding the nature/source and location of conflict.

To explore this assertion further the chapter has been structured in the following manner:

❖ Terminology in the Field: As a continually evolving field of knowledge, there exists substantial diversity of approaches, which makes the project of comparison difficult. However, one dimension of difference in
approaches lies on the axis of terminology (conflict resolution versus conflict management versus conflict transformation) which each represent both a more general assumption about the nature of conflict as well as the desired outcome of an intervention.

- **Overview of three schools of theorizing:** Having identified the core differences in the field based on terminology it is possible to identify three corresponding schools of conflict theory (Analytical Problem-solving, Principled Negotiation and Narrative Mediation). The intent of this section is to give a brief overview of each school of thought by comparing them along three common assumptive dimensions (the nature/source of conflict, the location of conflict and intervention strategies). In doing so, it is possible to highlight how these differences in terminology as well as assumptions about conflict, contribute to very distinct approaches to intervention practice.

- **Positioning my knowledge contribution:** Having given the reader a broad overview of the current knowledge discourse regarding conflict more generally, this section will help to locate my specific knowledge contribution. This will be done by exploring the notion of identity-based conflict more fully and making a case for how current schools of theorizing do not adequately account for this particular manifestation of conflict. It is in this perceived gap between current theory and the phenomenon of identity-based conflict that my theoretical framework is offered as an invitation to expand existing conflict theory and therefore practice.
TERMINOLOGY IN THE FIELD

The field of conflict resolution and peacemaking has seen rapid development over the last 20 years. In the United States alone there are now more than 18 graduate programs offering degrees in this field. This expansion has occurred not only at the level of academia but has also been accompanied by the expansion of peacemaking practice, throughout the globe and at all levels of society. This process of expansion has seen a parallel evolution in terminology within the field, which has been driven by the “changing conceptual processes of its practitioners” (Lederach, 1995: 16). These changing terminologies contain implicit and explicit assumptions about both conflict and the focus of intervention work. The assumptions in turn have led to the development of specific skills and intervention strategies.

In the early conceptualizations of the field, the notion of conflict resolution prevailed. This concept describes the “more academic field of study and its practical application. The concept indicated a need to understand how conflict evolves and ends” (Lederach, 1995:16). However, the assumption that it is possible to end conflict does not always hold true, particularly when ongoing relationships are involved. Thus the term conflict management was coined in order to place emphasis on “affecting the destructive consequences and components” (Lederach, 1995: 17) inherent in relationships being managed over time. This conceptual approach highlights the role of intervention in managing
human behavior and controlling volatility, which is not always possible in peacemaking endeavors. Because of this impossibility the concept of conflict transformation has become popular, in some circles, to signify the inherent transformative nature of conflict in relationships and social organizations. This approach to conflict is located in an understanding of "social conflict as a phenomenon of human creation, lodged naturally in relationships" (Lederach, 1995: 17)

As practitioners and academics have grappled with the implications of these terminologies specific "schools" of theorizing and intervening into conflict have evolved.

**OVERVIEW OF THREE SCHOOLS OF THEORIZING**

Historically the study of conflict and violence spans a number of academic disciplines; from philosophy to international relations, from psychology to sociology, illustrating that the topic of human conflict has long been of concern to knowledge building projects. The formal academic field of conflict resolution and peacemaking has evolved from these different disciplines to form its own distinct academic discipline. In this section I have identified three different schools of conflict theory which correlate to the terminology within the field and are rooted in different academic disciplines.
For purpose of comparison, this section explores each of the specific conflict theories along the following common dimensions: assumptions regarding nature/source of conflict, assumptions regarding the location of conflict and specific intervention strategies.

**Conflict Resolution (Structural approaches)**

John Burton, of the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University, describes the emergence of Human Needs Theory as a fundamental shift in the conceptualization of conflict away from theories of control towards an “acceptance that conflict, especially a situation of violence, presents a problem to be solved”. (Burton & Dukes, 1990:143)

This Analytical Problem-Solving Approach is premised on the assertion that all people have fundamental human needs (much like Maslow but not hierarchically ordered) which are non-negotiable. Within this Burton makes a distinction between needs and satisfiers. Needs are non-negotiable and exist in every human being; satisfiers are the strategies that people engage to meet these needs which are open to restructuring and negotiation. Burton asserts that it is the role of structures and systems in society to satisfy these fundamental human needs. For example, the institution of policing is a social structure designed to meet the basic need for security. However, when this institution frustrates the security needs of a segment of the population, conflict occurs. Due to the non-negotiable nature of human needs these conflicts cannot be mediated or
negotiated away; rather, they require a re-structuring of the institution and social systems in order to satisfy the frustrated need.

There are two fundamental steps to Burtons’ approach. The first is to define the conflict as a problem to be solved; the second is to engage participants in a joint analysis of the conflict. These analytical problem solving workshops/sessions form the basis of dialogue around options for a peace agreement. Initially these sessions are run with membership from the parties in conflict who do not have a mandate to reach agreement. The thinking behind this, is to release the decision makers from the need to stay in entrenched positions and allow a free-flow of ideas around possible scenarios which will lead to peaceful resolution. Once both parties have a joint view of the causes of the conflict and possible satisfiers for the needs that are being frustrated, the leadership are brought into a mediation that is aimed at reaching agreement.

This is how Burton describes his process:

Facilitated problem-solving conflict resolution has developed as the behavioral sciences have been applied to situations thought to be too intractable to be settled without overwhelming coercion and force...The primary activity engaged in by the parties in these seminar workshops is *analysis* – that is, a searching exchange between the parties designed to reveal positions, frustrations, constraints and perceptions. (Burton & Dukes, 1990: 143)

Burtons’ approach contains the following assumptions about conflict:
• **Nature/Source of conflict:** The source of conflict is the frustration of basic human needs. These needs are articulated by individuals through their membership to a core identity-group, and it is the satisfaction or frustration of these needs which drives conflict and its resolution.

• **Location of conflict:** As such conflict is located in the structures and systems which are there to satisfy basic human needs rather than in individuals or groups.

• **Intervention strategies:** Therefore the resolution of conflict is dependent on identity-groups recognizing the shared nature of their basic human needs, and cooperating to create structures and institutions to appropriately satisfy them. As such, it is not necessarily individual transformation, but structural transformation based on agreement among individuals which is the ultimate aim of this approach.

**Conflict Management (Integrative Approaches)**

With its roots in labor-management dispute resolution, integrative approaches to managing conflict are focused on “how to handle disagreements and arguments over choices and preferences that result from interactions between parties who have common interests and goals, and who differ only on the means of achieving them.” (Burton & Duke, 1990: 17) Therefore the core process for managing conflict becomes the identification of either common ground or complementarity between the parties.
Principled Negotiation (developed by Fisher and Ury of Harvard Business School) is one of the most well known approaches. This approach conceptualizes conflict as clearly defined disputes driven by differing interests in external resources where cooperation enhances the ability of either party to meet their interests (Rothman, 1997). The process of negotiation is structured around 4 core principles: 1) separate the people from the problem; 2) focus on interests not positions; 3) invent options for mutual gain; and 4) insist on objective criteria (Fisher, 1997; Fisher & Harvard Negotiation Project., 1979).

The particular focus of this framework is to assist parties in moving out of entrenched positions by showing them that behind each position lays a specific interest. These interests may have a variety of options for satisfaction which lead to a search for complementarily of interests or common ground. In particular, there is a focus on expanding the pie, in order to overcome the seemingly fixed nature of resources.

Principled Negotiation holds the following assumptions about conflict:

- **Nature/source of conflict:** Conflict occurs when individuals or groups have differing interests in an outside object.
- **Location of conflict:** Therefore conflict is located at the level of individual interests and positions that people take around these.
- **Intervention strategies:** The most common forms of managing conflict are through the process of mediation and negotiation. The process and function of these interventions are to seek common ground or to create complementarity of interests between parties and, once these common interests are ascertained, to engage them in a process of compromise in order to reach agreement (Winslade & Monk, 2000:x).

**Conflict Transformation (Social Constructionist Approaches)**

A relatively new school of thought within the field is emerging out of a social constructionist view of conflict, and as yet there is no coherent theoretical articulation for this approach. However, there are a number of innovative and interesting examples of practice which work from this frame.

This understanding of conflict is built out of the work in a broad range of social science literature and has as its defining feature the assumption that human conflict is a social construction where the intersubjective assignment of meaning is central (Lederach, 1995). Therefore the point of departure for the social constructionist view

...is the idea that social conflict emerges and develops on the basis of the meaning and interpretation people involved attach to action and events. Social meaning is lodged in the accumulated knowledge, or what Schutz (1967) calls a person's 'bank of knowledge'. From this starting point, conflict is connected to meaning, meaning to knowledge, and knowledge is rooted in culture. (Lederach, 1995: 8)
Narrative Mediation has emerged as one articulation of this social constructionist reading of conflict. Winslade & Monk (2000) offer the most accessible explanation of how this approach differs from other approaches. They argue that the significant difference is on the level of basic assumptions about the location of conflict (and therefore the appropriate level of intervention). Problem-solving assumes that conflict stems from individual’s and the expression of their inner needs; whereas narrative mediation assumes that conflict is generated by the construction of a narrative description of events, where interests and needs are themselves a construct. Therefore a re-construction of this narrative into one that is incompatible with conflict is the most effective form of intervention and resolution. They call this process “discourse exploration”.

Discourse exploration in mediation is a useful tool for depersonalizing conflict. It helps us see how systems of meaning, or fields of knowledge and belief, shape not only people’s perspectives, agendas, and desires but also the very nature of a conflict. Focusing on the discursive context of a conflict is a significant move away from focusing on the individual as a unitary and contextually independent being who is the creator and cause of the conflict. The emphasis falls on the way meaning is constructed within discourse rather than on the individual as the sole producer of the discord. (Winslade & Monk, 2000: 42)

In summary narrative mediation holds the following assumptions about conflict:

- **Nature/source of conflict:** Conflict occurs when there is a clash of perspectives which are role and context specific

- **Location of conflict:** Conflict is therefore located in the different narratives and interpretations of the relationship
- **Intervention strategies:** Through discourse exploration parties are able to re-write current narratives to allow for new interpretations to emerge.

The following table represents a summary of the different schools of thought

**Table 1: Overview of Current Conflict Theories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Frames</th>
<th>Resolution Management</th>
<th>Transformation Management</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Founding Disciplines</td>
<td>Structural Sociological</td>
<td>Utility Psychological</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examples</td>
<td>Analytical Problem Solving</td>
<td>Interest-Based Negotiation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature / Source of Conflict</td>
<td>Frustration of Basic Human Needs</td>
<td>Two or more parties have an interest in an object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location of Conflict</td>
<td>Structures, Systems and Institutions</td>
<td>Individual needs and interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intervention Strategies</td>
<td>Identification of needs and the joint-creation of appropriate satisfiers</td>
<td>Compromise, seeking common ground, negotiation &amp; mediation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**EXPLORING THE NATURE OF IDENTITY-BASED CONFLICT**

The above schools of thought are a sample of the best thinking to date about the phenomenon of conflict. However, human conflict happens at numerous levels and in varied circumstances and the challenge to practitioners is learning to match existing theories to a specific conflict. What makes this especially challenging is that lived conflict is a complex system and often has numerous dimensions operating at the same time.
Some of the most common dimensions of social conflict are: issues around resources, structural forces which are driving the conflict, how relationships are constructing narratives of conflict; and how parties are assigning meaning to the conflict.

The existing schools of thought each have a contribution to make in the peacemaking project. For example where conflicts are driven by interests in external resources integrative approaches may be most helpful; or where deeper structural issues such as government policy are driving conflict then more structural approaches are helpful; and where conflict is driven by differing perspectives on relationships then social constructionist approaches are more helpful.

To illustrate this let us take a slice of the conflict in Nigeria and apply the differing schools of thought to the problem. In the Middle Belt of the country there are is a town called Kaduna where Christian and Muslim communities are approximately equal in number. Over the years there have been ongoing clashes between these two communities, and this has resulted in a number of dynamics. Firstly, the religious communities now inhabit separate geographical spaces as the violence has led individual families to flee to areas where there is a higher density of their religious tradition. Secondly, the youth from these communities have progressively become more radicalized and are now the main protagonists in fighting when it does occur. In particular, their affiliation to the various religious
youth groups becomes the source for organizing and mobilizing during violence. Thirdly, the military has become the major intervenor when conflict does erupt and their strategy is to use superior military force to keep the sides separated. However, both sides accuse the military of being biased and actively assisting the enemy during these attacks.

From an Analytical Problem Solving approach the starting point would be to persuade the leadership of the religious communities to send representatives from the youth groups to a Joint Problem-Solving Workshop. This workshop will focus on a joint analysis of the conflict by the youth with a view to establishing how the fundamental human needs of participants are being frustrated by the structures and institutions and the ways in which violence becomes a “self help” strategy to meet these needs. One this is understood then a facilitated process of re-designing these systems and institutions would happen which youth would take back to the leadership to encourage the relevant decision makers to participate in a more “formal” peace process.

From a Principled Negotiation approach the starting point would be to engage key decision makers from the two religious communities in a peace process in order to identify what their respective needs and interests are with a view to crafting common ground or complementarity of interests. From this basis an agreement will be reach which each side must implement within their membership.
From a narrative mediation approach the starting point would be a focus on the relationships between the two religious communities. This could be aimed at a leadership level, a youth group level, or individuals who “represent” the particular communities. The purpose of this process would be to engage these individuals in a de-construction of the relationship narrative with a view to understanding how particular events have been interpreted in ways that perpetuate the conflict.

In identity-based conflicts each of these aspects (resources, structures and relationships) are usually all present in some form. However, I would argue that there are additional dimensions to identity-based conflict for which the existing schools of thought do not fully account. In order to explore this further it is important to understand more clearly what is meant by identity-based conflict.

**Towards a definition of Identity-Based Conflict**

As already outlined in the previous chapter, the post-cold war era has seen a surge in identity-based conflicts. There are certain features which distinguish these types of conflicts from previous forms:

- the conflict actors are usually intra-state rather than inter-state players
- this conflict is usually passed on to the next generation thereby creating an inter-generational nature
- the protagonists are usually loosely organized civilians rather than traditional armies
- the weapons of choice are small arms and home made weapons
- the strategy of war often includes “ethnic cleansing” and acts of terror; and
- combatants include the substantial use of child soldiers

But perhaps the most defining feature is that the groups in these types of conflict are organized around some form of group identity (be it ethnic, religious or political). It is this central role that identity plays in the formation of groups and as a driver of the conflict which requires further exploration. I would argue that identity is a constructed phenomenon which in these situations is socially constructed in relationship to the conflict. Therefore the focus needs to be on this process of identity formation and how it is constructed and shaped through time in ways that sustain conflict. A core quality of these identities is their reliance on the existence of “the other”. As noted by Rusciano:

> Our identities are formed primarily through encounters with “the Other”. Our recorded history began when the single individual realized he belonged to a “we” and not just an “I”. (Rusciano, 1996:1)

This understanding of how identity is constructed has important manifestations in conflict, where the “other” becomes an antagonistically defined reference point and creates “the enemy”. What is at case here is not the mere existence of strongly differing identities per say, but rather how these create narratives of exclusivity and become linked to the pursuit of power or other political objectives.
Thus the construction of the other as enemy in turn becomes a crucial component of sustaining group boundaries, and therefore identities.

**The gap between existing theories and identity-based conflict**

Identity-based conflict as a specific form of conflict differs from more resource based or structural conflicts in the following way:

...conflicts are relatively intangible and deeply rooted in the more abstract and interpretive dynamics of history, psychology, culture, values and beliefs of identity groups...These are identity conflicts because they derive from existential and underlying psychocultural concerns that are perceived as threatened or frustrated as a result of, or resulting in, intransigent conflict. These disputes are usually, at their source, very complex, relatively intangible, and often hard to define clearly. However, they regularly become simplified and focused upon scarce resources which, though concrete, overshadow or even subvert the deeper elements at stake. (Rothman, 1997: 11)

There is a growing consensus amongst contemporary theorists and practitioners that the assumptions and intervention practices of more problem-solving approaches to conflict are inappropriate to resolving this new form of war. This is because the nature and manifestations of these conflicts are substantially different. In particular the common strategy of compromise is not necessarily an appropriate starting point where groups perceive their very existence to be at stake.

Compromise in particular is commonly viewed as a primary goal of negotiation or problem solving. In identity conflicts, trying to compromise at the outset may be counter-productive, or impossible, because what is at stake are people’s existential needs and values. Compromising over such essential concerns as safety, dignity, control over
In an attempt to find more comprehensive strategies for understanding the dynamics and drivers of identity-based conflict this dissertation has focused on the lived experience of these conflicts. The next chapter works to explore more fully this experience in an attempt to create alternative explanations for the nature/source and location of these conflicts, which in turn point to new intervention strategies.
Chapter 5

TOWARDS A NEW APPROACH:

A Meaning-Narrative Framework

“All the greatest and most important problems of life are fundamentally insoluble...They can never be solved, but only outgrown”
- Carl Jung -

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present my theoretical framework and layout in detail its empirical and conceptual content. As such, this chapter can be considered the heart of the dissertation where I integrate the various strands of literature, theory and personal experience to create specific hypotheses and propositions about the phenomena of identity-based conflict. These hypotheses and propositions have been developed to inquire into and better understand the nature, source and dynamics of these conflicts, as well as implications for intervention. For the purpose of this dissertation I use the term hypothesis to mean an assumption or starting point (about the nature, source or dynamic of conflict) and the term proposition to indicate a deeper exploration of the hypothesis for the phenomena under study.

The development of this theoretical framework has been guided by two key principles. First, it has been focused on the development of a generative theory that enables practitioners and participants to break the cycle of conflict and find a path forward. In situations of endemic and deep-rooted conflict the depth of
human suffering often can be immobilizing. I am committed to honoring and encountering the depth of this suffering, while still offering the possibility of a different outcome. Secondly, this framework aims to bring voice to the often muted texture of *lived experience*. As such it is an invitation to bring into conversation the academic and practitioner, the conceptual with the experiential. This conversation is mirrored in the way the chapter has been written as a movement between reflection on experience and more abstract conceptualization. The product therefore is the articulation of insights gained by weaving back and forth between these two domains.

The flow of the chapter is anchored around the four central hypotheses of the theoretical framework which in turn sets the parameters of content to those elements most pertinent to highlighting and exploring its core idea. Each hypothesis brings together three core content areas: an existing theory that offers a new perspective, a personal story to illustrate how the hypothesis operates, and specific propositions which highlight the conceptual implications for these insights. Thus, the logic of the chapter lies in following the hypothesis through the framework, rather than in the illustrative stories. However, there is a deep interconnectedness between all the ideas which have only been separated for purpose of presentation.
A MEANING-NARRATIVE FRAMEWORK: A Theory of the Practice of Conflict

The previous chapter provided a brief overview of three theoretical lenses currently prevalent in the field of conflict practice. In order to present these very diverse and sophisticated theories it was necessary to find dimensions of comparison, which could assist in exploring key concepts in relationship to each other. The purpose of this project has been to bring into conversation the current discourses regarding conflict in order to highlight the value and contribution each has to offer, and to locate my own thinking within this larger discourse. Thus, I offer this comparative device as an invitation to conversation rather than an adversarial duel for truth.

The following table is offered as a visual summary for locating my contribution within the larger discourse. The table has been constructed to be read horizontally, with my theoretical framework being in column five. The remainder of this chapter will follow the logic of this framework, and explore in detail each dimension.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terminology / Nature / Source of</th>
<th>Resolution / Frustration of Basic Human Needs</th>
<th>Management / Two or more parties have an interest in an</th>
<th>Transformation / Clash of perspectives which are role and</th>
<th>Transformation / Creation of Meaning in an overriding context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Founding Disciplines</td>
<td>Structural Sociological / Analytical Problem Solving</td>
<td>Utility Psychological / Interest-Based Negotiation</td>
<td>Relational Social Constructionist / Narrative Mediation</td>
<td>Relational Generative Constructionist / Meaning-Narrative Intervention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Terminology and Founding Disciplines:

As with other theoretical approaches this framework too has been developed from distinct assumptions. Firstly this Meaning-Narrative Framework views the work of practitioners as a project in conflict transformation (as opposed to management or resolution) and secondly it represents a social constructionist reading of conflict. These perspectives hold inherent assumptions about the phenomena of conflict which in turn determine how the project of intervention is viewed and pursued. I share these perspectives in order to maximize clarity regarding the assumptions inherent in this Meaning-Narrative Framework.

### Conflict transformation:

- **Orientation to conflict:** Given the diversity inherent in the human species, conflict is a natural phenomenon which arises out of the experience of difference (whether in perception, world-view, interests, needs, or values, etc). As such, conflict is neither an inherently negative nor positive energy and will never be completely eliminated from human interactions.
- **Function of conflict**: The existence of conflict is not only an indicator of difference but also that this difference is important. Therefore the energy released by conflict can affect change and become a transformative source (whether in structures, systems, relationships or individuals).

- **Potential of peace**: Peace is more than the absence of violence. Transforming conflict has the potential to redistribute power relations within an existing status-quo, towards a more equitable and just world. Concurrently there is the potential to transform individuals into loving and responsible agents who promote “right relationships”.

**Conflict as a social construction:**

- **Source of conflict**: Central to the construction of human conflict is the inter-subjective nature of meaning-making and relationships. How people interpret and explain their world in relationship to each other can create conflict.

