

## **Towards Peace-building and Conflict Management In Multi-ethnic Societies: A Study of Peace infrastructures in Nigeria and Turkey**

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**Abstract :** One basic fact of the human existence is the inevitability of conflict in its social relations; human social relations are inherently conflict-generating. Even at the less complex level of inter-personal relations between two individuals, for instance, relations have not been free from occasional frayed nerves, conflicts and oftentimes violent expressions of discontent. Nigeria and Turkey are two countries, which though belong to different continents, however share some unenviable features of most pluralistic societies- disparate ethnic groups with distinct historical experiences, different cultural orientations, diverse political interests and multiple religious affiliations. The seeming un-flattering picture these characteristics pose notwithstanding, the problem is not entirely about deficits in conscious efforts by the two countries' leaders towards national integration and a cohesive society. The object of this paper is to critically examine these peace infrastructures and their functionality in the peace-building and conflict management in both Nigeria and Turkey in the context of their pluralities.

**Key words:** Turkey and Nigeria, Conflict Management, Peace Building, Multi-Ethnic Societies

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### **I. Introduction**

One basic fact of the human existence is the inevitability of conflict in its social relations; human social relations are inherently conflict-generating. Even at the less complex level of inter-personal relations between two individuals, for instance, relations have not been free from occasional frayed nerves, conflicts and oftentimes violent expressions of discontent. How much at the group level. Indeed the world over, it is also a notorious fact that social relations between and among groups even in more homogenous societies divergence of interests make the process of nation-building a difficult enterprise. Somalia, in the Horn of Africa, for instance, resents a classical example of a homogenous society in terms of its ethnic make-up. Yet the country's history is a tale of strife that for long rendered it a failed state, which she has barely managed to heave out from. In more complex heterogeneous societies, therefore, the national integration project and efforts at achieving national stability and cohesion have proved more problematic. Thus for statesmen and political leaders in heterogeneous societies, the process of nation-building have become even more herculean following the explosion of identities and intense demand for greater stake by sub-national groups witnessed across the globe since the end of the Cold War. Religious and sub-group identities-based agitations are on the ascendant and have become a major threat to national integration and cohesion.

Nigeria and Turkey are two countries, which though belong to different continents, however share some unenviable features of most pluralistic societies- disparate ethnic groups with distinct historical experiences, different cultural orientations, diverse political interests and multiple religious affiliations. The seeming un-flattering picture these characteristics pose notwithstanding, the problem is not entirely about deficits in conscious efforts by the two countries' leaders towards national integration and a cohesive society. Indeed conscious of the fact that only in a peaceful atmosphere could any meaningful development occur, successive leadership of the two countries have put in place several peace-building and conflict management mechanisms, that attempt to form the peace architecture with which to manage the complexities of their respective countries. The object of this paper is to critically examine these peace infrastructures and their functionality in the peace-building and conflict management in both Nigeria and Turkey in the context of their pluralities. It shall make recommendations as a way forward.

## Nigeria

Nigeria, world's most populous Black Country, is situated in the West African sub-region. Made up of over 250 ethnic nationalities, among them, the dominant three- Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba- Nigeria's about 180 million people boast of about an equal number of the world's two dominant and seemingly perpetually- feuding religions- Christianity and Islam. A significant number of traditional worshippers also account for the country's numerical strength. Social relations among the disparate Nigerian social groups have however been characterized by intense rivalry and competition for scarce resources and vantage placement on the socio-political ladder so that in the words of Professor Richard Joseph, "the individual Nigerian, especially in a context of competitive group interaction, enters into a system of sectional opposition from which it is usually impossible to opt out," (1991:50). In the first five years of her independence, between January and July 1966, Nigeria experienced two bloody military coups which clearly brought to fore, the deep divisions among her disparate people. Further fallouts from those events ultimately plunged the country into a 30-month civil war (1967-1970) that threatened her corporate existence. Besides the several sectarian strife along the ethno-religious fault-lines, which further reaffirms the tenuous relations among the country's disparate people, Nigeria's post- civil war history has been punctuated by other forms of conflicts, including the June 1993 presidential election annulment political crisis that nearly nudged the country to the precipice. Catholic Rev. Father and scholar, George Ehusani captured it graphically in a brief survey of violent conflicts in Nigeria:

Violent conflicts resulting in massive loss of lives and property are sadly a regular feature of Nigerian. From the operation *wetie* that rocked Western Nigeria in 1964, through the unfortunate civil war of 1967 to 1970, to the Niger Delta militant uprising of recent years; and from the Sharia riots of year 2000 and 2001, through the sporadic carnage in Jos and its environs that has not abated since the year 2004, to the yet ongoing Boko Haram terrorist bombing campaigns, it has been a litany of violent conflicts that have tended to pitch the North against the South, Christian against Muslims, and the so-called Indigenous against the so-called Non-Indigenes, highlighting very graphically, the failure of the critical institutions of state and the fragile and tenuous nature of our corporate existence as a nation.

One of Nigeria's eminent scholars, Professor Jonas Elaigwu also made a crucial observation on the country. According to him, "[P]olitical actors have often threatened the system, carrying it to brink, only to stage a retreat to the centre, only because the memories of the civil war are still verdant in their memories" (1997:59). Could this account for the reason Nigeria has remained in one piece despite the un-flattering picture graphically painted the Catholic cleric? Are the peace infrastructure in place in Nigeria, which have attracted the cynical description of manifesting in ad-hoc policies and mechanisms (Oshita, 2015) functional enough to have withstood the pulls of centrifugal forces? We shall find out shortly.

## Turkey

Turkey, as a nation straddles two continents: Europe and Asia. She sits at the junction between Eastern Europe and Western Asia. A heterogeneous society as Nigeria, unlike Nigeria which has over 250 ethno-linguistic groups, among which are three major ones, Turkey's plurality is however less complex. The Turks constitute Turkey's main ethnic group comprising about 70-75 percent of her July 2014, 81,619,392 population estimate (CIA World Fact Book). Of the remaining (minority) population, the Kurds constitute the largest minority group with 18 percent of the country's population. The population of the other minority groups ranges between 7 and 12 percent. The country is mainly Muslim comprising 99 per cent, mostly Sunni. The remaining 0.2 percent religious population is shared among Christians and Jews, Alevis, Shia Muslims, and Yezidis(ibid).

Despite her less complex plurality, Turkey however has had her fair share of woes and agonies in the process of nation-building, the major of which is the Kurdish question, and refers to a complex conflict over which there is not a unique understanding or a unified narrative. It consists on the one hand of the denial of the existence of the Kurds as a distinct ethnic group within the country's diverse population, and on the other by active Kurdish Ethnic Separatism. Ancillary to the Kurdish separatism is the Islamist Kurdish. The denial of Kurdish identity has led to the pursuit of an official policy of "Turkification" and assimilation, and draws on the Kemalist ideology which aims to build a national Turkish identity and society, by unification of all the groups in Turkey ethnically, culturally and linguistically. The policy which dates back to since the establishment of the Turkish Republic has been characterized by the suppression of revolts, forcible displacement, the criminalization of language and culture, and the arbitrary imprisonment of Kurds, and has invariably established a distinct taboo around the Kurdish minority in both Turkish politics and within society as a whole.

### **Conceptual Clarifications: Peace-building, Conflict Management and Peace Infrastructure**

Broadly-speaking, peace-building is a process that aims to impact positively on relations between and among individuals and groups. In this paper, we shall however be focusing on its inter-group rather than inter-personal context.

Indeed, different individuals and institutions have offered their understanding of the concept of peace-building, which have gained wide acceptability. John Paul Lederach for instance conceives of it as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term, he further notes, thus involves a wide range of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords (Alliance for Peace-building, 2013). While the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) conceives that Peacebuilding involves addressing social and political sources of conflict as well as reconciliation, United Nations' Peacebuilding Support Office defines peacebuilding as rather the continuum of strategy, processes and activities aimed at sustaining peace over the long-term with a clear focus on reducing chances for the relapse into conflict. It views peacebuilding as a broader policy framework that strengthens the synergy among the related efforts of conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, recovery and development, as part of a collective and sustained effort to build lasting peace (*ibid*). Worth noting in this definition is that this office works specifically with peacebuilding in the context of postconflict reconstruction.