- **Location of conflict**: Conflict is located in the meaning-making processes of a given context rather than in an “external” reality. The implication is that conflict is not a static or inevitable phenomenon but can be shifted by those involved.
The context of conflict: Given that conflict is a social construct it is bound within the prevailing knowledge discourses of its specific context and arises out of the particularity of the circumstance. Thus, any conflict needs to be understood within its cultural and historical context.

Inherent in this framework are four very important concepts: meaning, narrative, identity and the link between the individual participant (micro) and the larger struggle (macro).

**Hypothesis 1:**
The Nature of Conflict

Human beings are meaning-making creatures who socially construct their reality. Therefore:

a) every person seeks a larger purpose to their lives within which to explain and make meaningful their experience; and

b) when this is shattered an existential crisis ensues which must be resolved in order for life to be purposeful again.

Helpful Theoretical Lenses

The project of social constructionism is focused on deconstructing the taken for granted nature of human life, in order to elucidate “the processes by which people come to describe, explain or otherwise account for the world in which they live” (Gergen, 1985:3-4). This perspective on human beings can be integrated with the core assumption in Logotherapy that “…man’s search for meaning is the primary motivation in his life, and not a ‘secondary rationalization’ of instinctual
The picture of human beings that these two perspectives create is a purposeful species who are active co-creators of our lives and the realities we experience. Furthermore, the human being requires some larger sense of meaning within which to hold this project of living, there is an urge within every heart to live a life that is worthy and significant.

“This meaning is unique and specific in that it must and can be fulfilled by him alone; only then does it achieve a significance which will satisfy his own will to meaning” (Frankl, 1959:121).

Frankl notes that there are at least three different pathways to meaning. First meaning can be found in the creation of something or a particular act, second it can be through an important experience or encounter with another, or third it can be found in the attitude one takes towards “unavoidable suffering” (Frankl, 1959). If any of these pathways are not made manifest this leads to a sense of existential frustration or an existential crisis/vacuum.

In situations of deep-rooted and endemic conflict the lives of people in that society are completely saturated with the conflict experience. Thus, the focus of the meaning-making process becomes fixed on how to find a sense of purposefulness in a world consumed by violence and conflict. This meaning must be strong enough to hold the suffering or advantage that is experienced or possible cognitive dissonance that may arise. What this perspective offers is contrary to common perceptions, people in war zones, suicide bombers, soldiers who perpetrate unspeakable abuses are not anomalies; rather they are human
actors driven by a will to meaning struggling to find purposefulness in an
unbearable situation.

This in turn changes the way we think about intervention strategies, including
healing relationships between previous enemies. If a space for a peace process
is to be found, if peace is to succeed, then it needs to lock into the will to
meaning of those involved in a way that allows them to make sense of their lives
and not create existential crisis or vacuum. If an existential crisis is inevitable for
them to move into a different world, then the peace process needs to support and
hold them as they make this journey. What is liberating about this perspective is
the agency within humans to construct and create meaning, allowing us to
proactively inhabit a world rather than be prisoners in an existing legacy.

Illustration:

I came across the work of Viktor Frankl when I was already three years into the
Case program. I no longer remember how I stumbled onto his book “Mans
search for meaning”, but I can still feel the shock of paradigm shift that swept
through my soul. For years I had lived with the mind numbing guilt eating away
at my insides, and had come to believe there was no way to ever salvage my life.
There was a deep sense of failure and futility that had taken hold of me, leaving
an empty shell of hopelessness who cursed every day that I woke up still
breathing.
It had all come apart with the assassination of Kehla Khumalo. Until his death I had been riding high on the intoxication of a new South Africa and the freedom to “be” that had been born with our new democracy. I was fully immersed in the project of reconciliation, driven by the challenges that this brought to my way of being and doing. My career was at an all time high, with government departments attempting to recruit me, NGO’s headhunting my talent and constant requests for my professional opinion. At the age of 27 I had a bright future ahead of me. My life experience in the struggle had given me the unique ability to inhabit the new South Africa as though I had been brought home from exile, and where others struggled with the personal and structural transformation this new democracy required, I was flourishing.

I had met Kehla in 1992 when our team did an intervention into the fighting between hostel residents (Inkatha Freedom Party members) and township residents (African National Congress members) in Meadowlands/Mzimhlope a “suburb” of Soweto. He was a representative from the taxi association members who were one of the parties in the mediation. Our work in this area became the beacon of our success as conflict resolution practitioners and the fragile peace that we mediated managed to withstand the violence consuming the rest of the country and held all the way through the election. It was an unbelievable feat, a miracle of peace which astounded even us as mediators.
Through these years Kehla and I became close friends and he proved himself to be a natural peacemaker, quick to grasp the intuitive work of bringing people together and rare in his insight and design capabilities. His wife joked that I was his makoti (young bride) and often shared in conversation his deep love and respect for me. Our bond was of the quality only born of extreme circumstance that happens when you place your life in the hands of another and still live to tell the tale. But, Kehla also represented our success as practitioners. That it is possible to design an intervention in a way that builds the capacity of local participants to learn the skills of peacemaking and create ownership of the process. I was proud of Kehla, both as a human being and as a peacemaker who had grown under my mentorship and guidance.

There were many reasons for my deep sense of guilt and failure at his death. It matters less whether they were good or bad reasons, and more that they combined to trigger post-traumatic stress syndrome. Being diagnosed with this itself created an overwhelming sense of personal failure, deeply undermining my self-concept as invincible. But enduring the flashbacks, or the mind-numbing rage and nightmares were nothing compared to how the meaning of my entire life had been erased with the same bullets that took Kehla's.

Initially I thought that I had gone insane. I was frozen in time, trapped within that day I went to identify his body. Every detail of that day had been burnt into me leaving no space. It was as though I no longer inhabited the world, but my soul
had loosed itself from my body and continued to relive February 13, 1997, over and over and over again. Although time passed outside my internal state was on pause replaying every scene in obscene detail. The blood dripping from the garbage bag which the mortuary staff brought his personal belongings out in, pooling on the floor as though flowing from his body. Putting my hand inside to find the house keys which his wife was hysterically screaming for and feeling the blood as though I was inside him. The smell of death and decay emanating from the bodies which were decomposing because there was no more space in the freezers. The hours and hours of waiting while they searched for his body and praying that this meant it was all some awful mistake, even while listening to the wailing of widows and sons and daughters and friends. I was mute, no sound except to answer questions or to ask for information, holding Joyce as one would a small child during a bad dream. I did not want to see the body when they finally found him. I had just returned from the toilet when I heard Joyce scream. It ripped through my soul and as I ran to catch her from falling I saw him. Have you ever had an image etched on your being, erasing all others? To this day I cannot remember what he looked like in life, only in death, the victim of a drive-by shooting where assassins used the automatic switch on an AK-47 assault rifle.

I took Joyce to Baragwanath Hospital for a tranquilizer and drove to his family home to inform them that it was true. Kehla was gone. I drove to my parents, walked in the door, told them the news and collapsed. I remember nothing until
the funeral which was about one week later. My colleagues and friends tell me that I went to work. At his funeral I cried for the first time. Floods of tears that seemed to have no end but wrenched at my body until I passed out from exhaustion. And still the day replayed on and on and on. I could not find any peace, not in sleep where the nightmares followed, or in work, which I had no memory of being, or in the arms of loved ones, which felt as far removed as another life.

I had lost loved ones before. I had seen many dead and dying during my work. And I was no stranger to the damage that bullets can wreak on a human face or body. Corpses were part of the territory, as was fear and hysteria and mourning. But, somehow this was different. I no longer had a way to make sense of it. Of death, of loss, of my work. I felt his blood had stained my hands, that my soul was scarred and I was angry with a hot white rage - at me, at God at life.

My therapist explained the difference as being that Kehla’s death had triggered all the trauma which I had experienced in my life and never dealt with or allowed myself to feel. Part of how this happened was that Kehla had been assassinated in exactly the same manner as another close friend of mine (Prince) in 1992. At the time of Prince’s funeral I remember swearing on his grave that I would never allow that to happen again. Therapy was helpful in giving me a frame to think about what I was experiencing, a way to believe that I was not mad. That same year I was completing my undergraduate studies in Psychology and one of the
course foci was on Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). All of this gave me an intellectual outlet to process and hold my experience, but my heart was broken and I had no will to go on.

I left South Africa to join the Case program knowing that if I did not my soul would not survive this journey through life. It was a self-imposed exile from the place of my soul, the work of my life and the continent of my birth. I no longer believed in the new South Africa, everything that I had given my life to, everything that I had endured or seen or witnessed was pointless. I had given everything I had, body, soul, mind and it had not been good enough. And with this came the deep resentment and anger at a lost childhood, a life given to a cause which had been betrayed in the final moments of victory.

As for peacemaking, I no longer believed in my ability or in the theories that I had used to construct and guide my work. Kehla had been killed in a taxi war between the three taxi associations in our original mediation in the area. I knew his assassins, had worked with them, and had attempted three times to mediate the dispute - unsuccessfully. The third time I walked away, believing that mediation was not the solution but unable to present an alternative process. When his assassins were tried and those that paid them appeared in court the reason they gave for killing him was “He was too clever and too committed to peace”. Kehla, my pride as a peacemaker, had been killed because he was too committed to peace. A commitment that I had actively encouraged and nurtured.
Not only had I failed personally and professionally, but I had actively been part of the reason he was killed – I might as well have pulled the trigger myself.

I have been in therapy, on and off, since 1997 and over the years the symptoms have become less severe. I have learnt what the triggers in my environment are, and worked around them as best I can. Sometimes I am unsuccessful and then know that I have to ride the tide until the PTSD releases me again. These are the days when I struggle to get myself out of bed, when the nightmares return in all their vibrant detail, when I feel completely overwhelmed and can barely carry the weight of grief and pain which closes in around my being. I have learnt that the rawness of those days return every year on the anniversary of his death, and ensure that I design my schedule so that I need not be in the world for at least a week. But, all of this is nothing compared to the hopelessness, futility and shame that gnawed away at my insides.

I came across Frankl’s book by chance. It was a riveting read which I did in one sitting. I have read it again and again in awe of the wisdom therein contained. But, that first time was when I had the paradigm shift. The words of Nietzsche became etched in my consciousness “He who has a why can endure any how”. That was my life. I had endured all, more than is fair to place on a single soul because I had a compelling, overriding and important why to it all. The new South Africa, the dream of liberation, the legacy for future generations, the struggle. It was the way that I explained away all the loss and suffering, of
friends, of my own childhood innocence stolen before it had been experienced. What had happened when Kehla died was that my why came to be a lie that I no longer believed. Because I did not have a container to make it meaningful I could not endure his passing and all my life experiences came back to haunt me. This also explained my lack of interest in life, my resentment when I woke in the morning to face another day – I no longer had a meaning for my life. My work as a peacemaker had been taken from me, and there was nothing worth my life to give or be in the world. I was in an existential crisis of meaning, of logos, and logos is deeper than the logic of psychotherapy.

So where to now I wondered? All I had was a suffering soul and this was where I was to find meaning? Frankl says when suffering is unavoidable it must be borne with dignity, an opportunity to display the highest potential of a human being. I must carry my suffering in a way that was worthy of it, that was worthy of Kehla. I had found a way to go forward, to bare my suffering as a testimony to the lives sacrificed and love shared, and I would do it willingly.

Proposition about conflict:
Any peace process must account for the conflict narrative as a source of identity and existential meaning. The “issues” identified for negotiation must be seen as indicators of these deeper dynamics rather than being taken at face value as the actual cause or driver of the conflict.
The conflict between Israel and Palestine has long been a source of concern and intervention by the international community. For many years there has been a “peace process” mediated by the United States in an attempt to bring the parties to resolution. However, each time a breakthrough seems eminent the process is derailed, leading to broken agreements and a deepening of distrust between the protagonists. The current situation seems no closer to a resolution, with Israel intent on building a wall to separate the Palestinian territories from their land, and suicide bombers continuing to find ways to enter Israel to wreak their destruction.

What is interesting is that although the peace process has been very successful in identifying the key issues for negotiation and developing a clear consensus between the parties that these are the sticking points to resolution, this in itself has not led them closer to a point of resolution. One way to understand this impasse is that the rational actor model of understanding the drivers and dynamics in conflict situations as being the identification of interests and needs and creating an issues list from this understanding has limited merit. When applying a rational actor model this conflict does not seem that complex. There are basically two options on the table: a two state solution or a one state with two nations solution. World opinion is very clear that a two state solution is most reasonable given the aspirations of Palestinians for their own sovereign territory and the desire of Israel to be a Jewish State. What is required to create a two state solution is the resolution of three key issues: the right of return of refugees, the future of Jerusalem and final agreement on the borders of Palestine and fate
of the Jewish Settlements within this. Recently a non-formal peace agreement has been circulated which offer the specific solutions to these outstanding questions. However, even this has not broken the impasse.

Clearly this indicates that something deeper is at play here. If the conflict was simply driven by the rational interests and needs of each party a resolution would have been found by now and Palestine would have its own nation state. What this proposition invites is to view this conflict from the stance of existential meaning. How are the larger questions of meaning being asked and answered by this conflict? What do the “issues” reveal about the source and nature of this conflict?

I share the following personal journal entry from my time in Israel/Palestine as a way to think about what these deeper existential questions may be.

This is the Holy Land. Not by virtue of human beings or what they deem to think – but by the very hand of God. God has pointed out this place, and this people, has laid the mark of his prophets on this space. And as it has been said over and over in the book of the God of Abraham – my prophets are killed all the day long, my people are persecuted and my wrath has been kindled against them. This is the vortex of history within which this drama plays itself out. The soul and consciousness of the human species is at stake. Exactly what this means is open to the interpretation of the three religions of the Book. But that it is true, is not up for dispute. This conflict, or war as some may label it, is ultimately not about religion, or politics, or economics – it is about the existence of a people. For the Jews and the Palestinians alike – it is about the survival of their people and all that this implies - be it religion, or culture, or values, or history, or future. (January, 2001)
Hypothesis 2: The Source of Conflict

The all consuming nature of the conflict experience leads to the creation of a conflict narrative and its centrality as an organizing principle for identity. Therefore:

a) these conflicts become an opportunity to experience and create self; and
b) this identity is sustained by and dependent on the creation of an enemy.

Helpful Theoretical Lenses

A defining feature of the South African experience has been the conflict between identity groups (both ethnic and political) for recognition and space in the country. This struggle has imbued every aspect of human organizing and become an overriding theme within our history. Following on the previous proposition that human beings are fundamentally meaning-making creatures, driven by a “will to meaning”, it follows that a focus of this meaning-making project is to make sense of the conflict experience. This search for meaning to the conflict in turn, leads to the creation of a conflict narrative in an attempt to locate the individual and the group in a meaningful way within the conflict landscape.

I call them conflict narratives, myths of origin, stories of group identity. They are the language that we use to construct our past as a people, the words that contain the meaning of our existence – which we faithfully pass on to every new generation. It is the thread of continuity that feeds the life of a nation. Every people have this in some form or fashion. But the function remains the same. It
becomes a way of navigating the questions of living, a lighthouse in the storm, a way to engage our daily existence in order to keep our conscience clean. In identity-based conflict, these stories become central, fixed notions of who we are, and they feed off the conflict. It is a subtle relationship, in which the conflict becomes an organizing principle for the questions of identity and meaning. A framework if you like, by which to understand our daily experience, to order our feelings and process our cognition’s by. A way to reinforce the boundaries of our identity, and bind us together as a group. We are Arabs, or Palestinians, or Jews, or Israelis. “We” can only exist because there is a “they”. And so the symbiotic relationship is in place. I require a “they” so that there can be an “us” and within this all I find my place.

In order to better understand how group identity is formed and operates, I turned to the field of social psychology and found the work on social identity theory very informative.

A founding assumption in identity theory is that individuals experience their sense of self “…in terms of their immersion in relationships with others and with larger collectives” (Brewer & Gardner, 1996:83) and this becomes the reference point for self-evaluation. The field of social psychology has seen a renewed interest in how individuals and groups define and experience their identities. This curiosity is being fed as cross-cultural exposure and post-modernist thinking leads to questioning long held assumptions about the nature of individual identity.
Central to this new perspective is the idea that connectedness and belonging are not merely affiliations or alliances between the self and others but entail fundamental differences in the way the self is constructed. (Brewer & Gardner, 1996:83)

The following table identifies these differences in self-concept.

**Table 3: Levels of Representation of the Self**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of analysis</th>
<th>Self-concept</th>
<th>Basis of self-evaluation</th>
<th>Frame of reference of</th>
<th>Basic social motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Traits</td>
<td>Interpersonal comparison</td>
<td>Self-interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal</td>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>Roles</td>
<td>Reflection</td>
<td>Other’s benefit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Group prototype</td>
<td>Intergroup comparison</td>
<td>Collective welfare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Brewer & Gardner, 1996:84)

I propose that the conflict narrative activates this level of collective self-concept where my frame of reference is the “other” leading to the basic social motivation being the welfare of my collective or group. Although a relational and collective self-concept are both social extensions of self, their difference lies in the quality of bonds towards others.

Prentice, Miller, and Lightdate (1994) distinguished between group identities that are based on common bonds (attachment to other group members) and those based on common identity (collective identities). (Brewer & Gardner, 1996:83)

This collective identity in turn is characterized by a depersonalized sense of self where the self is understood as an interchangeable exemplar of some social category and away from the perception of self as a unique person (Brewer & Gardner; 1996, Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell; 1987).
depersonalized sense of self is also a feature noted by Simmel as a key characteristic of non-realistic/ideological conflict (Coser, 1956). “This is symbolically represented by the shift from I to we as a term of reference.” (Brewer & Gardner, 1996:87)

There are two outstanding questions in social identity theory which represent the future direction of research in this field. The first is what determines which level of self-concept is activated at a given point in time and why. The second is how these changes in self-concept represent different views of the world. These two questions link to my inquiry on how conflict narratives are activated and how they can be destabilized or shifted in order to open up space for peaceful co-existence with the “other”.

Illustration

My identity lies at the intersection of three distinct South African ethnic and cultural groups; the Afrikaners, the English and the Blacks\(^{10}\). It is a confusing identity, which I still have not found my peace with. My skin is white and the blood that runs in my veins a combination of the Afrikaans and English racial lines. But, my cultural orientation is black and this is where my soul finds its home. In some ways, my identity is a metaphoric site for the larger historical struggle between these three groups for space in this land. And so, this struggle has found a home inside of me, which overshadows all other influences. It is

\(^{10}\) Here I use the term “Black” to encompass the “Colored”, “Indian” and “Black” population of South Africa.
therefore easy to understand how it is that my life has been so intimately shaped and connected to the destiny of this land and the outcome of this conflict.

*My maternal ancestors came to South Africa in the 1600’s. At the time, the southern tip of South Africa (what is now known as Cape Town) was a way-station for the Dutch East Indian Company’s spice trade between Europe and India. In 1652 the Dromadaris ferried my ancestors to the Cape of Good Hope as boere (farmers) aiming to grow fresh produce for the trade ships. In addition to farmers from Holland, my ancestry also includes French Huguenots who were fleeing religious persecution in France.*

*I have no real way to imagine their lives, or hopes, or dreams that they brought. But, I assume that like me they were in awe of the breathtaking beauty of this continent. The open sky which seems endless, peppered by clouds that hang as if placed there by an artist. The vast expanse of land interrupted with a mountain range that became known as the Drakensberg (the Dragon’s back) which twines its way from the north to south of our country. This rag-tag of individuals each came to the shores of Africa from different destinations and for different reasons, and gave birth to the Afrikaners. A strong and independent nation, stubborn and hardworking and held together by a theological teaching that they were God’s chosen people. The Afrikaners have loved this land of their birth and broken all ties with their European ancestry; developing their own language (Afrikaans).*
My paternal ancestry is tied to the English colonists who came to claim the key economic interest of the country. In 1820 they brought over a British population in order to solidify their hold on South Africa. The story goes that during this time in Britain existed the “Mendican Laws” which forbade begging. If one was caught then you and your entire family were given the choice to either be imprisoned or be exiled to the colonies. My ancestry chose the colonies and again I have no real sense of these individuals or their lives. But it is clear from the bloodline that they did not love this land with their soul as to date the English-speaking South Africans have remained slightly distant from the hopes and dreams of the African continent, content to hold a primary allegiance to their European ancestral roots.

The indigenous inhabitants of the Cape were the hunter-gathering tribes of the Khoi-San who were a peaceful and nomadic nation living in small bands. The new population could not use them as labor and so brought in slaves from Malaysia who through racial mixing form the ancestry of what later became labeled the “Cape Coloreds”. The Khoi-San people have been almost completely decimated with only a small remaining number now living in neighboring Botswana. And so their light touch on the Cape can only be found in the beautiful and ethereal cave paintings that capture their history.

There are stories of struggles between the British and Afrikaans inhabitants which led to the Great Trek inland and two Anglo-Boer wars. It was this trek inland to escape the overpowering administrative and legal influence of the
British, as well as the expansion of the colony that led to wars with the Bantu tribes. The Bantu were herders who had migrated south in search of grazing and for generations had inhabited what is now known as South Africa.

One of my maternal ancestors (Dirkie Uys) is a folk-hero of the Afrikaners for his courage in battle against the Zulu. In this battle Dirkie’s father was badly wounded and the Afrikaners in retreat. The 16 year refused to leave his father and stood up to an onslaught of Zulu impis (soldiers) only to be killed too. The Afrikaners hold this up as an example of their fortitude and loyalty to family, their courage in battle and the value of laying down your life in defense of your people. During this same time, one of my paternal ancestors distinguished himself in battle against the Xhosa and is enshrined in the Grahamstown Cathedral for killing the most kaffirs (a derogatory term for black) in battle.

These great wars between the Afrikaners and the English, and the colonial population and the blacks eventually led to the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. Here the British handed over governance of the colony to the white population. This has created a fragile peace between the two ancestral lines, only held together by the pressure of the black population. But the antagonism still runs deep.

The hatred of the Afrikaner for the English has its emotive roots in the Anglo-Boer War where these two groups fought for control of South Africa. At this point
the Afrikaners had established large farms inland and were seeking their own homeland outside of the British Colony. The British deployed their army to put down the uprising but could not pin down the boere forces because of their guerrilla tactics. In order to force them into submission the British established a slash and burn policy destroying all the farms and placing whole families in concentration camps. This broke the back of the resistance movement by removing the sources of food for the guerillas as well as imprisoning their families. My family, as with every other Afrikaner can point to at least one member lost in the concentration camps.

It can be said that the Afrikaner struggle for their volk en vaderland (people and fatherland) was finally attained when the National Party (NP) came to power in 1948 under the leadership of H.W Verwoerd. This Afrikaner nationalist group founded the ideology of apartheid (separateness) which enshrined in a set of laws the segregation of races and the political, social and economic domination of the white population. The attachment of these people to their country of birth is best articulated by their national anthem “Die Stem” (The Call).

Die Stem van Suid-Afrika


Cornelius Jacob Langenhoven, 1918 [1873-1932]

Uit die blou van onse hemel,  
Vit die diepte van ons see,  
Oor ons ewige gebergtes waar  
Die kranse antwoord gee,  
Deur ons ver-verlate vlaktes  
Met die kreun van ossewa

Ringing out from out blue heavens,  
From our deep seas breaking round;  
Over everlasting mountains  
Where the echoing crags resound;  
From our plains where creaking wagons  
Cut their trails into the earth
But what of the black population? The struggle for self-determination and space to exist in this land, was not only an Afrikaans struggle, it was also a black struggle. Aspirations for recognition by the British colonists were continually thwarted even though delegations were sent to the Queen to request...
intervention. And so, in 1912 the black population founded the African National Congress (ANC) as a body to lobby for equal recognition and citizenship in South Africa.

It is somewhat ironic that this attempt to organize a political voice for the black population became more effective as the white dispensation became more radical in their racial segregation policies. The 1950’s and 1960’s became known in the anti-apartheid struggle as the time of non-violent resistance. Inspired by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi\textsuperscript{11} the movement engaged in mass actions of civil disobedience. It was in this context that my father became politicized and an anti-apartheid activist. This shift was central to my own positioning of self as an activist and led to my black cultural heritage.

In summary, I offer the following table that contrasts the apartheid and anti-apartheid conflict narrative.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Contrasting Narratives in Apartheid South Africa}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
Pro-apartheid narrative & Anti-apartheid narrative \\
“separate but equal” & “liberation” \\
\hline
Theological & The Dutch Reformed churches and their Liberation Theology and Just War Theory – \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{11} Gandhi came to South Africa in 1893 and was most politically active starting in 1906. He left South Africa for good in 1914.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>justification</th>
<th>theology of a “chosen people”</th>
<th>all people are the Children of God.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideological grounding</td>
<td>A deep mind-set of white supremacy and belief that races should be given the opportunity to develop at their own pace. 3 dangers in society - communists, liberal churches &amp; Blacks.</td>
<td>Socialist, communist and black consciousness movement. A fight against a system not individuals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948 – The establishment of apartheid as a political system</td>
<td>The establishment of separate development allowing each race to rule themselves</td>
<td>The establishment of an evil and immoral system that robs the majority of the population of their basic human rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990 – The beginning of negotiating a transition</td>
<td>Pressure to negotiate with terrorists/communists in order to protect the way of life of whites in a new South Africa.</td>
<td>An opportunity for liberation movements to suspend the armed struggle and negotiate a peaceful political transition to a new South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transition violence 1990-94</td>
<td>Black-on-black violence which proved that they were not ready to rule themselves</td>
<td>State-sponsored violence to undermine the constituency base and credibility of the liberation movements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election in 1994</td>
<td>A power-sharing arrangement to protect whites from a possible backlash of angry black South Africans</td>
<td>The fulfillment of the dream of liberation which included the compromise of power-sharing to prevent a civil war</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s observations and interviews

**Proposition about conflict**
Identity-based conflicts can be understood as non-realistic conflicts which function to maintain group identity boundaries through the creation of a conflict narrative that define an enemy. These boundaries then become dependent on this enemy and the ongoing nature of conflict.
What makes you a Palestinian or Israeli? This was a question that I asked awkwardly during my time in the region and was driven by a desire to understand what would need to change in these identity constructs in order for peace to become a real possibility. As an outsider to the conflict there seems more holding these two groups together than any real differences that keep them apart. Religiously they both come from a common theological ancestry (Abraham, Isaac and Jacob) and consider themselves Religions of the Book. Physically it is very difficult to tell them apart, although they have ways of knowing who is Palestinian and who is Jewish. And finally, culturally their practices are very similar, even their diet being determined by generations in a semi-arid environment.

Yet somehow both Israelis and Palestinians have managed to construct their identities in ways that negate the similarities between their cultures and histories. For the Jewish population there is an appropriation of a European identity and for the Palestinians an Arab identity. This is done in order to differentiate them from the “other” and works to further maintain the narrative that the “other” intends to eliminate them completely. Each group recites a history of their nation as being one of persecution and insecurity. For the Jews this is an international persecution which culminated most recently in the genocide of WW11. For the Palestinians it is a history of colonization which culminated most recently in the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948. Both see the solution to their future security as a nation in being given a sovereign state where they may
permanently have a place and space as a nation. And more importantly both lay
historical claim to the land that is now under hot dispute, going back to pre-
biblical times to validate this claim through proof of residence.

Hypothesis 3:
Location of Conflict

Identity-based conflict can be understood as a field of practice where a
recursive relationship exists between the conflict narrative, identity and
specific manifestations of the conflict. Therefore:
a) conflicting becomes a set of social practices which bounds the acts of
individual agents while in turn being reinforced by their practice; and
b) the conflict becomes inter-generational in nature as new generations
are born and inducted into the practice of the conflict narrative.

Helpful Theoretical Lenses

This hypothesis inquires into the location and dynamics of identity-based conflict,
how it manifests, is renewed and shifts over time. A particularly important
dynamic is the link between micro- and macro- analysis or stated otherwise the
link between agency and structure. It has been the field of practice theory and
more specifically Anthony Giddens’ “structuration theory” which has been most
helpful in thinking through this relationship.

Practice theory is an extension of social constructionist theory which takes the
traditional focus on “text “and extends this into a concern with practice. This
social theory has been developed in the work of theorists like Bourdieu, Giddens, Taylor and late Foucault.

...the newness of the(se) cultural theories consists in explaining and understanding actions by reconstructing the symbolic structures of knowledge which enable and constrain the agents to interpret the world according to certain forms, and to behave in corresponding ways” (Reckwitz, 2002:246).

Practice theory focuses on social practices as “…certain routinized ways of understanding the world, of desiring something, of knowing how to do something…” (Reckwitz, 2002:251). Therefore, structures can be found in the routine nature of action, not in an external reality.

Giddens explains how social practices are created through the reciprocal relationship between structures and agents. In his theorizing structures embody “rules and resources” which agents utilize in their daily activities. It is the act of using structures that reaffirms their existence, as much as crises of routines work to shift structures.

...For practice theory, then, the ‘breaking’ and ‘shifting’ of structures must take place in everyday crises of routines, in constellations of interpretative interdeterminacy and of the inadequacy of knowledge with which the agent, carrying out a practice, is confronted in the face of a ‘situation’” (Reckwitz, 2002:255)

These notions allow us to think about conflict as social practice, which is created and sustained by particular rules, resources and routinized actions of agents. I would propose that there exist meta- conflict narratives that contain the “rules of
engagement” for participants who utilize this knowledge to engage with and create structures of conflict (including identity). The individual agent uses these social practices skillfully, and only when confronted with a crisis of “inadequate knowledge” does the conflict practice shift to account for this, leading to shifts in the manifestation of conflict.

The following set of illustrations uses my personal experience as an agent in the social practice of conflict, to highlight how crisis moments shift both identity and narratives.

**Illustrations**

**Born into the Struggle: My Childhood years**

*I have no personal memory of my childhood, only snippets of stories which give a feel of this time and from which I can make certain interpretations. My mother is the memory carrier of our family. She is both a consummate story-teller and has the ability to remember the details of almost any event that has ever been told or passed through our space as a family. From her I get the very best sense of who I was growing up, what the major events in our history have been and also who and what has passed through our lives. What these stories do tell me is that the dominant force in shaping our existence was the anti-apartheid struggle. Not only was this the theme, but the content and the reason for everything.*
The story goes that when the National Party came to power in 1948 a group of interdenominational clergy came together to purchase a plot of land. Guided by a vision from the Holy Spirit they were called to found a place where races could be brought together, understanding that apartheid would work to permanently divide them. The vision was prophetic and the place they bought became known as Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre. My father, an Anglican priest, was placed here by the church in 1965 to be the warden and steward the growth of the vision.

By the time I was born my parents had broken completely with their ancestral heritage and narrative and were fully immersed in the anti-apartheid movement. The story of my parents and the choices they have made is an echo of the larger story of the anti-apartheid struggle. Our family history is tied to key events in the resistance of apartheid. For example, my father’s first congregation was in Sophiatown\textsuperscript{12}, which was also the first site of forced removals under the apartheid governments’ policy of the Group Areas Act\textsuperscript{13}. Or the first casualty of the 1976 uprising\textsuperscript{14} was 13 year old Hector Peterson who was a member of my fathers’ congregation in Soweto\textsuperscript{15}.

As a child I did not understand any of these events, or their implications. As with all children you grow up thinking that your life is the norm, and it was only later

\textsuperscript{12} This was a multi-racial community located in Johannesburg where my father followed after Bishop Trevor Huddleston who wrote a book about this period of forced removals called “Naught for your comfort”.

\textsuperscript{13} This act legislated the separation of living spaces for racial groups and led to the forced removal of millions of South Africans in order to clear “black spots” in areas designated for whites.

\textsuperscript{14} The Soweto riots were in protest by black students against being taught in Afrikaans (the language of the oppressor).

\textsuperscript{15} Soweto is the largest black township in South Africa.
that I understood how the lives of my parents shaped a very unusual upbringing. Where most white people involved in the struggle still lived in white only areas, I lived at Wilgespruit which although located in a very verkramp (conservative) white area was a haven for anti-apartheid activists. My father took us to church in Soweto, and so I spent most of my time in the township among our congregation members. And where most children slept in safety our home was continually raided. Security branch members had a 24-hour watch on our property, and when I walked in the streets with my black sisters and brothers we were both physically and verbally abused.

This environment of insecurity is best described by a poem that my mother wrote when I was three.

I AM

I am 3.00 a.m.
I am a knock on your front door
I am the men from the political police
I am a warrant to pry and accuses
I am an order to ban or detain.

I am 3.00 a.m.
I am searching your bedroom
I am reading your books, your letters, your diary
I am retrieving the carnation yesterday
thrown crumpled into your wastepaper basket.

I am 3.00 a.m.
I am the hidden precipice of the unknown
I am the invisible fear
Whispering in the back of your mind
I have come to take you away.

- Tish White (1973) -
I have come to take you away….I have come to take you away….I have come to take you away. My mother says that I had terrible nightmares as a child, where I would wake up screaming. I don’t remember this, but I do remember these nightmares have continued into my adult life. The theme is the same even as the setting and characters change. Someone or something is trying to kill me, always in different ways, burning or shooting or stabbing or drowning or beating. I am running or paralyzed with fear. And always I awake just before the moment of death but far enough into the dream to have experienced the physical pain of being brought to death’s door. But never is there enough of a story-line to justify why, why these people or things are trying to take my life.

I learnt as a child not to ask too many questions or speak too openly about my most private thoughts. Our house and telephone were bugged since birth and I knew that what was being recorded could be used at any point by the state to imprison or kill us as a family. These circumstances created a deep bond between us, where words were not necessary and our instincts keenly honed to know not to ask when people disappeared. Ever alert, ever watchful and always protective of each other.

As a child I never understood why we were being persecuted, only that we were. I never understood why we were not safe, only that we weren’t. It was only when I started primary school and had to go to an all-white institution that I realized
there was racial segregation. But my political conscientization emerged much later.

**The birth of a freedom-fighter: My Teenage Years**

I often joke with people that they would not have liked me, or me them, if we had met when I was a teenager. My soul purpose in life had been distilled through a thousand infinite moments of living under apartheid. And by the time I was 16 a revolutionary had emerged. The edges of my world had shrunk down to only the struggle, a hard look was in my eye, and a burning rage was in my heart.

I see the faces of children in Palestine, their hands reaching down into the dust to pick up a rock and hurl it at an armored vehicle. And I remember that it did not feel so pointless to me at the time. It was the ultimate act of defiance, the only way to live with any dignity. It no longer matters if your small act brings down the beast, it matters only that you act – against all odds, consistently and with everything you have inside. And when you are 12 or 16 and living with an enemy who has all the technology required to kill, your body and your soul become your only weapon. We would march in huge numbers, toyi-toying (protest dance) “Jabula Mama, Jabula Ma ishaya mabunu (I am happy mother for we will hit (kill) the whites). The earth would vibrate from the thunder of our feet coming down in unison, our voices beautiful in the harmony of song. We were the “young lions”, an army of youth willing to hurl their bodies at the beast, throw themselves into the bullets, water the tree of liberation with their blood.
The year was 1986, a decade since the Soweto uprising, where school children took to the streets in protest of being taught in Afrikaans (the language of the oppressor). We were on a mission, to honor the sacrifice of those who gave their lives in 1976, and bring down this regime with our bare hands if necessary. We marched under the banner of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and under the orders of the ANC in exile to make the country ungovernable. A nation-wide boycott of school was called and an army of youth emerged, we were the vanguard of the struggle and would lead the rest of the nation by our example and dedication. The slogan was “Liberation before Education” – everything must be suspended in service of our liberation for we had no future without it.

I had grown up inside the struggle and a theology of liberation. My understanding of Jesus was that he was a social revolutionary, and that if you wanted to be a Christian you should be one too. Willing to lay your life in service of the “Kingdom of God” where every person is free and treated with dignity, where humanity takes its rightful place as the image of God in this world. But in my generation the narrative of non-violence had been replaced with Just War. It was time to fight the enemy and bring it to its knees, and it was we who would deliver this blow. A rage had come to live inside of me, white hot and blinding in its intensity. I could no longer live this way and I could no longer love the enemy that hurt me.
Wilgespruit had become a safe-haven for those fleeing the black townships and the genocide being perpetrated there. Of these refugees there was a large group of youth from Leandra Township who were resisting the forced removal of their community to make way for a “white area” and as a result they were being hunted and killed. I spent all my time with them, and it was here that my revolutionary character was honed.

It was dawn when we heard the helicopters. Chaos ensued. Our property became a writhing mass of running, screaming people. Police and army deployed from the sky and armored vehicles, they brought with them their dogs and automatic rifles. In a valley the sound carries with all its intimate intensity and I felt each bullet fired as though it was at me. My father rushed me out of the house while I continued to protest, dumped me in a car and got my brother to drive me to school. There was no peace for me that day, living with the fear of what I would return to.

Everything was quiet when I got home that afternoon. The land lay bruised as a woman after labor, and a silence had descended over my family. The focus was to get all of those arrested out of prison before real damage could be done to them, to get those who had escaped detection medical attention for the bullet wounds and try to mop the blood off the walls where it had been sprayed from the beating. It was here that the rage was born. The rage that seared its way
through me and did not stop for years. The white hot rage of indignation, of this is enough, of I will no longer stand by, of give me a gun and I will kill them all.

The leader of the Leandra group was a young man called Fasco, an articulate and beautiful man with a mesmerizing presence. We managed to get almost everyone released, but they kept Fasco. When he emerged from prison he was a broken man. A crude reminder of what behavior modification torture can do to the human mind. They had “demobilized” Fasco for good, he was a rambling fool who had betrayed his people under the pain of torture. Our country is filled with these individuals, broken pieces of humanity who wish they had succumbed to the honor of death rather than live with the shame of breaking under pressure.

After the Detention and Interrogation of a friend

I betrayed you
my friend
despite the willingness
in my soul
to remain faithful
to your secrets.

In the dark, dank
dreary cell
Your image was not enough
to sustain
me
Your words
jaded and faded
were less
seductive
than those of my interrogators

My fear-crippled conscience
sealed your fate
and you moved
next in the long line
of accused
Now –
in the warmth of my bed
and in the coldness
of my soul
I know not
where to hide
this abyss of ambivalence

Ah! Friend
It would be better
better by far
that we had
no meeting
point
in common time

- Tish White (1973)

It was almost 10 years later than I first told my parents I had been recruited and trained by the armed wing of the ANC – Mkonto We Siswe (Spear of the Nation). And even now I do not reveal the details, for the lesson of secrecy and the fear of betrayal have become a part of me. During the 1980’s it became the practice of the “movement” to train people inside the country because moving into exile for training in the military camps on our borders became too dangerous. The training was very rudimentary, and because I was in intelligence much of it was focused on how to evade detection and smuggle people or information in and out of the country. But I did learn to dismantle, clean and put back together an AK-47 blindfolded, and to thrown a hand-grenade. I loved the feel of the AK under my fingers. It is a beautiful weapon, reliable, sturdy and able to take all kinds of abuse without jamming. It was not mine, because there were not enough to go round, but was given to whoever had an operation. My code name was Thenjiwe (the trusted one) and my connection to the larger cell was only one person – my
“handler”. I learnt to fire other weapons. The standard issue of the army was an R-1 rifle, and so we learnt to use these too, just in case you managed to secure one from a fallen enemy.

My radicalization was complete. My life, a tumult of student activities, planning the next mass action, commandeering transport to take us to funerals where we toyi-toyied on the graves of our fallen comrades swearing to avenge their deaths. I dressed in army fatigues, smoked cigarettes and hero-worshiped Fidel Castro, Moa Tse Tung and Che Guevara. I ate, slept, drank and breathed the struggle for liberation. It was my second last year of high-school and I was elected into the Executive of the Student Representative Council of our school and the Transvaal Student Congress (the national student body which coordinated activities). The country was burning and we had the enemy scared. Scared of our strength of numbers, by our dedication, by our willingness to die, and by how many replaced those who the regime managed to kill or maim. Needless to say this put me on a collision path with the school authorities, which led to my expulsion. But, I didn’t care. History was on our side and we would be victorious even if I never lived to see that day.

_Blessed are the peacemakers: Adulthood_
The year was 1988 and I was called to Harare (Zimbabwe) through the contorted communication system set up between my handler and me. It was on this trip that I heard the consultation happening within the ranks of the ANC regarding the release of Nelson Mandela. Talks between the ANC leadership and the government of the day had progressed to the point of a possible negotiation for a transition to the new South Africa, and the movement wanted to know what people thought. It was difficult for me to understand how we could trust the regime, whether their intentions were true, but I was willing to give it a chance particularly because Madiba (the clan name of Mandela) thought it was a good idea. I held this information to myself and watched the news carefully to see how this step would be communicated to and received by the general population.

At this point I had been expelled from school before completing my matric (final year), and like many others in the country was from a generation who had sacrificed their education for liberation. It became clear that the tide was shifting, that the young lions needed to make way for our leadership in prison and exile to take the struggle into its next iteration, and I wondered where this left me.

My parents had taken a sabbatical and were touring the USA and Europe. I joined them for the European leg of the trip and spent a month on a euro-rail visiting England, Holland, France, Sweden, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. This was my first time out of Southern Africa and I remember how mind-blowing an experience this was. I felt as if the walls around my entire world had suddenly
been blown-open and I struggled to process all the sights and sounds I was encountering. My father took me to every single cathedral and art gallery in every city that we visited, and my soul was deeply moved by the beauty contained therein. I came away from that trip understanding for the first time that South Africa was a microcosm of a larger human family, that there was a whole world out there that lived and breathed. It was on this trip that I had a fateful conversation with a friend of the family who was studying community psychology. It was then that I made the decision this was what I wanted to do with my life, this would be my contribution to our country.

In his address to parliament in February, 1990 President de Klerk announced the unbanning of all liberation movements, the release of all political prisoners and the intention to begin a national negotiation for transition. A referendum was called for the white community to vote on whether this should go forward, and for the first time I exercised my right to vote by giving a “yes” to de Klerk. The day Madiba walked out of Polsmoor prison, with Winnie on his arm, and a fist raised in triumph was ethereal. We watched the television screen, mesmerized.

I began as a volunteer at Wilgespruit, deciding to try and resume my studies through a correspondence course and it was during this time that I worked for their Conflict Resolution program.
It was a strange time for me, disconnected from my previous role as an activist, grappling to find my feet in the world of peacemaking, and our communities experiencing terrible political and ethnic violence. I moved further and further away from the movement, feeling slightly disillusioned with their handling of the situation. But, my experience as an activist stood me in good stead when working with different factions in the conflict. I understood the way in which the structures operated, how decisions were made, and most importantly the codes which people lived and communicated by. My confidence grew as I shaped a new role for myself in the struggle.

The years 1990 – 1994 were the formal phase of the South African transition. At a national level it began with “talks about talks” and progressed onto the formation of the Congress for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) where the official negotiations between different political groupings occurred. At a community level each of the major factions (the apartheid government, the ANC and the IFP) continued to pursue an armed strategy to build their constituency base in order to lobby their positions in the formal peace process. Wilgespruit began by training all the national players in principled negotiation skills and then moved onto violence monitoring and intervention into the conflicts engulfing our communities. The stakes were high and everyone knew that if this peace process did not work our country would be engulfed in a civil war.
These years of working in the most violent communities in our province gave birth to a peacemaker and the learning curve was incredible. My work was my life and my body and mind the only tool I had to make a contribution. There is no real way to describe my days and nights grappling to find ways to hold the process together. Here is an extract from my personal journal which captures some of the emotion of that time.

Phola Park, South Africa. 1991

It is dark. So dark, as only a moonless night can be. Yet every sense is alert, and my eyes are searching the roadside desperately. Looking for a movement, a sign of life. Knowing that there are a hundred eyes watching you. Breathless. Yes, that is how I feel. As though to breathe would be to give away too much. Knowing what a target we are. In a white car, on a deserted road driving towards the storm. Even the peacekeepers are too scared to come here after dark.

There are no lights or roads in this part of town so we stop at the closest point we can, and climb out. Walking slowly and awkwardly, waiting for our eyes to adjust. I hear a sound and motion to Philip - suddenly out of the darkness I see their shapes. Crouched low, guns out, watching us. We walk on. And then it starts. I really don’t know who shot first, or where it came from. I go down, the blood and adrenaline pumping. Pumping so hard that my ears zing, and all I hear is my breathing. Moving out, crawling, low. I am so scared. “Shit! Shit! Shit! Our Father who art in Heaven…. Our Father who art in Heaven.” I am like a serpent on the ground, slithering towards what I think is safety. Anywhere to get away from the bullets. “Shit! God, are you there? I am too young to die.” Where is safety? I stop to catch my breath. Leaning up against a shanty structure, trying to figure out where the bullets are coming from. They say that adrenaline makes your head clear and all your senses alert. They lie. It fuddles my brain. I can’t think. “Shit. God are you there?”

I know that I must move. I slowly make my way towards where I think Prince’s shanty is. But I am disconcerted and it is so dark. “God are you there?” I find his house. Now what? The gunfire has become sporadic. I hear the boots of soldiers moving. Out or deeper in? Where is Prince?
**Proposition about conflict**

Conflicting is a practice per Bourdieu, it is a game that takes place on a field with particular (socially constructed) rules, with the players calling on their human social and cultural capital to win/play the game skillfully.

Being in the presence of Dr. Fashioun is an ethereal experience. It is hard to remember that this man is leader of the most powerful self-determination group in Nigeria and leader of the Yoruba people who are the majority ethnic group. We are in his office to discuss the upcoming elections, and see if there is a way to work together in preventing violence or more importantly another military coup de tat. He sits on a special chair which is more like a thrown, and graciously offers us tea. What is most striking is the reverence with which people address this unassuming man, and the quiet peacefulness of his presence. Remembering that hours before this meeting we were called in by the American Ambassador to Nigeria to discuss their reluctance to be seen as recognizing this group, I am even more disconcerted by his presence.

Dr Fashioun has a long political history in a country which has been plagued by civil war driven by secessionist aspirations and military coup de tats. He has become this powerful leader by astutely reading the signs and playing the political terrain in ways that ensure his ongoing authority in the country. Yet things have changed, and now there is a desire to see this election succeed. He is a skillful politician and it is clear that there is a very strategic reason this group has placed its support behind Obasanjo.
We leave his office with an agreement to work together on mobilizing his supporters to ensure a peaceful election, and also with a copy of his autobiography. I have his book in my hand as we make our way back to the hotel in Lagos to check-in. His face adorns the cover and when I place it on the counter to fill in the necessary forms people literally stop to stare. Lagos is located in the South West province of Nigeria and is majority Yoruba. I have porters, hotel staff and guests all approaching me to ask about Dr. Fashioun. Have I met him? Do I know he is the “father of the Yoruba people? Where can they get a copy of the book? If this man wanted to destabilize the elections it becomes crystal clear to me that it would only take his signal. Yet, he has decided not to, the changing face of the political terrain and the buy-in from key actors like Dr. Fashioun will ensure Nigeria’s transition to another civilian government.

In reflecting on why Dr. Fashioun would want a successful election I am again drawn back to the concept that conflicting is a very particular “game” wherein actors locate themselves, conduct strategic conversations and make decisions about how to respond to unfolding events. What Dr. Fashioun has read astutely is the will of the Nigerian people to “break the jinx” – the people themselves are tired of military dictators - and see this election as the one opportunity to break distinctively with this past. As a leader he is articulating this aspiration and placing his political will behind it.
Hypothesis 4:
Intervention Strategies
Different levels of reality and their institutions create a framework or matrix for the conflict. Therefore:

a) intervention strategies must be designed to leverage the “space” that exists within and/or between levels; and

b) when conflict narratives are destabilized and re-written changes in the practice of conflict occur.

Helpful Theoretical Lenses

This hypothesis speaks to the possible implications for intervention which this theoretical framework suggests. However, a note of caution is appropriate at this point. Any intervention strategy into these types of conflict has to account for its very complex, specific and multi-faceted nature. Therefore I am reluctant to suggest that there is a single formula which intervenors can follow and adapt to their specific challenges. Rather, I offer a set of frames for thinking about how to analyze and think about where points of interruption (intervention) may live.

The starting point is an understanding that these conflicts have a life and manifestation at a variety of levels within the society, which interact in surprising ways to create a diverse set of specific articulations. The work of Linda Sturm offers one helpful way of delineating the variety of levels operating within a system. I have adapted these to inquire into how these levels create a matrix of institutions and realities in which conflict can manifest. The following table offers a summary of the dimensions and dynamics that need to be balanced and
accounted for when designing an intervention in order to create optimum conditions for sustaining shifts in the conflict narrative.

Table 5: Levels of Institutions and Realities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Meta</th>
<th>Macro</th>
<th>Meso</th>
<th>Micro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Socio-cultural conditions &amp; global context</td>
<td>State policy &amp; legislation</td>
<td>State institutions, Civil society organizations &amp; business</td>
<td>Individuals, families &amp; communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Task / Role</td>
<td>Represents a consensus which also creates pressure for other levels to conform</td>
<td>Create moral and legal imperatives Articulates a new set of parameters</td>
<td>Create the framework / infrastructure for process (policy, education) Creates an environment within which the micro can be engaged and supported.</td>
<td>Represents the space for innovations &amp; process interventions where crisis moments can be engaged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation of Narratives</td>
<td>Global narratives of inclusion</td>
<td>Restorative justice</td>
<td>Reconciliation &amp; healing</td>
<td>Role Models which represent spiritual truths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manifestation of Conflict</td>
<td>Ideological</td>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>Resources</td>
<td>Human needs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Linda Sturm

The above levels (meta, macro, meso and micro) each contain specific institutions and a constitutive sphere of influence in the construction of reality. This in turn can be a helpful way to plot the life and manifestation of the various conflict dynamics, in order to better understand how conflict operates as a holistic system. The task of an intervention design process is to assess at which level and through which institution “space” exists - within that context - for an intervention to take root. This approach recognizes that each level interacts with
others, but that at any given point in time there may be space or opportunity to begin an intervention which then can grow into the whole system.

For example, within the South African scenario the case for a negotiated transition from apartheid to democracy was supported at a meta level by the larger global movement towards the post-cold war era. The fall of the Soviet Union reduced the global support (financial and ideological) for the liberation movements while simultaneously removing the need for a bastion of capitalism (as represented by the apartheid state) within Africa. In conjunction the ideology of democracy and human rights grew in legitimacy to support the call for a non-racial political system in South Africa. The space that this shift created in South Africa was taken up at the meso level where a forum for the transition was created to bring into conversation all the major stakeholders regarding the future of the country. It was only after the meta, macro and meso level created the framework for a new South Africa, that intervention work could happen at the micro level (which is still an ongoing project). What was of vital importance in this South African process was the existence of role models at each level who could articulate both the argument for a transition, as well as a model for shifting behavior and attitudes. As such a new narrative to support the transition was articulated at each level creating a matrix for new and generative narratives to take hold.
In sharp contrast to this is the situation in Israel/Palestine where at the meso level the current global narrative is one of the “war on terror” and a push towards religious exclusionary narratives of “the other”. This is contrasted with work happening at the micro level to encourage individuals from across the divide to discover the humanity of the other, while not being able to support that transformed experience at the macro or meta levels. This could be one reason why the transformations at individual relationship level have not managed to take root in a larger process toward peaceful coexistence.

Illustration:

We are in the micro-light, high up in the air. I can feel the greedy fingers of the wind grasping at me, taunting me with their agility. This is the domain of air, and earth lies far below us peaceful in her slumber. I can feel the warmth of his body between my knees as I perch above him in the little seat, and occasionally his voice crackles through the radio connection to direct my attention to something.

It is a different world up here, a different perspective. We are birds, albeit very clumsy and noisy ones, birds nonetheless. And it was not in this moment that I reflected on the irony of it all. It was in that first moment before flight, when the micro-light stumbled its way down the runway. I am very afraid of flying, the sensation of leaving the reassurance of solid ground makes me panic every time.
And it was in that moment that the irony struck me, here I was placing my life willingly in his hands\textsuperscript{16}.

It has been a long journey from my childhood to today. A road less traveled to take the title of Peck Scotts book. This life has rocked my soul in many ways, or maybe it has been the yearning in my soul that has rocked my life. Every time I feel that I have reached the end or the height of it all I find another lies before me. I guess it is the way, that when you commit your life to one of purpose and integrity life itself rises up to greet you with new challenges.

We land again and I disembark with a feeling of deep exhilaration. There is a sparkle in his eye that I had not seen before, and I realize that I have been inducted into the deepest part of his joy. It has been shared with me, much like Holy Communion, and we are now one body.

Louis Cole and I have shared the space of one another’s lives since before I reached this incarnation, but it is only recently that we have met. He writes that the advent of my birth was recorded by the interception of a letter, read by the security branch. My mother speculates it was the letter from her friend Elsa in Sweden who wrote “We welcome the arrival of your Russian princess”. Yes, I think, that would have gotten the attention of the security branch, with their paranoia of the communist threat. It used to make me uncomfortable that he

\textsuperscript{16} The longer story of how Cole and I have become friends has been published in “Positive approaches to Peacebuilding”. See bibliography for reference.
knew these intimate details of my life, when he was still an unknown to me. I knew the security branch only as a system, a faceless threat that lurked around each corner, intent on the destruction of my world. Yet it seems we share the same magnetic fascination with the details of each other’s lives, unable to leave the picture incomplete.

So when Cole invited me in July 2003 to his office I could not refuse. He has long moved from the security branch and now works as the head of an anti-hijacking task team for the Gauteng Province. Yet, their offices are in the same building where the security branch used to be. John Vorster Square was synonymous in my day with the covert activities of the security branch and so walking the halls with him sent chills up my spine. He spoke of joining the security branch as a young man, eager and excited by the honor of being chosen for this elite unit. He pointed out the room where Steve Biko had been held and beaten to death. He described how earlier that year the family of Ahmed Timol had come to the offices searching for anyone who had been working there when their son died in police custody in the 1970’s. The family had come to make a documentary, and Cole showed me the window from which he “jumped” to his death. When I returned home to share this experience with my parents a sadness came over them, and I realized that my family had known Timol. My mother shared the story of his detention and ultimate death and how they had attended his funeral. And then she shared the poem written in his honor:
On the death of Ahmed Timol : aged early 20's

God knows
how you felt
in your haze of private despair
Caught up in beyondness
That nightmare
which nobody
would understand
when you looked into
the night
and the icy touch
of murder
brushed your cheeks
and the shape of friends
who you would never know
took form
but darkly
in the shape of history.

And in this depth
you knew
that there is
no vision
quite so absolute
as the nothingness
to which you fell.

Nothing between you
and the harshness
of their hate
So primitive
that you never could
know
what it meant.

- Tish White (1970)

Yes, the lives of Louis Cole and mine have touched through time, without us ever having met in person. And it is a strange sensation to have him so close, to hear his side of things. I have come to deeply respect this man, and the integrity with which he carries the burden of his past. Neither shirking the responsibility nor immobilized by guilt. He also holds a key, the power to remake me by helping
When you forgive someone, you slice away the wrong from the person who did it. You disengage that person from his hurtful act. You recreate him. At one moment you identify him ineradicably as the person who did you wrong. The next moment you change that identity. He is remade in your memory. You think of him now not as the person who hurt you, but a person who needs you. You feel him now not as the person who alienated you, but as the person who belongs to you. Once you branded him as a person powerful in evil, but now you see him as a person weak in his needs. You recreated your past by recreating the person whose wrong made your past painful. (Yancey, 1997:102)

This seems simple in its content, but when you have lived where I have; the process is a painful one. It strips away your identity, your belief, your understanding of the world and who you are. It is like being caught in a fire, trapped within the flames, only able to wait until the searing might burns itself out. And when the flames recede you are left only with the essence of your soul, left without skin to hide the vulnerability of your humanity. This is the moment of liberation. Rather than the slow and steady process of stripping away a life-time of belief and discontent, it has been instantaneous, you have been seared in a moment, you have seen the truth and that truth has set you free.

I look on the world with new eyes, a new heart, a new mind. We are truly all one, and the ties that bind us are stronger and deeper than the superficiality we create to keep us apart. We are all one, our souls reverberate at the same rhythm, and this heart-beat is the true reality. Our human history is filled with the ancient
wisdom of this spiritual understanding, but we have strayed so far, are engulfed with such fear that we have come to believe the lies that sustain a world without justice or compassion. And so my heart aches when I watch the war in Iraq unfold, listen to the narratives of terrorism and freedom that are the lies packaged in language we want so desperately to believe.

Ultimately this is the intervention, this is the way of peace, this is the calling to our species. To allow the transformative power of truth to set us free. To willingly submit to the fire of purification in whatever form it appears. To humble ourselves before another, in love. To walk the way of justice and to hold the faith even as those around us cannot. To be the light that shines in the darkness and with endurance and infinite patience hold this light up to the world. For peace begins here, in the very soul of humanity, where it has always resided and awaits to be beckoned to the surface. And so has come my final purpose captured in the words of the Anglican morning prayer which I recite daily:

You my child, shall be called the Prophet of the Most High. For you will go before the Lord to prepare His way. To bring to His people the knowledge of salvation by the forgiveness of their sins. And the tender compassion of our God shall break upon us. To shine upon those who dwell in darkness and the shadow of death; and to guide our feet into the way of peace. (Anglican Prayer Book)

Proposition about conflict
It is helpful to have role-models / moral leaders that articulate new or re-written narratives which in turn create possibilities and spaces for change within existing conflict dynamics to occur.
We are spending the night at Kibbutz Yizrael just outside Nabalus. Our hosts are a family who are old friends of one of the interfaith delegation members. Somewhere in the conversation about the situation between Israel and Palestine and the history of the conflict it comes to light that the son of our host was in the army during the 1988 interfadah. Our Palestinian guide had been an active leader in this interfadah and the entire group realizes that these two young men were in the same area over that time. We are four months into a second interfadah and I am struck by the irony of this situation. It reminds me of my interaction with Louis Cole and the possible parallels to that process. But, to my disappointment the conversation glosses over this new knowledge and it is never mentioned again.

In retrospect, it seems clear that both the timing and space were not conducive to a deeper conversation or even the beginning of a reconciliation process. The second interfadah has closed the space that may have existed for these individuals, and there is no precedent in the conflict narratives that can guide or model this. And so the opportunity came and went as many probably do on a daily basis in this place.
Identity-based conflict is a complex and pervasive form of contemporary conflict and war. Resolving, managing or transforming these conflicts continues to be an important focus of practitioners and academics alike. As war in the world continues to abound so too do the efforts of committed men and women to alleviate and release the larger globe and local actors from the grip of these intractable and often destructive conflict dynamics.

The primary purpose of this dissertation has been to contribute to this ongoing global project by bringing to the table the best of my conceptual insights which have been gained through my experience as a participant and practitioner in these forms of conflict. The specific research question has been "How can theory be adapted or enhanced to bring our understanding of identity-based conflict into closer alignment with lived participant and practitioner experience?"

I continue to offer these insights in a spirit of invitation to the larger community of individuals that endeavor to move the world closer to peace and bring about an end to suffering.

**KEY INSIGHTS**

The purpose of this conclusion is to highlight key insights regarding the nature, source and location of identity-based conflict and in doing so to point to possible
intervention strategies and policy applications. This is done by lifting up what I believe are four of the most important implications of this dissertation for expanding our understanding of these forms of conflict 1) the reciprocal relationship between agency and structure, 2) conflicting as a field of practice, and 3) the dynamic interplay between identities, meaning and narrative as source of conflict and 4) implications for the role of intervenors. Each of these implications have been linked to the set of hypotheses contained in my theoretical framework.

**Table 6: Hypothesis 1 & 2: Nature/Source of conflict as being found in the relationship between meaning, narrative, identity and conflict**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Proposition</th>
<th>Policy Implication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>H1: The Nature of Conflict</strong></td>
<td>Any peace process must account for the conflict narrative as a source of identity and existential meaning. The “issues” identified for negotiation must be seen as indicators of these deeper dynamics rather than being taken at face value as the actual cause or driver of the conflict.</td>
<td>To generate peaceful pathways to create value and legacy (hero) for participants within their specific cultural and historical context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human beings are meaning-making creatures who socially construct their reality.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Therefore:  
  a) every person seeks a larger purpose to their lives within which to explain and make meaningful their experience; and  
  b) when this is shattered an existential crisis ensues which must be resolved in order for life to be purposeful again. |  |  |
| **H2: The Source of Conflict** | Identity-based conflicts can be understood as non-realistic conflicts (per Simmel) which function to maintain group identity boundaries through the creation of a conflict narrative that define an enemy. These boundaries then become dependent on this enemy and the ongoing nature of conflict. | Focus of intervention is on relationship between identity and narrative with a view to finding new identity narratives that allow for a transformation of the other.  
Rational solutions are not necessarily adequate or |  |
| The all consuming nature of the conflict experience leads to the creation of a conflict narrative and its centrality as an organizing principle for the identity of participants. |  |  |
| Therefore:  
  a) these conflicts become an |  |  |

135
At the core of this dissertation lies a very particular perspective of the human condition which in turn holds radical implications for how we read and understand the source and nature of identity-based conflict. These two hypotheses taken together offer an understanding of the relationship between four core concepts in the dissertation (meaning, identity, narrative and conflict). Hypothesis 1 offers a view of the human being that places the “will to meaning” (Frankl, 1956) at the core of human experience and proposes that this is a universal quest. Hypothesis 2 explores how this universal principle of meaning becomes operational in an overriding conflict experience and links this to another universal human project – that of identity formation being dependent on the boundaries with otherness. Taken together these hypotheses form a foundation for theorizing on the nature and source of conflict. From this basis I contend that within the conflict dynamic an interdependent relationship emerges between existential meaning and identity, a deep sense of questioning that is asked and answered through the formation of a conflict narrative. In this conflict narrative existential meaning, a sense of place and purpose is found and identity is
constructed as an antagonist relationship to the other thereby casting others as enemy.

This perspective of the human being is built off the work of psychologists like Viktor Frankl and sociologists like Ernest Becker who argue that a primary driver of human behavior and experience is the existential quest for a meaningful existence. Becker in particular offers a helpful metaphor to understand this ongoing quest for meaning in the notion of pathways to heroism. In this context the path of the hero can be understood as a life path which offers individuals a way to ensure some contribution and value to the world beyond their limited lifespan. These pathways are often inspired by culturally and religiously specific spaces and practices which, when denied to individuals, lead to existential crisis for these individuals.

In situations of endemic and deep-rooted conflict the traditional pathways to heroism are often subsumed or eradicated by the conflict experience. As each of these alternative pathways to heroism are destroyed by the conflict, the only pathway left becomes one of destroying those things that are destroying one’s world and all the alternative pathways to heroism. In this way the conflict itself becomes a primary source of meaning and wards off existential crisis by allowing individuals to experience their lives as purposeful and valuable to others.
The implication of these hypotheses for transforming conflict is in understanding this relationship (between meaning, narrative and identity) and how it shapes the conflict dynamic. This in turn shifts the focus away from the level of individual rational interests or institutions/structures towards the socially constructed nature of conflict as a meaningful and purposeful project for those involved. In shifting the focus this reading of the nature and source of conflict also challenges traditional notions of rational actor models (Clarke & Army War College (U.S). Strategic Studies Institute., 1992; Varoufakis, 1991). It shifts the focus of intervention away from the identification of needs and interests towards exploring the link between meaning-making and identity (i.e. conflict narratives). It further highlights how the very prospect of peace, although desirable and often logically attainable, can be fundamentally threatening to group identity and to a meaningful and sustainable existence for protagonists in situations of conflict. These emotive and meta-physical drivers of conflict need to be accounted for in the quest for peace and practitioners must help participants consciously open up new pathways to heroism that allow for meaningful coexistence with the other.

In practical terms, this dissertation offers a new perspective that gives voice to people in war zones, suicide bombers, soldiers who perpetrate unspeakable abuses and allows us to understand these individuals not as anomalies or as aberrant but as human actors driven by a will to meaning struggling to find purpose in an unbearable situation. Therefore, if space for a peace process is to be found, and if peace is to succeed, then it needs to lock firmly into the will to
meaning of those involved in a way that allows them to make sense of their lives and avoids creating an existential crisis or vacuum. If an existential crisis is inevitable step on the path to peace and reconciliation allowing participants to inhabit and imagine a different world, then the peace process must support and hold them as they make this journey.

Policy Implications:

1. Generating alternative pathways to create value and legacy (hero) within the specific cultural and historical context.

2. Focus of intervention is on relationship between identity and narrative with a view to finding new identity narratives that allow for a transformation of the other.

3. Rational solutions are not necessarily adequate or sufficient to address or transform identity-based conflicts even though they may appear to have rational causes or drivers. Analyses or diagnoses of conflict should incorporate conflict narratives and non-realistic aspects of conflict to be able to more completely account for situations of conflict

Table 7: Hypothesis 3: The location of conflict as played out between agency and structure within the parameters of the conflict game.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Proposition</th>
<th>Policy Implication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H3: Location of Conflict</td>
<td>Conflicting is a practice, or game per Bourdieu, that takes place on a field with particular (socially constructed) rules and resources, where the players</td>
<td>Efforts to transform conflict must recognize the recursive relationship between existing structures and agency. The focus of this process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This insight offers the notion of conflict as a field of practice in which a recursive relationship exists between structure and agency. Grounded in the work of practice theorists (like Anthony Giddens) this understanding of the role of agency moves beyond current social constructionist concerns with the centrality of “text” and into a concern with the role of “action” in shaping reality. More specifically this hypothesis points to the practice of conflict as the dynamic interplay between the macro-level of institutions/structure and the micro-level of individual/group agency with a view to expanding on the socially constructed nature of conflict. This in turn shifts the focus from conflict as a noun to conflicting as a verb, thereby pointing to the dynamic and emergent nature of the social construction process.

Conflict as practice moves beyond static conceptions of conflict and offers that conflict is created, sustained and renewed on an ongoing basis. In this conception, conflict can be understood as a system of knowledge and structures with specific rules which agents learn in order to play skillfully. Conflicting as a
game/field has a set of parameters (rules) within which agency is exercised and articulated as the bounded rationality of actors. These rules which are socially constructed are in turn reinforced and shaped by the actors as they play the game of conflict. Understanding the parameters created by conflict enables us to understand what real choices are available to actors, focusing the energy of intervention on the expansion of parameters which allow not just imagined but also real peaceful alternatives to emerge.

This in turn places the co-creative capacity of agents in the foreground and inquires into how choices are both shaped by and shape external structural institutions and systems which form part of the conflict experience. Peace therefore becomes an alternative field/game of practice requiring the development of rules, institutions and behaviors which agents must learn to play. The focus of intervention therefore is shifted towards how to create and sustain the practice of peace, and the elements that support this new game to emerge.

What is liberating about this perspective is that agency within humans to construct and create meaning allows participants to develop and inhabit a world rather than serve as prisoners to an immutable and inviolate legacy. It also offers that just as perpetuating conflict is a practice, so too is the maintenance of peace. Therefore, as much as conflict is an option so too is peace.
Policy Implications:

1. Efforts to transform conflict must recognize the recursive relationship between existing structures and agency. The focus of this process must be the transformation of the practice of conflict and those elements that support it.

2. Just as conflicting is a practice so to is peace – focus is on finding and nurturing the rules and resources required for peace.

**Table 8: Hypothesis 4: Identifying spaces that can shift the game from conflict to peace.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Proposition</th>
<th>Policy Implication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H4: Intervention Strategies</td>
<td>Role-models / moral leaders that articulate new or re-written narratives create possibilities and spaces for change within existing conflict dynamics</td>
<td>Crises of knowledge and cognitive dissonance are the indicators/catalyst for space and this should be sought at every level of the conflict system. Interventions are most effective if they leverage existing spaces in the conflict in ways that permit or catalyze changes in participant understandings and expressions of conflict practice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different levels of reality and their institutions create a framework or matrix for the conflict.</td>
<td>Therefore: a) intervention strategies must be designed to leverage the “space” that exists within and/or between levels; and b) when conflict narratives are destabilized and re-written changes in the practice of conflict occur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Identity-based conflict is a complex phenomenon which manifests at different levels within a system (i.e. meta, macro, meso and micro). This dissertation offers an analytical tool for mapping both the levels and institutions where the conflict dynamic plays out. The purpose of this analysis is to both track the
conflict dynamic as well as to identify those key places where “space” exists for an intervention. In this model, space created at any level in the conflict system and its attendant sphere of influence has the possibility of impacting its manifestation at other levels. The role of the intervenor becomes understanding where space exists for an intervention and how levering this stimulates the opening of space in other arena’s.

The practice of conflict is held at different levels by this matrix of institutions and the realities that they create wherein the actor lives. As long as the parameters of conflicting are set and actors can exercise their agency in meaningful and fulfilling ways the conflict will continue. Only once there are crises of knowledge where the institutions, rules and resources available to actors are no longer sufficient to hold meaningful action does a space for intervention open. These crises can occur at any level and take different forms, thus the intervenor needs to look for these openings of opportunity and target the intervention to leverage this space to open up the possibility of peace.

At a micro-level this crisis may be manifested by the occurrence of cognitive dissonance, where an encounter with the demonized other undermines the antagonistically defined boundary of identity. At a meta-level a shift in global context (like the ending of the cold-war) may break strategic global alliances and interests which in turn undermine support for a particular conflict position. Or even at a macro-level a new strategic direction (like formal negotiation) may
undermine the legitimacy of violent action pressuring other levels of the system to re-align in order to accommodate this new strategy. The important point is that conflict works as a system which operates at different levels, where openings at any level offer the opportunity to generate new alternatives.

**Policy Implications:**

1. Crises of knowledge and cognitive dissonance are the indicators/catalyst for space and this should be sought at every level of the conflict system.
2. Interventions are most effective if they leverage existing spaces in the conflict in ways that permit or catalyze changes in participant understandings and expressions of conflict practice.

**Implications for the role of intervenors**

Most theories of conflict conceptualize the role of an intervenor as a third-party who does not have a vested interest in the conflict, and who is trusted by the different parties involved. Furthermore, the intervention role is also associated with the value of neutrality which assumes that the intervenor has some distance from the conflict. This traditional conception of intervention creates a strong boundary between the intervenor and the conflict actors which is often helpful in opening up new perspectives for those involved. However, if conflict is at its heart a social construction which involves the fundamental human project of identity, existential meaning and narrative, then intervenors are challenged to
enter this world of meaning that has been constructed in order to facilitate the emergence of generative futures.

This in turn requires a conceptualization of the project of intervention as creating, holding and nurturing space for participants themselves to co-create practices of peace. The starting point for intervention therefore is reliant on the ability of the intervenor to enter the world of meaning that participants have constructed in ways that honor all sides of the narrative. This cannot be achieved at a distance and yet must be done in a manner that does not alienate but rather invites all sides into the process.

A further implication is that conflict transformation occurs not because intervenors have imposed an alternative understanding of conflict on participants but rather when intervenors, outside actors or larger environmental factors permit space for participants in conflict to exercise their own and group agency in order to fundamentally change the understanding and therefore the nature of conflict. Therefore as intervenors our goal is to walk with participants in the journey of co-creating new and generative avenues for ways of being and doing towards the other.

**Policy Implication:**

1. There is an important generative or co-creational role that intervenors can play through creating, holding and sustaining spaces for the construction of conflict to shift.
A FINAL WORD

The field of conflict theory and practice is rich and diverse with many valuable insights and practices of intervention. At the same time, the field of conflict intervention is continuing to mature and develop as scholars and practitioners continue to grapple with ongoing forms of conflict and war. The purpose of this dissertation has been to contribute to this ongoing project of learning, by inquiring into a particular experience of identity-based conflict. As such, the framework offered in this work is by no means a negation of existing knowledge, but rather serves as an invitation to expanding our understanding of the nature, source and location of identity-based conflict as understood through the lived experience of participants.
# Appendix 1: Propositions from Qualifying Paper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Category/Level</th>
<th>Propositions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Theory          | Essence / Nature of the conflict   | The conflict becomes an organizing principle for identity. Therefore  
|                 |                                    | a) these conflicts become an opportunity to experience and create self; and  
|                 |                                    | b) this identity is sustained by and dependent on the creation of an enemy.                                                                                                                                  |
| Process of Peace|                                    | The role of a mediator is to design an intervention process that allows the players to develop a shared understanding of terms, actions and implications for all involved. Necessary elements of this intervention process include:  
|                 |                                    | a) a common framing of what parties seek from a peaceful settlement; and  
|                 |                                    | b) the cost of war must outweigh the cost of peace for each party.                                                                                                                                            |
| Understanding   |                                    | When defining the parties to an identity-based conflict, it is important to understand the history / context of forces that have shaped the situation. Therefore any peace process needs to engage outside stakeholders who may inhibit or enhance the possibility of a settlement. |
| Conflict as a System | Meaning-Narrative Intervention | To the extent that the nature of identity-based conflict is rooted in narratives of group identity and the role of conflict as an organizing principle  
| Focus           |                                    | a) appropriate intervention strategies include focusing on the level of discourse and identity formation.                                                                                                      |
| Elements        | Timing:                            | Identity-based conflicts are characterized by the lack of personal interaction between groups. Individual engagement with the other is structured by the conflict narrative and the roles that this generates for people on both sides. Thus, a restructuring of narratives requires an opening in social space that allows for a new format of relationships to emerge. |
|                 | Peaceful Role-models               | The ending of the conflict narrative leads to a situation of moral relativity, within which role models are sought to guide individuals in navigating the restructuring process.                                           |
|                 | Never Apologizing                  | The outcome of this process is not a joint narrative, but rather an extension of self which requires a new perspective/meaning-making on individual and ultimately group narratives.                                                                 |
|                 | Creatures from the same mold       | Reconciliation is easier to the extent that parties can identify a shared sense of motive.                                                                                                                                 |
|                 | Accessing the experience of the other | Restructuring narratives requires sharing of personal experience in an honest and accessible manner.                                                                                                      |
|                 | Integration                        | Integration of restructured narratives needs to occur on an individual and group level.                                                                                                                     |
Appendix 2:

Interfaith Peacebuilding Delegation
Jan. 1 - 10, 2001

Monday, Jan. 1. Leave JFK for Tel Aviv, Israel

Tuesday, Jan. 2. Arrive Tel Aviv, Israel. The first part of our Delegation, Lynn Gottlieb, Virginia Baron, Pamela Meidell and Doug Hostetter, met in the airport and traveled to the Arab Women’s Guest House in Beit Sahour, West Bank, for welcome and orientation by Fuad Kokaly, Mayor of Beit Sahour, Gassan Andoni, Director of Palestinian Center for Rapprochement and Jeff Halper, Director of Israeli Committee against House Demolitions.

Wednesday, Jan. 3. Visit bombed houses in Beit Sahour and Beit Jala with Sister Ann Montgomery, Jamey Bouwmeester of Christian Peacemakers Teams (CPT) who were living in Beit Jala. Met Mr. Francis Hjazeen whose home, about 150 yards from the Israeli military base in Beit Sahour, was hit by 6 tank shells and almost totally destroyed.

The Beit Sahour YMCA. We were briefed by Director, Nidal Abu Zoluf Director and Assistant director, Nader Abu Amshah. The Y is located in Area A (total Palestinian control) but only 150 yards from Area C (total Israeli control).

Bethlehem Arab Society for Rehabilitation, West Bank, Dr. Edmond Shehadeh, Director & Dr. Jenir Shahman, Head of the Psychology Department

Bethlehem Intercontinental Hotel

B’Tselem, West Jerusalem, Israel, Ron Dudai, researcher Web Site www.betselem.org

Thursday, Jan. 4 Hebron, West Bank.
Beqa’a valley, Hebron. Met with Christian Peacemaker Team members Sister Ann Montgomery, Pier Shantz, Jamey Bouwmeester, Rebecca Johnson, Art Gish, and Kathy Kern. Met with Ismael Jaber in his home which had been damaged by settlers. Visited the home of Atta Jaber which had been occupied by settlers in November in retaliation for the killing of two settlers 7 miles away.

Visited the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron over the Cave of the Patriarchs. Visited several areas where informal shrines had been constructed to commemorate the death of an Intifada martyr.

Friday, Jan. 5, West Jerusalem
Alternative Information Center, Michael Warshofsky
(Two more participants, Bonnie Mansdorf and Anastasia White, joined the Delegation.)
(also met briefly with Rev. Jim Bevel, Lillie Muhammad & Erica Henry also visiting AIC)

Orient House, East Jerusalem
Issa Assissien, Assistant to Faisal Husseini
(also joined by Shaykh Mazan Ahram, Sufi teacher at El Aqsa Mosque)

Kol Haneshana Synagogue, West Jerusalem, Rabbi Levi Kelman
(Joined by Tarek El Heneidy, final member of our delegation)
Before the Sabbath Service, we were briefed by Rabbi Arik Asherman of Rabbis for Human Rights (RHR).
After Sabbath Service, Delegation sent to homes of Kol Haneshana congregation
Tarek, Anastasia and Doug went to the home of Rabbi Jeremy Milgrom for Sabbath meal and evening of conversation.

Saturday, Jan. 6. Kibbutz Shefayim, Israel, Amos Gvirtz

Haifa, Israel
Ameer Makhoul, Director of Union of Arab-based Associations

Kibbutz, Yizrael, Israel Avram (Patchi) & Iris Shapira, their son Yaniv (Lynn’s host family when she came to Israel as a high school student)

St. Margaret’s Pilgrims Hostel, Nazareth, Israel, (Orthodox Christmas Eve.)

Sunday, Jan. 7th (Orthodox Christmas) Church of the Annunciation and Mary’s Well Church in Nazareth

Tel Aviv, Israel, Parents Circle/Families Forum, Founder, Yitzhak Frankenthal
We visited Hunger Strike Peace Tent which was set up in Rabin Square in Tel Aviv on Dec. 3rd where “a symbolic chain-fasting of bereaved families has taken place. Parents Circle unites bereaved Israeli (190 +) and Palestinian (140 +) families to work together to end the violence and the war.

Beit Jala, Palestine, Salah Al Amairi (Member of Palestinian Legislative Council)

Bethlehem, Palestine, Zoughbi Zoughbi Director of the W’iam Center for Nonviolence.

Shepherds Field Bedouin Tent, Beit Sahour

Monday, Jan. 8 Erez Crossing, Gaza,
Gaza Cultural Center, Gaza City, Rally organized by the Popular Resistance Committee of Palestine, with speeches by Palestinian dignitaries from all political factions on the Right of Return of all refugees, and the
implementation of UN Resolution 194. After the rally there was a march by militants of all political parties demanding the Right of Return.

Gaza City, Palestinian Center for Human Rights, Raji Sourani, Director

Shanti Refugee Camp, Gaza, Mrs. Kadeeja, a widow living in the Shanti (Beach) Refugee camp

East Jerusalem, Shaykh Mazan Ahram, Sufi teacher at El Aqsa Mosque (friend of Tosun Bayrak)

**Tuesday, Jan. 9** Beit Sahour, Palestine home of Al Atrash Family (father Majdi, mother Majeda, and 4 children: Mais, age 12; Tariq, 10; Haneen, 4; and the baby, Sandy)

Palestinian Center for Rapprochement, Beit Sahour, Palestine, Gassan Andoni Director

This was a final meeting for evaluation of our trip and planning for the future. The meeting included: Gassan Andoni & George Rishmawi (PCR), Jamie Bouwmeester & Sister Ann Montgomery, (CPT), Jeff Halper (ICAHD) and the entire FOR Delegation: Lynn Gottlieb, Virginia Baron, Pamela Meidell, Tarek El Heneidy, Bonnie Mansdorf, Anastasia White, and Doug Hostetter.

Beit Sahour, home of George N. Rishmawi Dinner, music, dancing & a full lunar eclipse

**Wednesday, Jan.10** End of official delegation tour.

--Notes by Doug Hostetter
There are still so many thoughts and images crowding my mind. Like an exuberant throng at a soccer game – each person adding their voice to the sound – but no way to really tell what is being said. I swore to myself that this time I would be disciplined and keep a journal. That every night I would take even 10 minutes to jot down the impressions or textures of the day. But, rather I fell into bed completely exhausted at the end of each day – unable to even really pray. And the next morning woke up with a head still too full to think, and no time to do anything except the bare essentials of preparing for another day.

I have only these eyes, only these ears, and only this mind and heart with which to feel and process everything that passes by. It is a distressing thought – knowing my own boundaries and limitations – that others would entrust their story to me, believing that I can really understand or hear. And I felt this way continually. In each meeting – feeling the sincerity of the speaker, as though they could through act of language imprint their experience inside me. But each time I left I wondered whether I had really heard or understood or felt what they wanted to convey. This comes from being in a similar situation. Growing up in South Africa, during the dying kicks of the apartheid regime and living through the birth pains of the new South Africa. How many observers came? Hundreds – with their sincere eyes, each one wanting to understand, but only having the existing canvas of their experience within which to paint my story. And I never felt they truly understood the complexity or texture of our national experience – of my experience.

So it is with a hesitant heart that I put my impressions and analysis to paper. Only doing so because I know that even a little piece of the story must be told. But wanting you to understand that this is more my story than the story of Israel or Palestine, or any person that I spoke with.

I guess it is a testament to my own healing that I was caught completely off guard at the Johannesburg airport. I came to the check-in counter with my mind still reeling from the good-byes of that morning, absorbed in my own thoughts. And so, when the security check point came I waffled through my answer. “Why are you going to Israel?” “To meet up with a peace delegation”. Even at this time I did not realize fully the blunder I had made. But 15 minutes into the incessant questioning I started to come out of my own mind to fully comprehend the situation. I had no real answers, no telephone number for where I would stay, no itinerary (I had not managed to print it off the email). In fact I had only the vaguest notions of the delegation – having made my decision to come on the basis of my meditation and that the person who had asked me was someone I respected. So, there I was being cross-examined by a very professional and
suspicious security guy – who I guess had no choice but to whisk me away for a full search that took hours.

There is an unseen code that people in war live by. Secret markings that only they can see. That morning in Johannesburg I was marked with one. I know this, not because I can find the mark, but because every security check-point now does a full search of me. The questions continue – all variations of that same experience. But I am an outsider to this all. To me, the searches, the questions – they are all a minor annoyance that mean I have to arrive three hours before I fly. But I feel no fear, or rage, or anything much at all. I have no reason to try and avoid them, or to take special precautions. This is the luxury of the observer – but never of the observed. As much as I care or sympathize or want to understand the experience of living in a war – I can always go home – and go home I do.

I call what is happening in Israel and Palestine a war - not because of the weapons or the intefadah, or even the existence of peace talks. I call it a war because of the eyes of the children.

I grew up in a war. Our house was bugged and every word spoken within those walls or on the telephone where captured on a cassette somewhere. I have often wondered where the hours of drivel went. And the security branch had a 24 hour guard outside our house, to record all the comings and goings of the family and visitors. When I was young it was a game to me. To avoid the camera’s, to speak in code, to hide people in the roof before smuggling them across the border. Better than any adventure story I had read. But it was only as I grew older that the fear and the rage came. It filled my heart to bursting point – and it came out in my eyes, the way I moved, and with what I filled my hands. It was the daily humiliation and strain that got to me eventually -the kind that I saw in the Palestinian territories or against “Arab Israelis”. The identification document, the check points, the constant need to be alert, the knowledge of harassment around the next corner and ultimately the caged feeling that oppression brings. It eats at the dignity of a human being, and it eats away at the innocence of the children.

The other reason why I know is more obvious. It is in the feel of the air. People used to say that visiting South Africa, you could feel the tension all around you. I never really understood what this meant – because to me it was normal. It was only once I traveled outside the country and could breathe more freely that I understood. How can I describe this? There is a palatable tension in the air, that makes it heavy to breathe – a constant looking behind for the enemy to strike, and an inability to relax even though you are in your own home. And then of course there are the guns and military posted everywhere.

It has been a long journey for me – from my youth to today. The journey of my nation from apartheid to the “new” South Africa. It is a treacherous journey filled
with words like reconciliation and peace. And in this journey there is much that I have learnt. I have learnt that there are two sides to every story. This may seem simple and an obvious fact. But in fact, it is profound. In situations of war there can never be two stories. There is only one, that is told and experienced daily – and the other is painted in broad and stark strokes of “the other”. What I began to focus on in my trip was these stories.

I call them narratives, myths of origin, stories of group identity. They are the language that we use to construct our past as a people, the words that contain the meaning of our existence – which we faithfully pass on to every new generation. It is the thread of continuity that feeds the life of a nation. Every people has this in some form or fashion. But the function remains the same. It becomes a way of navigating the questions of living, a lighthouse in the storm, a way to engage our daily existence in order to keep our conscience clean. In war, these stories become central, fixed notions of who we are, and they feed off the conflict. One would think it the other way round - that because there is a conflict, this generates the stories. But rather it is a far more subtle relationship, in which the conflict becomes an organizing principle for the questions of identity and meaning. A framework if you like, by which to understand our daily experience, to order our feelings and process our cognition’s by. A way to reinforce the boundaries of our identity, and bind us together as a group. We are Arabs, or Palestinians, or Jews, or Israelis. “We” can only exist because there is a “they”. And so the symbiotic relationship is in place. I require a “they” so that there can be an “us” and within this all I find my place.

In order for there to be peace in Israel/Palestine a re-writing or re-presentation of these stories will be needed. A task that I fear is so large I would not know where to begin. And then of course, there is the role of the formal “peace talks” in all this. The “peace talks” are a strange animal. They carry on despite the rhythm of daily life, and are very far removed from the people. In fact, I believe they are experienced as a dis-empowering process, which works to entrench the fears and distrust between people.

But at the very least there is agreement on the issues that need to be resolved. They can be simply stated and I heard them over and over in our meetings: the right of return for refugees; Jerusalem; resolving the borders of Palestine; and the question of settlers/settlements. Of course each person has their own approach and solution to these questions – but there is no argument that these are the issues. And hours were spent debating each solution, proposing new ones – in such detail that I could not keep track of every thing. But knowing deep inside that I was missing something of utmost importance – it was hidden by the fine points of dates and UN Resolutions and maps.

I have learnt from my experience in mediation that “the issues” represent far more than what can be seen. They are in some ways ambassadors sent out to test the waters, but hiding a far deeper yearning. As is the case here, because
on the surface these questions should not be so difficult to resolve (politically) –
but every proposed solution is rejected by the other side.

So let me tell you the story that I heard. It is not one person's story – but an
amalgamation of many voices. And it is not a verbatim account of what I heard –
but rather has been interpreted through my own life, and so I have used writers
license to help me understand. But it is the story that I heard, in all it's
complexities this is how I make meaning of my brief trip into the life of Israel and
Palestine. But, before I begin I would like to offer an apology. I apologize for
whom I will offend, for my ignorance and ultimately for the arrogance of believing
that I have something relevant to say. That done – let us begin.

This is the Holy Land. Not by virtue of human beings or what they deem to think
– but by the very hand of God. God has pointed out this place, and this people,
has laid the mark of his prophets on this space. And as it has been said over
and over in the book of the God of Abraham – my prophets are killed all the day
long, my people are persecuted and my wrath has been kindled against them.
This is the vortex of history within which this drama plays itself out. The soul and
consciousness of the human species is at stake. Exactly what this means is
open to the interpretation of the three religions of the Book. But that it is true, is
not up for dispute. This conflict, or war as some may label it, is ultimately not
about religion, or politics, or economics – it is about the existence of a people.
For the Jews and the Palestinians alike – it is about the survival of their people
and all that this implies (be it religion, or culture, or values, or history, or future).

There were days when I could believe that it is only a matter of time before it is
understood that they have to share this land, live together in harmony and
tolerance. That this is the law of history and even the Holy Land is not exempt.
But then came the days when I felt the heavy burden of the law of God, and
could not see a way out of this battle for the Holy Land.

I felt foolish asking the question “What makes a Palestinian?” (and it was not
greeted very well by my host). I realized that I had made a fox-pau of the most
subtle kind, but could not withdraw the question – it was too important to me.
“What makes you a South African, or an American? It is the same thing. We
were born to this land.” And that was the end of it. I could not pursue the
question as I had offended him, but it did help me understand that the
Palestinians do not really make a large distinction between their Christian or
Muslim faith. To them, it is being Palestinian that matters. I still don’t really
understand what this means – but I did come closer to knowing its implications.

On hearing that I was South African, there was an instant recognition by
Palestinians that I would understand their experience. Perhaps some suspicion
– because I was a “white” South African – but having lived under apartheid there
was at least some similarity. This is how they explain it to me – it is about
occupation. Occupation of their land by a foreign people – who only some acknowledge have a pre-existing right to be here. And so the struggle is a human struggle – for freedom and dignity and the rights that come with being human. Very simple and very clear – no moral relativity here. Only the struggle of the human species to being recognized for who and what they are – a free nation. This framework contains the whole Palestinian experience of who they are. A wronged and misunderstood people – wronged by the world in 1948 and wronged by the Israelis since then. A people only looking for what everyone else takes for granted, and using all means within their power to attain it. And being thwarted at every turn – by the Jewish Lobby, the misrepresentation of their cause in the media, and even the occupation itself.

There is a naiveté here that I recognize from my anti-apartheid days – the notion of a ‘just war’ and ‘the ends justifying the means’. The eyes that see the other side as a morally bankrupt society that are only concerned with their own survival at the expense of our own. And so the Palestinians paint themselves in history as part of a larger human yearning for true freedom from bondage that can only be attained with political and geographic sovereignty.

But on trying to reach beneath this surface I became more and more confused. Who decided on the interfadah? How are people organized to resist the occupation? Who and how is the mandate given to Arafat in the negotiation process? What is the link between every day life and the national peace process? What are the structures of the resistance and how are they organized? Each time I came up with an unclear picture and unsatisfactory answers. I think this is because of what is in my own mind – the canvas of my experience onto which I project these answers. And perhaps they are just simply the wrong questions. But, it seems to me that there is no grass-roots resistance or organization. The political leaders that partake in the Palestinian Authority and the peace process call all the shots, make all the decisions. And people seemed confused and suspicious by this interfadah. Some even going so far as to speculate that it could be a set up by the Israelis. And definitely those who participated in the last interfadah feeling that this was not being done in the same way and would not be ultimately effective.

On the question of Palestinian – Israeli dialogue there seemed some consensus. Firstly, what is the point? No matter how much dialogue between individuals, this does not change the ultimate political reality of Palestine as occupied. It may even work against their cause – by “normalizing” the relationships between people and thereby relieving pressure of the Israeli State to find a solution. And the time is not now, perhaps in the past or maybe in the future – but definitely not now. And peace-building? Well, there can be no peace without justice, no reconciliation without first a solution. Back in a complete circle again to everything being determined by the national peace process and whatever the leadership agreed to there. This is the first step – a political solution – only then can we talk about peace.
And so my mind oscillates within this catch 22 that has been created. No peace on the ground until there is a peace agreement at a political level. But the negotiators cannot make the necessary compromises without the people being willing to live in peace.

And the Israeli Jews? Or is it the same thing – to be an Israeli is to be a Jew – to be a Jew is to be an Israeli? I don’t really understand. There is a blurring of distinction between cultural and political and religious identity. You are a Jew because you are born that way. There is no way out – even if you are not a practicing Jew – you are still a Jew. I did not have the courage to ask the question twice – “What does it mean to be a Jew?” And so I came at it from a different angle – “What would need to change about how Jew’s see themselves in order for there to be a peace agreement?” A very badly worded question I know – one that I tried to work on but never found a much better way to say it. I would have to explain myself and felt very trapped by the limits of language. Yet I think this was the answer.

Israel was established after WW2 by a legitimate agreement brokered by the international world. It was a way to ensure that the history of persecution and anti-Semitism would have a boundary for the Jewish people. They would have their own political and geographic sovereignty within which to ensure the survival of their people. And every Jew throughout the world would always know that they have a place where they belong and will be protected. The small price to pay for this homeland was that it is situated within the “Arab world”. A world that was antagonistic to the formation of the Jewish State – but in many ways powerless to prevent it. And into this State has come a variety of people, from many different places and experiences – for many different reasons. But there is an ultimate bond that holds them together – we are Jews.

We did not meet with any settlers, so I never heard their side of the story. Rather we met with “the Israeli left”. This is not a cohesive group who all believes the same thing. Instead there seems to be a continuum of perspectives ranging from those who believe there can be two States for two nations – and those who believe that there can only be one State with two nations. But, it is a group of people saddened by the undemocratic nature of their State, and by the actions perpetuated against Palestinians in their name. There is a recognition that the Palestinians have a cause and legitimate grievance which should be addressed. The question becomes how best to address this – and how best to show solidarity with the human rights cause.

If Israel is no longer a Jewish State – but a democratic one with two nations – then this defeats the founding purpose of Israel. No longer will Jews have a place of their own, they are again a minority within a political arrangement that could (not will necessarily, but could) place them in the same situation as their
ancestors. There are generations of stories that date back thousands of years which attest to this narrative of Jewish experience. Why would this be different?

Yet, if Israel is not a democratic state with two nations, then the question of boundaries for the two states becomes a question of historical and religious debate. Who was here first? Does it matter? Where is the cut off date for what belongs to whom? How do we share a land that is so small already? Is there really a way to reconcile these two legitimate but contradictory claims? Many more questions than answers – and many more opinions than questions. There seems to be no process in place to build consensus or a cohesive voice within the Jewish population. Granted, they have more influence over their political leadership in the peace process. But it is like listening to many contradicting claims – who really are the leadership to follow? For any given option there are conflicting views who would never agree with that solution. And so Barak plays for time while desperately trying to make time happen for him. Again there is no real connection between the daily lives of individuals and the national peace process.

And if the situation is not complex enough we have the role of the media and the international world to add some flavor.

I try time and again to understand how anyone could believe that the United States is an appropriate mediator to this conflict. It eludes me. The United States has so many vested interests, hidden agendas and plain political points to score that every single conflict resolution principle is broken by their acting in this role. Yet they are, and there seems to be no debate on the table about this. International relations has been defined into epochs or eras which determine ways in which the “super-powers” engage the rest of the world. The post-cold war era brought about sufficient changes in the international scene to add it’s pressure to the ending of apartheid. But, this does not seem to be the case in the Middle East. Israel was established in this region for more than religious reasons. The western world needed some bulwark against Soviet influence in an oil rich region. But the Soviet Union is now long gone, a shadow of its former self – yet the United States holds onto Israel. Why? And will it change? If it doesn’t, there can be no changes in the parameters of the peace process – which are faulty at best, and plain detrimental at worst. And is there still any legitimacy to the notion of a nation state? With globalization and all the implications of this for the economic, social and political life of the world – is there any point to pretending we have boundaries that can protect our citizens? And if we keep looking for the saints and the sinners, to apportion blame and call it justice – do we really stand a chance of bringing peace?

And so the quote by Martin Luther King Jr. kept coming to mind – “We must learn to live together as brothers or we will perish together as fools”.

- Anastasia White -
Appendix 4

List of Codes
Developed out of analysis of the interview data on ATLAS TI from Interfaith Peace Delegation Trip to Israel/Palestine

1 August, 2001

The intellectual debate about whether a Jewish and a Democratic state are incompatible.

The effect of segregation on maintaining the invisibility of “the other”

The disconnect between the peace process and lived reality on the ground.

The split within the Israeli left.

The role of the media.

Definitions of Peace.

The calling of the Struggle.

Creation of “the other”.

Timeline.

Just vs. Acceptable solution.

Justification.

Factions within Palestinians.

Stated Goal of the struggle / negotiation.

Reference to outside standards.

Issues for Negotiation. (Right of Return)

Role of the Mediator / US in the region.

Process of Negotiation.

Children.
Relationship. Impact of broken agreements.

Palestinian strategy.

Proposed Solutions.

Relationship with the Israeli Left

Perception of the International Community

Conflict Analysis – spark / manifestation / deep rooted nature

Conflict Analysis – factions within parties

Perceptions of “Arab Israeli’s”

Dimensions to the conflict – economic, social, political.

Perception of what life is more valuable

Justice / Peace & Reconciliation

Violent versus Non-Violent Struggle

Role of the Jewish Lobby

International interests in the Region (cold war and post-cold war politics)

Relationship between Palestinians and the rest of the “Arab World”

Lack of “moral leadership”

Different types of settlers

Role of separate states in allowing for alliances between parties

Different types of “left”

Conflict Analysis – structuring in relationship building mechanisms to sustain peace

Dangers of finding a solution
The Nature of Political/Electoral Violence in Nigeria

Introduction
Electoral violence is a major component of political conflicts in Nigeria’s political economy. Its understanding can be situated within the general context of the use of state power for wealth accumulation and personal gains. For those who understand the nature of state power in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, this is easy to understand. Politics is seen as an investment rather than a call to serve the immediate community and the nation. For this purpose, election and the struggle for state power is understood as a warfare in which victory is the only guarantee for survival and preservation of the self. This also explains the absence of a culture of tolerance for the opposition.

The Context of Electoral Violence in Nigeria
Despite the prevalence of abject poverty and social inequality social division along class or socio-economic lines are not primary determinants of political conflicts in general and electoral violence in particular. Nevertheless, inequality and uneven development provide some dynamics to political conflicts as can be seen in the rising incidences of ethno-religious and communal violence across the length and breadth of Nigeria. The most useful contexts are outlined below:

1. Ethno-Regional Cleavages: Deep ethnic and regional and ethnic divisions generally tend to provide the framework for political conflicts and electoral violence because politicians often resort to opportunistic manipulation of such differences. This is a very useful context of political conflicts with shifting boundaries, depending on the issues at stake and choice of the political elites who determine the appropriate strategy in the struggle for power. The forms it could take are as follows:
   - North/South dichotomy which can be useful in the analysis of political violence at the national level.
   - Inter-ethnic conflict which can be useful at both national and local (state) level, arising from the history of inter-group relations and the whole question of domination and exclusion in the exercise of power.
   - Intra-ethnic conflict which can be very useful in local political conflicts. In most instances, it can be as significant as inter-ethnic animosity. Among the Yoruba (Egba, Ijesha, Owo, Ekiti, etc; among the Igbo (Orlu, Onitsha, Enugu East, Enugu West, etc), for example.
2. **Religious Cleavages**: Overlap in ethnic and religious boundaries is a common reality, and could provide the basis for what is regarded as ethno-religious violence. But within both Christianity and Islam, there are internal divisions; between Tijanniya and Izalla, or between protestants and Pentecostals. In Kaduna for example, inter-religious differences is very critical.

3. **Indigeneity and Citizenship**: This is a major source of political conflicts in Nigeria and it tends to worsen under conditions of democratization and political liberalization. Most of the conflicts that have threatened Nigeria’s nascent democracy have their origin in the unresolved issue of citizenship in Nigeria. There is a tension between national citizenship entrenched in the constitution with all kinds of rights and a notion of local citizenship which is biologically defined. Consequently, in the various local communities, distinction between “natives” and “settlers” is a source of communal violence. See Zango Kataf, Nasarawa Toto (Ebirra and Bassa), Nasarawa South (Tiv and Azara). Also intra-ethnic as in Ife/Modakeke and Umuleri and Aguleri.

4. **Political Patrons and godfathers**: This is a part of the general tendency for public/state power to be privatized and personalized. Rich powerful individuals finance/bankroll elections of individuals they believe they can use to continue to enjoy the gains of public office such as award of juicy contracts. Such individuals control and hijack the party machineries and erode internal democracy in the political parties. There are two sources of conflicts here:

   - When they impose their choices on other party members as they often do, it could lead to internal crisis and defections (both inter-party and intra-party conflicts are results).
   - Disagreements between patrons and clients, especially once the latter is in control of government machinery (See Kwara, Anambra), for examples.

5. **Historical Trends**: Though not specifically a context like the other factors identified above, some parts of the country are known to have a history of electoral violence. One known example is the south west with a strong culture of opposition to the centre based on the political cohesion of the Yoruba ethnic group. When such a cohesion is under threat as were the cases in the first and second Republics, violence may result. The East appears to be following this path with the emergence of APGA.
Idasa

Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Nigeria Country Office)

Preliminary Findings
On
The first round of the 2003 elections held in Nigeria

The findings were compiled between 8h00 and 21h00 on the 12th April 2003. These findings are based on reports from Idasa partners in the field. It focuses on the general political climate rather than the administration of elections. While Idasa has only selected to cover certain states, it also drew on other media sources to arrive at these findings.

These findings are preliminary because they are being released before the final count has taken place. It is hoped, that after the results have been released, the same political realities that have prevailed during this day will continue.

For the first time in many decades a civilian administration took charge of moving Nigeria into its second term of democratic rule. Against this backdrop the first day of a series of elections, was held in a climate that can be described as generally violence free.

1. The citizens of Nigeria have displayed a high level of maturity under very trying conditions. Voters were patient, tolerant and displayed a high level of understanding for the complexities INEC was confronted with logistically. This impeccable display of commitment to moving the democratic project forward won the day.

2. The estimated accredited 50000 civilians who volunteered to observe the elections have added additional value and legitimacy to the process. Domestic observers have been complimented by roving international observers who in their own way contributed to the success of this day.

3. Generally political parties have honoured their commitment to conduct themselves in an orderly fashion. Their supporters have displayed a high level of regard for the electoral process.

4. INEC has also displayed a high level of competence on the day. This competence was complimented by their flexibility to make the process work today. While they
logistical struggled with the movement of materials, they were flexible enough to move the closing time of polling stations, were wise enough to shift dates of elections in volatile areas and displayed a high level of maturity where problems arose.

5. Where violence has erupted – it has become apparently clear that these incidents, some of them extremely ugly, were orchestrated and well organised. The South - South zone has been badly affected by this high level of violence, intimidation, destruction of property, loss of lives and complete disrespect for the rule of law. Rivers, Balyelsa, Delta are specific states that warrant special attention. Problems were also experienced in Enugu, Kano, and one local government in Akwa-Ibom.

6. Generally security forces have conducted themselves in a responsible manner. However, in a few cases there have been reports of alleged police collusion with organised thuggery – but these were predominantly found in the South – South zone.

The experience of a generally violence free first election must also be attributed to the many voices that have made a call for peace and calm over the last few weeks. These voices include different religious institutions, respected leaders and community organizations, political parties, civil society, the media and others that are too numerous to mention. In particular the media today played a pivotal role in consistently calling the nation to respond to this process with patience and to follow the rule of law. If this conduct of restraint is a reflection of the elections that will follow then it forms a solid foundation for the ongoing unfolding democracy in Nigeria.

Prepared by Idasa – Nigeria Country Office
April 12, 2003
http://www.idasa.org.za
Appendix 7

Report on Electoral Violence in the South South following the April 12th Senate and House of Representatives Elections

In the South-South zone of the country, notably Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers States, the April 12th elections were marred by violent disrespect for democratic electoral procedures manifest in organized thuggery, intimidation, and hijacking of election materials. These events were supported by members of key political parties in the region and armed individuals operating outside party boundaries, who share responsibility for making fear a central factor in the political climate on that day. In many areas elections were not held due to the hijacking of election materials and/or chaos carried out by organized groups. Civilians and security officers died on April 12th, weapons were brandished by thugs at polling stations where voting did occur, and in various places attempts to control electoral material led to destruction of property valued in the millions of Naira. A general context of mistrust in democratic processes was intensified through the murky distinction between state security forces, INEC and supporters of the PDP in the conduction of the election. This region is particularly significant in the national power structure not only as ‘swing states’ for PDP or ANPP, but also because territorial control in this region is central to accessing the oil industry and its profits.

Given the instability and crisis events experienced by the South-South in the pre-election period this context of violence was anticipated. In particular, the murder of ANPP Chieftain Marshall Harry from the Kalabari district of Rivers State, intra-communal and youth versus military clashes in Delta State, the availability of sophisticated weapons and thuggery related to competition over sites of oil production, and the frustration created by the fuel crisis which particularly affected this region, were all warning signals that this socio-economic crisis would erupt on polling day. Perhaps less expected was the extent to which violent intimidation would serve as the basis for major electoral irregularities on April 12th which severely compromise the election results. The reported results will likely fuel conflict in the region, given that these results are being questioned off record by INEC officials deeply disturbed by ‘95% turnouts’ which they know are highly implausible.

Events observed on April 12th included the following:

- Open intimidation, including serious assault of INEC staff and electorate by thugs (often PDP) brandishing weapons
- Violent clashes between PDP, ANPP and UNPP supporters, and violence directed at the police involving guns, matchetes, dynamite and broken bottles.
- Hijacking of election materials by heavily armed groups, at times led by politicians, followed by forceful attempts to retrieve these materials by opposing parties/groups. This occurred in both land-based and riverine areas.
- Destruction of public and private property in the form of arson, burning of vehicles and other mob actions, at times in response to alleged election rigging or capture of electoral materials.
- Reactions of police and security forces ranging from a concerted attempt to facilitate a transparent, orderly process to direct collusion with party members in the hijacking of election materials and intimidation of the electorate.
- Confirmed and unconfirmed deaths and severe injuries as a result of the above incidents.
Recommendations

Last weekend’s events add to a general sense of disenfranchisement among the population of the South-South that feeds the cycle of violence in the region. The occurrences set a particularly dangerous precedent for the upcoming gubernatorial and presidential election which, if effective intervention is not taken in short order, will likely prove even more brutal. Such violence alienates the South-South from the transition process in Nigeria and compromises prospects for future democracy. We thus call for:

- prompt investigation of the electoral irregularities and incidents of violence that occurred in the South-South on April 12th.
- effective action by State Security and INEC to ensure that elections are held in a climate of transparency and trust.

While the election results in the entire region are severely compromised, the conduct of the elections, according to IDASA field reports, were particularly problematic in all or part of the following areas: 17

**Akwa Ibom:**
Etinan LGA, Obo-Akara (check)
Abak Urban 3 (ANPP ward chairman shot dead)
Ikot Ekpuk LGA

**Bayelsa:**
Brass LGA
Nembe LGA
Ekeremor LGA
Ogbia LGA
Sagbama LGA
Southern Ijaw LGA

**Delta:**
Warri South West LGA
Warri North LGA
Warri South LGA

**Rivers:**
All of Rivers State saw serious violence and intimidation in the lead up to the election creating an environment in which any sort of transparent, free voters process was seriously compromised. The following areas were especially problematic on Saturday according to our observers:
Andoni LGA
Eleme LGA
Etche LGA
Gokana LGA
Port Harcourt LGA

17 For the protection of our field staff, events occurring in specific areas are not indicated. Further information may be requested through IDASA.
### Appendix 8

**Sample**
**Source: Idasa Nigeria**
**Weekly analysis of media coverage over the electoral period**

#### April 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>President debate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Exchange of slips</td>
<td>Exchange of slips</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>for voters cards</td>
<td>for voters cards</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Presidential and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>governorship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>elections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Possible Runoff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>May 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2nd Possible Runoff</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>State House of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assembly elections</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

May 1

Possible Runoff

State House of Assembly elections
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incident</th>
<th>Refs/ Dates</th>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>AL</th>
<th>Police Responses/ Statements</th>
<th>Public Statements</th>
<th>Form of Violence</th>
<th>Potential Ramifications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abakaliki (Ebonyi)</td>
<td>GU April 9</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Attackers suspected to be political rivals</td>
<td>Physical attack. Cash of N250,000 and official documents lost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birnin Kudu (Jigawa)</td>
<td>NAN April 9</td>
<td>NW</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Police previously received a formal letter of complaint from the Commissioner, police pledges investigation.</td>
<td>Kukuwa hid in his garage during the attack but 9 members of his family were physically attacked. The victim stated: “I believe might be politically motivated.</td>
<td>14 armed men storm residence. Steal clothing, money and trinkets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gombe (Gombe)</td>
<td>TD April 10</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>State Police Commissioner, Mr. Felix Ogbaruh, confirmed the killing.</td>
<td>“Politician was matcheted to death by six people and dumped in a nearby gutter close to his house”.</td>
<td>Machetes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilorin (Kwara)</td>
<td>GU April 11</td>
<td>NC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Case reported to police.</td>
<td>Suspected thugs, said to be in mobile police uniform.</td>
<td>Gun shots</td>
<td>Police impersonation may increase distrust of the police.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Sources Key              |             |      |    |                              |                                                                                 |                                          |                                          |
|--------------------------|-------------|------|----|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|                                          |
| TD                       | This Day    |      |    |                              |                                                                                 |                                          |                                          |
| PU                       | Punch       |      |    |                              |                                                                                 |                                          |                                          |
| NAN                      | News Agency of Nigeria | |    |                              |                                                                                 |                                          |                                          |
| GU                       | Guardian    |      |    |                              |                                                                                 |                                          |                                          |
| NTA                      | Nigerian Television Authority | |    |                              |                                                                                 |                                          |                                          |
| ASO                      | Aso Radio   |      |    |                              |                                                                                 |                                          |                                          |
Port Harcourt (Rivers)
Thugs suspected to be political rivals unleash terror on Chief Awuse’s (ANPP’s flagbearer) aides – properties destroyed.

GU April 11

Case reported to police.
Media Assistant to the ANPP flagbearer, Chief Chukwuemeka Gahia, stated that the hoodlums had earlier issued threats against Awuse.

Destruction to homes and properties.
Feeds into the ongoing escalation of violence in Rivers State.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incident</th>
<th>Refs/ Dates</th>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>AL</th>
<th>Police Responses/ Statements</th>
<th>Public Statements</th>
<th>Form of Violence</th>
<th>Potential Ramifications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jos (Plateau)</td>
<td>DT April 11</td>
<td>NC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>DSP Adamu confirmed incident and reinforcement from Mobile Police had been made by the police commissioner</td>
<td>Gov. Joshua Dariye formally condoled the people of Wase</td>
<td>7 reported dead</td>
<td>7 reported dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At least 7 people suspected killed when people suspected to be Taroh attacked Wase Town.</td>
<td>GU April 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano (Kano)</td>
<td>DT April 11</td>
<td>NW</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3 suspects have been arrested – 2 on the run</td>
<td>The son of the deceased, Alhaji Tijani Makama recently decamped to PDP.</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Political motivation suggested.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father to Mallam Sheju Madi, PSP Secretary (Tijani Makama) in Tofa LGA murdered by assassins who had come to kill his son.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos (Lagos)</td>
<td>PU April 13</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Police confirmed the incident</td>
<td>Eyewitnesses claimed that the incident occurred when unknown persons took away 2 ballot boxes (1 was later recovered)</td>
<td>Ballot boxes stolen</td>
<td>Election day incident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A policeman and 2 others were injured in clashes between rival parties.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagbama (Bayelsa)</td>
<td>TD April 13</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Police confirmed the incidents</td>
<td>The thugs had more sophisticated weapons than the police’s, thereby able to scare away the policemen.</td>
<td>Shooting and destruction of property. 3 policemen, 3 soldier dead</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enugu (Enugu)</td>
<td>PU</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Police confirmed the incidents and arrests were made</td>
<td>2 died in Nsukka while 3 died in Udi – both from clashes between rival party supporters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin (Edo)</td>
<td>PU</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Incident confirmed by PPRO Edo State Command, Mr. Tunde Sowole (DSP)</td>
<td>Killings were carried out by suspected PDP thugs and supporters.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warri (Delta)</td>
<td>GU</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No detail report yet. No arrest has been made yet according to the police command</td>
<td>Gun shots and motor accident</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South South</td>
<td></td>
<td>DT</td>
<td>NC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Akwa Ibom State PPRO, ASP Kingsley confirmed the development, and stated that one Udene Akisa, an ANPP ward chairman in Abak LGA was killed in the process.</td>
<td>Elections in the troubled spots have been cancelled and re-scheduled.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warri (Delta)</td>
<td>TD</td>
<td>SS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Delta State REC, Mr. Awall Shehu Babayaro, advocated for a rescheduling of the elections. AD Chairman, Dr. Victor Moore,</td>
<td>Guns, dangerous weapons.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Date/Time</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Events</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikom (Cross River) Fire destroyed electoral materials at INEC Office in Ikom Council Area.</td>
<td>DT April 15 SS 3</td>
<td>Ikom Divisional Police Officer, Mr. Ebenezer Ogunguna confirmed the incident and the arrest of 5 suspects.</td>
<td>Arson, fire. State govt vehicle (Peugeot 306) burnt.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abak (Akwa Ibom) One International Observer and three others wounded at Abak (stronghold of the ANPP guber candidate, Dr. Ime Umanah).</td>
<td>DT April 15 SS 2</td>
<td>State Police Commissioner, Richard Chime confirmed the incident but was not sure if one of the wounded included an European International Observer.</td>
<td>Daily Trust correspondent reports that the EU observer (Jackson) sustained serious bottle cut injuries when PDP supporters and hired miscreants stormed the Ward 11 unit 29 polling station located near Abak General Hospital. Bottles, other dangerous weapons.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin (Edo) Army captain, Abdul Kabir shot at Irrua , Eshan Central LGA</td>
<td>GU April 16 SS 3</td>
<td>Shooting confirmed by the police</td>
<td>Incident occurred while trying to clear a road block allegedly being manned by hoodlums.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>Summary of Stories</td>
<td>Zone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Topic Follow-up on previous weeks special topics Marshall Harry/South-South Plateau</td>
<td>NAN April 9: PDP demanded apology from ANPP over allegations of masterminding the murder of Chief Marshall Harry. DT April 10: PDP National Chairman, Chief Audu Ogbeh, addressing newsmen yesterday in Abuja said that the police's arrest of the suspected killers of Dr. Marshall Harry has vindicated his party, and some of its chieftains who were accused of masterminding it. He added that the ANPP owes his party an apology. PU April 10: Former Special Adviser to Gov. Peter Odili of Rivers State, on Security and Revenue Generation, Chief Anabs Sara Igbe, yesterday faulted police report that armed robbers killed Dr. Marshall Harry and asked the police to investigate further because &quot;We are still of the view that the killing was of a higher order&quot;. He also denied the statement that Marshall Harry ever stayed in the hotel. TD April 10: President Obasanjo has received the report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Middle Belt conflicts from Justice Okechukwu Opene with promise to 'quickly study it and issue a white paper'. This covers conflicts that have occurred in Benue, Nassarawa, Plateau and Taraba States.</td>
<td>NA/SS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INEC and election administration Election Process</td>
<td>DT April 10: INEC chairman, Abel Guobadia, has said that Nigerians hold the key to the success of the general elections beginning this weekend, and explained that the outcome of the elections depends on Nigerians because &quot;what they get depends on how they behave themselves&quot;. TD April 10: INEC’s Enugu State REC, Alhaji Ahmed Raji alleged an attempt by Dr. O. Nwodo and the ANPP gubernatorial candidate, Chief F. Ayoku, to influence him to act in their favour. This is in reaction to an earlier allegation accusing the REC of working to favour PDP – of which he was supposedly an ex-member. DT April 11 – INEC chairman, in Niger State, Alhaji Garba died in his sleep after six months’ sickness. DT April 11 – INEC cleared 13 parties each for Delta and Anambra elections. DT April 11 – INEC stated that they have recruited about 11,111 ad-hoc staff to conduct all the elections in Benue State. DT April 11 – 37 polling centers were alleged missing from the list made available by INEC to Osun State – the governor, Chief Bisi Akande disclosed. NAN April 12 – ANPP presidential candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, attributed his wife’s inability to vote to INEC’s incompetence. PU April 13 – Logistic problems almost marred the conduct of last Saturday’s national assembly elections nationwide as</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>NC</td>
<td>SS/SE</td>
<td>NC</td>
<td>SW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INEC and election administration

there were one problem or the other in most of the polling units across the country.

DT April 15 – INEC displays list of 7m disqualified voters: INEC Secretary, Dr. Hakeem Baba-Ahmed, has announced that INEC will publish and display names of the 7m voters disqualified for double registration this week.

NAN April 16 – AD leaders in Ondo State are to serve as polling agents during the presidential and governorship elections coming Saturday

NAN April 14 – NDP has challenged the decision of a lower court to strike out its suit seeking for the postponement of the general elections.

DT April 11 – 400 fake ballot boxes discovered in Ilorin by the security services officials in the state. Arrests have been made. A senator. Isiaq Salman was alleged to be the brain behind it. The state police commissioner, Alhaji Abubakar claimed awareness of the development.

NAN April 12 – Late arrival of election materials delayed the commencement of balloting at the Government House, Kaduna.

NAN April 12 – Adamawa REC, Abdullahi Gada has sacked a supervisory presiding officer in Bekaji, Yola, Adamu Kano, for ‘deliberately delaying delivery of election materials.

GU April 13 – Osun records ballot paper shortage: Last Saturday’s national assembly elections in Osun State was generally peaceful with impressive turn-out of voters, but there were reports of shortage of ballot papers in some areas particularly in Odo-otin and Irepodun LGAs.

TD April 13 – Okadigbo warns INEC over late arrival of materials to be careful in its conduct of the elections in order not to derail the transition.

GU April 13 – Tired of waiting indefinitely for the arrival of electoral materials, some polling clerks abandoned their posts at Ibousa, Oshimili North LGA of Delta State, but were quickly replaced by the presiding officer/supervisory of the area with other persons.

NAN April 14 – Electoral materials stored at INEC office in Ikom council area of Cross River State were destroyed by fire on the eve of April 12 election.

TD April 10: Abel Guobadia, INEC Chairman, has said that despite the purported suspension of House of Representatives’ Speaker, Ghali Na’Abba, his nomination for Saturday’s elections remains valid because nomination and substitution of candidates’ names ceased on March 12. (Also ref. GU April 10).

DT April 10: Lagos State: The replacement of temporary voters’ slips with the authentic voters’ cards is yet to commence in the state. The State REC attributed the situation to logistics problem.
INEC and election administration

PU April 10: Voter-card replacement began in certain parts of Kano State yesterday, but there were some hitches in Plateau State as virtually all the polling centers did not start the exercise on schedule. In Bauchi, there was massive turnout though it did not start on schedule – due to “logistic reasons”.

PU /TD April 10: Lagos State Gov. Bola Tinubu has appealed to INEC to allow voters use the original registration slips to vote during the elections in the face of the Commission’s failure to provide voters’ cards to the electorate.

DT April 11 – INEC has extended the deadline till Saturday 12th April 2003 for the replacement of the temporary tear-off slips with voters’ cards to allow more people to carry out the exchange.

NAN April 12 – ANPP presidential candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, has cast his vote in his ward, Sarki Yara in Daura, Katsina State.

Election Day Events/Results

DT April 14 – ANPP sweeps the North. The results so far released show that the opposition ANPP is taking over most of the Federal Constituencies from the ruling PDP in many of the 19 northern states.

DT April 14 – PDP wins big in South-West. AD governors meet to review pact: Election results in the South-West show that the PDP has won a resounding victory in all the states, except in Lagos where AD is still maintaining its lead. This has prompted the six AD governors for Lagos, Osun, Ondo, Ekiti, Oyo and Ogun to hurriedly convene a meeting to reconsider the AD/PDP pact in view of the trend in the voting pattern.

DT April 14 – Dr. Abel Guobadia, INEC chairman ordered the recount of the FCT Senate and House of Representative elections following a request by one party that the results should be recounted.

DT April 14 – Na’Abba heads for court: Speaker Ghali Na’Abba has said he will go to court to challenge the result of last Saturday’s National Assembly polls in which he was defeated by the ANPP candidate, Alhaji Ibrahim Umar El-Yaqub.

DT April 14 – Agents of 28 parties were absent from the polling centres at last Saturday’s National Assembly elections in Yobe State, leaving only ANPP to slug it out with PDP.

DT April 14 – Results from Kwara State show that PDP has cleared all the 3 senatorial seats in Kwara and is set on its way to pick many other tickets.

DT April 14 – Elections in the state were characterized by the late distribution of election materials to the various polling booths, and there was a massive turn-out of voters.

DT April 14 – Contrary to fear from some quarters that elections may not hold in Wase Local Government Area of Plateau State following Thursday’s violence, elections went on successfully and voters conducted themselves peacefully and orderly.

DT April 15 – Ruling PDP is inching towards retaining its control of the national assembly, following its remarkable
INEC and election administration

showing in the results declared so far nationwide.

DT April 15 – 85,734 votes voided in Ogun: Break-down shows 42,223 votes rejected in the House of Representatives election while 43,511 were voided in the House of Senate election in the state.

TD April 14 – PDP in landslide victory in Ondo: Official results announced have indicated a clear lead for PDP as it already won six federal constituencies and two senatorial seats against one federal constituency and one senatorial seat won by AD.

TD April 14 – Governor Lam Adesina lost his own constituency to PDP, which swept the entire Oyo State.

TD April 14 – PDP has swept almost all the seats in the Ekiti, Delta and Rivers States, according to results announced so far by INEC.

TD April 14 – Saturday’s elections into the national assembly in Akwa Ibom State were characterized by late arrival of election materials, political violence and bloodshed in the 31 LGAs.

GU April 13 – But for an early morning alleged attack on the family house of an ANPP chieftain in Ilorin, Alhaji Oba Wankasi, the election was peaceful in Ilorin, capital of Kwara State.

TD April 13 – INEC cancels elections in 3 Anambra LGs: Anambra East, Anambra West and Oyi, all in Anambra North Senatorial Zone.

TD April 13 – INEC holds fresh polls in Warri owing to the violence perpetrated by some militant youths and the resultant insecurity yesterday in three LGs; Warri North, Warri South and Warri South-West.

NAN April 12 – ANPP presidential candidate, Muhammadu Buhari, has cast his vote in his ward, Sarki Yara in Daura, Katsina State.

PU April 13 – INEC disqualifies ANPP’s chieftain, Prince Dosumu Tajudeen, who was stated to be under-age – 14 years in Oshodi/Isolo LGA, Lagos according to his registration particulars.

TD April 14 – Pandemonium broke out following a built-up tension between supporters of PDP, AD and ANPP but was averted as armed soldiers shot into the air to disperse the crowd at the collation centre for the Bassa/Jos North Federal Constituency.

NAN April 15 – INEC in Kogi State is to conduct fresh elections in areas where results of Saturday’s National Assembly elections were inconclusive due to disruption or violence.

NAN April 15 – INEC in Abia has cancelled the senatorial election held on Saturday in Abia South district.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>News Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PU April 16</td>
<td>Talks between President Obasanjo and the leadership of the pan-Yoruba socio-cultural group, Afenifere, over the outcome of last Saturday’s elections have broken down as both parties failed to reach an agreement on what may have influenced the results.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PU April 16</td>
<td>PRP National Chairman, Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa, has lamented the collapse of the alliance of 28 political parties, blaming members of the coalition for the outcome of last Saturday’s elections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT April 16</td>
<td>Protesting youths in Malumfashi (Katsina) has set INEC office and a local government-owned shopping centre ablaze. Also burnt down are the house of the chairman of the council’s caretaker committee and another house belonging to a national chieftain of PDP. This is barely one day after irate youths had set INEC office and three houses in Kankia town, ablaze, following the results of Saturday’s polls.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT April 16</td>
<td>INEC holds crucial meeting and disburses N180m to political parties for preparations for the conduct of the polls, which was supposed to have been released before last Saturday’s elections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT April 16</td>
<td>Bauchi State judiciary has announced the setting up of an election petitions tribunal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT April 16</td>
<td>Four persons were killed and several others wounded in Pankshin LGA of Plateau State following election violence that erupted after the declaration of deputy senate president, Alhaji Ibrahim Mantu as the winner of the Plateau Central Senatorial seat.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU April 16</td>
<td>Afenifere has threatened to protest-vote against President Obasanjo if he fails to address their complaints of rigging and voter-intimidation during last week’s National Assembly elections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU April 16</td>
<td>APGA and NCP have rejected any merger plan with other parties in next Saturday’s elections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAN April 16</td>
<td>AD leaders in Ondo State are to serve as polling agents during the presidential and governorship elections coming Saturday.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAN April 16</td>
<td>Ogun State Governor Olusegun Osoba says he has declared a total war in the upcoming presidential and governorship elections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAN April 16</td>
<td>A coalition of six political parties in Ebonyi State have threatened to boycott Saturday’s presidential and governorship elections unless the National Assembly polls are cancelled.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TD April 16</td>
<td>Osun State PDP has raised an alarm, alleging that AD wants to rig next Saturday’s governorship election by bribing voters with the sum of N150m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PU April 16</td>
<td>Talks between President Obasanjo and the leadership of the pan-Yoruba socio-cultural group, Afenifere, over the outcome of last Saturday’s elections have broken down as both parties failed to reach an agreement on what may have influenced the results.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reactions to April 12th Elections</td>
<td>DT April 16 – Bauchi State judiciary has announced the setting up of an election petitions tribunal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Commendations (Positive)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GU April 13 /DT April 14</th>
<th>IGP Tafa Balogun has expressed satisfaction with the security arrangements during last Saturday’s National Assembly elections. He also praised his men and officers for maintaining adequate security presence.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DT April 14</td>
<td>Former head of state, Gen. Yakubu Gowon, rtd, scored Nigerian electorates high for their orderly conduct during the National Assembly’s elections, saying that such conduct was a clear indication that the citizens are ready for democracy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT April 14</td>
<td>Foreign Affairs Minister, Alhaji Sule Lamido has said that the success of Saturday’s elections is a clear manifestation of a successful civilian transition to civilian programme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT April 14</td>
<td>President Obasanjo is satisfied with the outcome of Saturday’s national assembly elections, and described them as free and fair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT April 15</td>
<td>LG Chairman of Abaji Area Council, Alhaji Hassan Sokodabo, has commended women groups in the area over the large female turn out during the national assembly’s elections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT April 15</td>
<td>The All political forum in Zamfara State has commended INEC for the successful conduct of last Saturday’s election.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TD April 14</td>
<td>Saraki commends Kwarans: Kwara State PDP governorship candidate for Kwara, Dr. Bukola Saraki, has commended the “courage of the good people of the State for their support” in last Saturday’s election.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU April 13</td>
<td>Eminent Nigerians commended last Saturday’s elections. Former military president, Babangida expressed satisfaction and optimism in the success of the election.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU April 13</td>
<td>Vice President Atiku Abubakar commends voters’ turn-out in Yola and praised them for their peaceful conduct during the elections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PU April 13</td>
<td>Impressed by the large turn-out of voters and the peaceful conduct of election into the national assembly, Gov. Bola Tinubu of Lagos State, has expressed his optimism that the presidential and gubernatorial elections next Saturday will also be successful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAN April 12</td>
<td>U.S. ambassador to Nigeria, Mr. Howard Jeter, has described the conduct of the national assembly elections as commendable so far.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PU April 13</td>
<td>President Obasanjo expressed satisfaction with the outcome of the election exercise, describing it as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reactions to April 12th Elections

peaceful and fair. He also commended INEC and police for their high level of preparedness.

PU April 16 – Obasanjo/Atiku’s campaign organization lauds Nigerians over National Assembly elections, saying that the elections were free and fair

Rejections (Negative)

DT April 15 – Defeated speaker of the House of Representatives, Ghali Na’Abba, has attributed his defeat in last Saturday’s elections to a conspiracy between the police, INEC and the state government – and says he will contest the outcome in court.

DT April 15 –: Sam Nda-Isiah, Deputy Director General (Media & Publicity) of Buhari/Okadigbo Campaign Organisation has alleged massive rigging in last Saturday’s elections nationwide and has therefore rejected some of the results so far released. Also, the pan-Yoruba group, Afenifere, has threatened to cause chaos in the country if the PDP decides to manipulate next Saturday’s elections.

DT April 15 – UNPP Presidential candidate, Jim Nwobodo, has urged INEC to cancel the polls in Enugu State, alleging large-scale rigging and connivance of INEC staff.

DT April 15 –: The Zamfara State PDP has accused the ANPP of using police to rig elections in Bakura LGA.

GU April 14 – Afenifere chieftain and AD strongman, Ayo Adebanjo, has alleged bribery of the electorate by the PDP in last Saturday’s national assembly elections, but Pa Abraham Adesanya reserves comments.

GU April 14 – Lagos State PDP governorship candidate, Funsho Williams, says the elections were far from being free and fair and alleges that AD bribed voters, but at the same time maintains he will win the governorship.

NAN April 15 – Sequel to reported disruptions of legislative elections in parts of the South-East, the ANPP has called for the cancellation of the poll results in the zone.

NAN April 15 – AD’s gubernatorial candidate in Delta, Chief Great Ogboru, has called for the cancellation of last Saturday’s legislative elections in the state, alleging that they were marred by irregularities.

PU April 16 – ANPP and 11 other parties in the country have rejected the results of Saturday’s National Assembly elections, describing the elections as “spurious” and therefore call for cancellation.

PU April 16 – ANPP senatorial candidate for the FCT, Hajia Heebah Ireti Kingibe, has rejected the result of the election conducted on Saturday, alleging large-scale irregularities in the election process.

DT April 16 – ANPP demands fresh elections as it rejects election results released in Bauchi, Plateau, Kwara, Benue, Katsina, Kaduna, Kano, FCT, Bombe, Kogi, Rivers, Bayelsa and the entire South-East, warning of dire consequences
if INEC upholds the results.

GU April 16 – A coalition of seven parties in Rivers State have protested against last Saturday’s election results, demanding fresh polls.

| Electoral Irregularities and Violence | DT April 15 – Barrister Aliyu Marafa, Kaduna State REC has confirmed the arrest of 40 youths who tried to disrupt voting in Igabi LGA (Kaduna), while 11 were arrested at Ajasse-Ipo in Kwara State. GU April 13 – Unknown persons dressed in military camouflage and heavily armed stormed some polling stations in Port Harcourt snatching away electoral materials. GU April 13 – Former Anambra State governor Jim Nwobodo was unable to vote as thugs smash ballot boxes at his polling centre located at St. Matthews Church, Amechi Awkunanaw in Enugu State. PU April 13 – Youths disrupt election in Igwuruta, Ikwerre LGA of Rivers State alleging that the Returning Officer had gone into hiding with the electoral result sheets in order to falsify it for his ‘masters’. NAN April 14 – Lagos State ANPP has alleged that two parties rigged Saturday’s elections, vowing not to accept the results. It stated that AD and PDP influenced voters with huge sums of money and used thugs to snatch ballot boxes. NAN April 14 – Police are investigating electoral violence, which erupted on Sunday at a collation centre at Pankshin, Plateau State. NAN April 12 – The police today arrested a top aide of Gov. Lucky Igbinedion of Edo State for alleged illegal destruction of a ballot box at the polling centre. NAN April 12 – Sokoto State Police Command today arrested an ANPP polling agent at Gidan Igwai in Sokoto North LGA for being in possession of eight voters cards and four voters slips. GU April 14 – Police detectives in Lagos have arrested 18 persons for committing various electoral malpractices during the National Assembly elections last Saturday. GU April 14 – Ebonyi State Police command has arrested the state ANPP governorship candidate, Chief Lawrence Nwurukwu, over alleged attack on council chief. GU April 16 – Afenifere has threatened to protest-vote against President Obasanjo if he fails to address their complaints of rigging and voter-intimidation during last week’s National Assembly elections. | NC SS SE SS SW NC SS NW SW SE SW |

| Inter Party Defections | DT April 10: NCP – ANPP: Edo State gubernatorial running mate, Princess Grace Aremu at the presidential campaign rally in Benin City, Sunday April 6. | SS |
### Alliances

**PU April 10:** Details of PDP, AD pact will be released today, according to the AD national chairman, Alhaji Ahmed Abdulkadir, but explained that the specific terms of the pact were tied to the performance of each party at the national assembly elections of April 12, 2003.

**PU April 11:** AD, UNPP, APGA, PRP and MDJ parties formed coalition to stop the re-election of the Niger State incumbent governor, Alhaji Abdulkadir Kure.

**TD April 10:** Yoruba Council of Elders (YCE) in Kwara State endorsed ANPP's gubernatorial candidate, Alhaji Muhammad Lawal, for a second term bid.

**GU April 16:** APGA and NCP have rejected any merger plan with other parties in next Saturday's elections.

### Accusations of Misconduct

**TD April 10:** Governor George Akume of Benue State accused leaders of ANPP and UNPP of sponsoring violence in the state.

**TD April 10:** APGA has rejected the voters' register released by INEC alleging conspiracy with PDP.

**PU April 11:** APGA, NDP, UNPP, ANPP, JP, AD and PSP have threatened to boycott the elections because of alleged plans by the PDP to rig the elections.

**PU April 16:** Punch have uncovered what looks like the use by Jigawa State Government of N5.97bn from LG funds to oil the campaign machinery for the second term bid of government officials.

### Intra Party

**PU April 10:** PDP ratifies Na’Abba’s suspension and feared they may lose some states.

**GU April 10:** UNPP Delta State’s vice chairman, Mr. Philip Ibeonye announced the expulsion of the party’s gubernatorial candidate, chairman and secretary, Dr. Joshua Enueme, Chief Dennis Etaluku an Mr. Henry Nzekwe, respectively, by a faction of the party in the state.

**NAN April 10:** Two aspirants from PDP are claiming candidature for the House of Representatives ticket in Jalingo/Zing/Yono Federal Constituency in Taraba State.

### Peace Building

**DT April 10:** All the political parties fielding candidates for elective positions in Gombe State have signed a written undertaking with the state police command, and to eschew all forms of violence and the ensure peace during the forthcoming elections.

**NAN April 9:** the SSS director in Ebonyi State has urged the youths to eschew violence in a lecture titled “Electoral violence: Causes and consequences”.
<p>| Peace Building | NAN April 9: Gov. Donald Duke of Cross River State has waded into the protracted disturbances in Akamkpa Council area of the state, which resulted in the two communities embracing peace with a signed undertaking to that effect. AD gubernatorial candidate in Kwara State, Aljaji Lai Mohammed, called on traditional rulers in the state to mediate in Lawal and Saraki’s dispute for peace’s sake. DT April 11 – Gombe State ANPP and PDP signed an undertaking to ensure peace throughout the elections. PU April 16 – The Okrika Divisional Council of Chiefs in Rivers State has criticized the calls on President Obasanjo to declare a state of emergency in Okrika and urged the president to ignore such calls. | SS NC NE SS |
| Legal Matters | DT April 10: Chief Justice of Nigeria, Justice Muhammadu L. Uwais, has said the judiciary would ensure that nothing disrupts the forthcoming elections, adding that the legal system has a duty to protect and ensure a smooth transition. DT April 10: The Court of Appeal yesterday upheld the election of Alhaji Abdulkadir Ahmed as the substantive national chairman of the Alliance for Democracy (AD). DT April 11 – Supreme Court confirmed Alhaji Saminu Turaki as the Jigawa State ANPP governorship candidate. PU April 16 – Five persons were yesterday arraigned before a Port Harcourt Chief Magistrate’s Court for protesting the outcome of last Saturday’s national assembly election in Rivers State. | NA NA NE SS |
| Security Forces | PU April 9: Buhari’s plane was denied landing right in Makurdi by the police declaring his intended campaign rally as illegal due to the presence of the vice president’s jet on the Makurdi airport tarmac. Airport staff were quoted as saying that “two hours after the departure of the vice president’ is necessary before clearance can be given for Buhari’s plane to land”, according to Alhaji Godwin Ukpoju, the Benue State ANPP chairman. PU April 9: Police deploy 250,000 personnel nationwide for election monitoring, according to the Force Public Relations Officer, Mr. Chris Olakpe. NAN April 9: The Lagos State AD has called on all security agencies in the country to ensure that all incidents of violence were nibbed in the bud. PU April 9: Bauchi ANPP demanded the removal of state police boss to ensure free and fair elections. PU April 10: Osun State police command has arrested six prominent members of AD over allegations of planning to perpetrate violence during the forthcoming polls. DT April 10: Suspected aggrieved party thugs protesting non-payment of their allowances yesterday went on rampage at Government House, Ilorin, but were dispersed by security operatives firing live bullets to scatter the rioters. | NC NA SW NE SW NC |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Security Forces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DT April 10:</strong> The Federal Government has beefed up security in Kano State to ensure a peaceful conduct of the 2003 election, says Minister of Women Affairs, Hajia Aisha Isma’il.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PU April 10:</strong> Delta State police command has deployed 7,000 policemen to provide security in its efforts to ensure hitch-free elections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PU April 10:</strong> Police Commissioner Samuel Adekunle of Ekiti State has enjoined the media to work in concert with the police in order to make the general elections hitch-free.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PU April 10:</strong> Edo state Attorney General and Commissioner for Justice, Chief Samson Ekhabafe, Sunday night escaped assassination as his official residence was riddled with bullets by unknown gunmen. No arrests have been made, but police says investigation is on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PU April 10:</strong> Police Service Commission has released a 10-point guideline for the conduct of police officers on election duty which include alertness, approachability, impartiality, awareness of electoral law, amongst others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TD April 10:</strong> Ebonyi State ANPP gubernatorial candidate, Chief Lawrence Nwuruku was declared wanted by the state police command for allegedly escaping from lawful custody. He had been in detention since April 7, 2003.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TD April 10:</strong> ANPP’s Plateau State gubernatorial candidate advocates the withdrawal of government vehicles during elections to forestall attempts of rigging.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DT April 11 – About 260,000 policemen have been redeployed to monitor the general elections, according to the Inspector General of Police, Alhaji Tafa Balogun</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DT April 11 – Plateau State Secretary to Government, Mr. Ezekiel Cosmos, disclosed plans by certain individuals and groups to disrupt and destabilize the election process.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DT April 11 – Kwara State police commissioner, Alhaji Dikko Abubakar requested the political parties contesting the elections to assist the police by submitting the list of names of suspected thugs in their fold.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PU April 11 – Police in Imo State had arrested 3 persons which included an Assistant Director of General Services in the state, for the killing of Chief Ogbonnaya Uche in February 2003.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TD April 12 – Because of tension over the national assembly elections, soldiers have been drafted to Kwara to forestall any breakdown of law and order. Also, Obasanjo met with gubernatorial candidates in Lagos State.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NAN April 12 – Hundreds of heavily-armed military men, armed to the teeth, were guarding the headquarters of INEC located in Maitama district of Abuja this morning.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAN April 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAN April 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TD April 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT April 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAN April 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PU April 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PU April 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PU April 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PU April 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT April 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT April 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT April 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DT April 16 – Delta AD governorship candidate, Chief Great Ogboru, has called for the redeployment of the Delta State Commissioner of Police over allegation that the state mobile policemen colluded with PDP thugs to use guns to intimidate AD supporters and thereby robbing the party of victory.

GU April 16 – Following widespread political violence that swept through parts of Edo and Plateau States during last Saturday’s national assembly elections, the police in Benin and Jos have commenced investigations to get to the root of the bloody clashes by rival party supporters.

Public Opinion/Calls

PU April 10: Kwara State Chapter of the Yoruba Council of Elders (YCE) has expressed concern over the spate of political crisis in the state, warning that it might snowball into a major crisis.

PU / TD April 10: The Punch News Research Service reported “Contractors, corporate bodies hijack political campaigns’ based on their observations cum analysis of the last 3 months donations and fund raising activities of the political parties.

TD April 10: OPC (Oodua People’s Congress) leader, Dr. Frederick Fasehun raised alarm over plans to foment trouble during the general elections in a press conference titled: “Red Alert on April 2003 Election” stating that ‘no state could escape explosion of political violence’.

GU April 10: Obasanjo pledged to accept polls verdict just 10 days to decision-day for the presidential winner.

TD April 14 – ANPP deputy governorship candidate for Enugu State, Chief Nduka Ozongwu, has said the only way out of making political contests a do or die affair was to change the view that it is not an avenue of amassing easy wealth.

TD April 14 – PDP senator-elect (Ondo Central), Mr. Gbenga Ogguniya, has urged losers in last Saturday’s elections to accept the results in good faith by supporting the winners to bring rapid development o the country.

TD April 14 – Pan Ndi-Igbo Foundation has canvassed that the principle of rotational presidency for a single six-year term be enshrined in the Nigerian constitution, and advocates for peaceful conduct of the elections.

GU April 14 – Mrs. Prisca Okoronkwo, Director of Rural Widows’ Action Centre (RUWAC) says her group has stepped up campaign to mobilize women to take active part in elections.

PU April 16 – AD gubernatorial candidate in Enugu State, Chief Emeka Eze, has vowed to resist any attempt to rig Saturday’s gubernatorial election in the state.

NAN April 16 – A coalition of six political parties in Ebonyi State (ANPP, NDP, UNPP, APGA, MDJ and AD) have threatened to boycott Saturday’s presidential and governorship elections unless the National Assembly polls are cancelled.

International/Domestic

TD April 10: DG of the National Orientation Agency (NOA), Chief Tonnie Iredia, identifies “the control of political parties
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observers</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DT April 15 – The Institute for Democracy in South Africa (dasa) has commended Nigerians for their “high level of competence” in last Saturday’s elections, noting that the conduct of the political parties was orderly, although part of the report showed there were incidence of violence in some parts of the South-South zone.</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTA April 15 – NDI (National Democratic Institute) in a press release called for INEC’s improvement on distribution of materials, openness in the counting and collations of voters and better management and tighter security in violence prone areas to prevent worse situations as had been found in some states of the country.</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PU April 16 – European Union chief observer has described last Saturday’s polls as not being as free and fair as INEC and other interested concerns have painted it, adding that the electoral process was devoid of transparency.</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PU April 16 – TMG and CLO have faulted the conduct of the national assembly elections in Edo State, saying the exercise was characterized by fraud, accusing INEC of complicity in the electoral malpractices.</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT April 16 – EU, NLC, and other observer groups have faulted the national assembly elections conducted last Saturday, describing the process as being marked by serious shortcomings and delays in materials.</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>SS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TD April 16 – Five local observer groups (ND-HERO, MOSOP, NDPD, IHRHL, ERA) call for cancellation in some areas because of collaboration between the security agencies and INEC officials to ensure that incumbent office holders returned at all cost.</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Search for Meaning:  
Towards a Generative Constructionist  
Approach to Transforming  
identity-based conflict  

Oral Defense  
March 25, 2004

Anastasia White  
Department of Organizational Behavior  
Case Western Reserve University

---

**Agenda**

- Research Topic
- Methodology
- Literature Review
- Hypotheses and Policy Implications
- Implication for Intervenors
- Questions and Discussion
Defining Identity-Based Conflict

Within my research, I have defined identity-based conflict as

“macro-social conflict between groups that are organized around ethnic, religious or political identity and are deep-rooted and intergenerational in nature”

Importance of Identity-Based Conflict

Since the end of the Cold War, conflicts among rival intrastate ethnic groups have proliferated, with approximately thirty such conflicts being fought each year around the globe. This fighting takes place within and around communities; more than eighty percent of the casualties are noncombatants, mostly women and children.

In contemporary conflicts, civilian populations are frequently the primary targets of terror campaigns marked by human rights violations on a massive scale. There are no well-defined battlefields; clashes at the local level turn neighborhoods into war zones. In many cases, the destruction of formerly peaceful but fragile communities exacerbates ongoing problems of poverty, spurring deadly cycles that are difficult to break.

Source: The Solomon Asch Center for Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict, University of Pennsylvania
Reason for Selecting this Research Topic

Roles/Experience

- Practitioner
- Participant
- Scholar

Inform

Understanding of Conflict

But do not match

Existing Theory

Research Question

How can theory be adapted or enhanced to bring our understanding of identity-based conflict into closer alignment with lived participant and practitioner experience?
Agenda

- Research Topic
- **Methodology**
- Literature Review
- Hypotheses and Policy Implications
- Implication for Intervenors
- Questions and Discussion

Research Methods - Overview

Real-world Settings

The Nature of the Topic

Qualitative Methodologies

Grounded Theory

Action Research

Ethnographic Research Techniques

necessitate
Research Methods - Action Research

Kolb’s Lewinian Cycle

Experience/Observations
- 1st Person
- 2nd Person
- 3rd Person

Research Methods - Ethnographic Techniques

Analytical Techniques
Coding of interview data, reflections, and observations coupled with a thematic analysis of the results
Research Methods – Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss)

Data Collection Methods
- Immersion
- Participant Observation
- Unstructured Interviews

Analytical Techniques
- Thematic analysis of the findings from Action Research and Ethnographic Techniques
- Theoretical Sampling

Current Theory
- Sociology
  - Structuration Theory
  - Practice Theory
- Psychology
  - Social Identity Theory
  - Narrative Therapy
- Organizational Behavior
  - Social Constructionist Theory
  - Positive Organizational Scholarship
- Conflict Resolution
  - Interest-Based Negotiation
  - Human Needs Theory
  - Social Constructionism

Data Collection – Source Material

Experiences and Observations
- Personal journal entries from South Africa, Israel/Palestine and Nigeria
- Conversations with conflict participants and practitioners in all three locations
- Formal taped interviews and group workshops in all three locations
- Weekly meta-analysis of Nigerian newspaper articles from January – April 2003
- Review of journal articles, media stories and case studies in the conflict regions that I studied as well as in other geographies
- Field trips to local villages in all three locations
- A journal article and book chapter that I have written on these experiences

Agenda

• Research Topic
• Methodology

• Literature Review

• Hypotheses and Policy Implications
• Implications for Intervenors
• Questions and Discussion

Literature Review – Insights Across Disciplines

Sociology
• Structuration Theory
• Practice Theory

Psychology
• Social Identity Theory
• Narrative Therapy

Organizational Behavior
• Social Constructionist Theory
• Positive Organizational Scholarship

Conflict Resolution
• Interest-Based Negotiation
• Human Needs Theory
• Narrative Mediation

Agenda

- Research Topic
- Methodology
- Literature Review
- Hypotheses and Policy Implications
- Implications for Intervenors
- Questions and Discussion

Survey of Conflict Resolution Theories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Frames</th>
<th>Utility Psychological</th>
<th>Structural Sociological</th>
<th>Social Constructionist</th>
<th>Generative Constructionist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Examples</td>
<td>Interest-Based Negotiation</td>
<td>Analytical Problem Solving</td>
<td>Narrative Mediation</td>
<td>Meaning-Narrative Intervention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature/Source of Conflict</td>
<td>Two or more parties have an interest in an object</td>
<td>Frustration of Basic Human Needs</td>
<td>Clash of perspectives that are role and context determined</td>
<td>Creation of meaning in an overriding context of conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location of Conflict</td>
<td>Individual needs and interests</td>
<td>Structures, systems and institutions</td>
<td>Relationships and how they are Interpreted</td>
<td>Conflict Narratives that construct identity and meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intervention Strategies</td>
<td>Compromise, seeking common ground, negotiation and mediation</td>
<td>Identification of needs and the joint creation of appropriate satisfiers</td>
<td>Restructuring the narrative of relationships through discourse exploration</td>
<td>Creating social, political and cultural space for narratives of meaning and identity to change</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Hypothesis 1: The Nature of Conflict

**Hypothesis**

The Nature of Conflict

Human beings are meaning-making creatures who socially construct their reality.

Therefore:

a) every person seeks a larger purpose to their lives within which to explain and make meaningful their experience; and

b) when this is shattered an existential crisis ensues which must be resolved in order for life to be purposeful again.

**Proposition**

Any peace process must account for the conflict narrative as a source of identity and existential meaning. The “issues” identified for negotiation must be seen as indicators of these deeper dynamics rather than being taken at face value as the actual cause or driver of the conflict.

**Policy Implication**

1) To generate peaceful pathways to create value and legacy (hero) for participants within their specific cultural and historical context.

2) Rational solutions are not necessarily adequate or sufficient to address or transform identity-based conflicts even though they may appear to have rational causes or drivers. Analyses or diagnoses of conflict should incorporate conflict narratives and non-realistic aspects of conflict to be able to more completely account for situations of conflict.

### Hypothesis 2: The Source of Conflict

**Hypothesis**

The Source of Conflict

The all consuming nature of the conflict experience leads to the creation of a conflict narrative and its centrality as an organizing principle for identity.

Therefore:

a) these conflicts become an opportunity to experience and create self; and

b) this identity is sustained by and dependent on the creation of an enemy.

**Proposition**

Identity-based conflicts can be understood as non-realistic conflicts which function to maintain group identity boundaries through the creation of a conflict narrative that define an enemy. These boundaries then become dependent on this enemy and the ongoing nature of conflict.

**Policy Implication**

Focus of intervention is on relationship between identity and narrative with a view to finding new identity narratives that allow for a transformation of the other.
### Hypothesis 3: The Location of Conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Proposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location of Conflict</td>
<td>Conflicting is a practice per Bourdieu, it is a game that takes place on a field with particular (socially constructed) rules, with the players calling on their human social and cultural capital to win/play the game skillfully.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Implication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Efforts to transform conflict must recognize the recursive relationship between existing structures and agency. The focus of this process must be the transformation of the practice of conflict and those elements that support it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Just as conflicting is a practice so too is peace therefore the focus of intervention should be on finding, creating and nurturing the rules and resources required for peace.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Hypothesis 4: Intervention Strategies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Proposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intervention Strategies</td>
<td>Role-models / moral leaders that articulate new or re-written narratives create possibilities and spaces for change within existing conflict dynamics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Implication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Crises of knowledge and cognitive dissonance are the indicators/catalyst for space and this should be sought at every level of the conflict system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Interventions are most effective if they leverage existing spaces in the conflict in ways that permit or catalyze changes in participant understandings and expressions of conflict practice.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Agenda

• Research Topic
• Methodology
• Literature Review
• Hypotheses and Policy Implications
  • Implications for Interveners
• Questions and Discussion

Implications for Interveners – Building Blocks for Conflict Transformation

INTERVENTION
Though participants are ultimately responsible for their actions, interveners can enable the process of conflict transformation by walking with participants in a journey of constructing new and generative ways of being and doing towards the other.

STRATEGY
Effective intervention strategies should recognize the important generative or co-creational role that interveners can play through creating, holding and sustaining spaces for participants to shift or evolve their own construction of conflict.

ANALYSIS
In order to effectively understand or map identity-based conflict, analysts must attempt to honor all sides of the conflict by entering the “world of meaning” that participants have constructed.
Closing Thought

We join spokes together in a wheel, but it is the center hole that makes the wagon move.

We shape clay into a pot, but it is the emptiness inside that holds whatever we want.

We hammer wood for a house, but it is the inner space that makes it livable.

We work with being, but non-being is what we use.


Agenda

• Research Topic
• Methodology
• Literature Review
• Hypotheses and Policy Implications
• Implication for Intervenors
• Questions and Discussion
BIBLIOGRAPHY