The common tread in these definitions is that peace-building, as the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) rightly noted was originally conceived in the context of postconflict recovery efforts to promote reconciliation and reconstruction. Such efforts may include providing humanitarian relief, protecting human rights, ensuring security, establishing nonviolent modes of resolving conflicts, fostering reconciliation, providing trauma healing services, repatriating refugees and resettling internally displaced persons, supporting broad-based education, and aiding in economic reconstruction. The USIP acknowledges rightly also that the term has more recently taken on a broader meaning (*ibid*). According to the institution, in this broader sense, peace-building involves a transformation toward more manageable, peaceful relationships and governance structures—the long-term process of addressing root causes and effects, reconciling differences, normalizing relations, and building institutions that can manage conflict without resort to violence (*ibid*). Johan Galtung is more disposed to broader context. He conceives of peace-building as the process of creating self-supporting structures that “remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur.” He goes on to Conflict resolution mechanisms “should be built into the structure and be present there as a reservoir for the system itself to draw upon, just as a healthy body has the ability to generate its own antibodies and does not need ad hoc administration of medicine” (*ibid*), a position, which we identify with in this paper.

For us however, a more profound understanding of the meaning of peace-building may perhaps necessitate a reference to the musings of Necla Tschirgi on the concept, which he aptly captures as bridging security and development both at the international and domestic levels. Thus while drawing our attention to the nexus between peace-building and security, Tschirgi notes that state-centric notion of security, which dominated the Cold War literature on international relations, security and strategic studies with focus on state power, clearly relegated the security of the people—what is now otherwise referred to as the human security perspective. For Tschirgi, therefore, while in its post-Cold War conceptualization, peace-building “came to offer an integrated approach to understanding and dealing with the full range of issues that threatened peace and security” (cited in Adetula, 2006:386), it includes the consideration of how to address “the proximate and root causes of contemporary conflicts including structural, political, socio-cultural, economic and environmental factor,” (*ibid*).

### **Conflict Management**

Perhaps easily discernable from the term ‘conflict management’ is that conflicts are rarely resolved but mitigated. This stems from the standpoint that conflict is an inevitability aspect of the human society. The objective fact of the human society is that in its daily social relations, conflict is bound to occur as a result of pursuits of divergent interests. Just as peace-building, conflict management also connotes those activities which aim to impact positively on relations between and among individuals and groups. As could also be gleaned from the definition by Miller and King as interventionist efforts towards preventing the escalation, and negative effects, especially of on-going conflicts (cited in Ezirim, 2009:290), conflict management obviously refers to measures that limit, mitigate and/or contain a conflict without necessarily solving it (Swanstrom and Weissman, 2005:25). For us therefore since conflict is a concomitant aspect of the human reality, we view conflict management as all efforts, measures, and processes aimed not only at reducing to the barest minimum the

prospect of violent expression of disagreements, but also mitigating the effects of such expression with a view of preventing its eruption in the future. Thus we share with Best (2006:95) his notion of the concept as

The process of reducing the negative and destructive capacity of conflict through a number of measures and by working with and through the parties involved in that conflict.... It covers the entire area of handling conflicts positively at different stages, including those efforts made to prevent conflict by being proactive. It encompasses conflict limitation, containment and litigation.

### **Peace Infrastructure**

Indeed, in recent years, several practitioners and organisations have developed different terms and concepts that concern the organisation and architecture of peacebuilding(Hopp-Nishanka: Berghof Handbook Dialogue No. 10). Citing Ropers (1995) as asserting that the idea that a dialogue process and its underlying cooperative structure are mutually enhancing is not new, Hopp-Nishanka (op.cit) states that the novel focus has rather been on the structure – the organisation, connection and interaction of the cooperative mechanisms. Thus while other concepts emphasise synergistic collaboration between peacebuilding interventions, peace infrastructure focuses on building the structural capacities of the conflict parties and stakeholders, based on the principle that as changing the “hearts and minds” of conflict parties is no longer enough, organisational and structural capacities are required to achieve conflict transformation (*ibid*). Thus according to Van Tongeren (2011) who is credited with offering an overview of decisive moments in the development of the concept (Hopp-Nishanka:Berghof Handbook Dialogue No. 10), “[T]he idea of peace infrastructure is to develop mechanisms for cooperation among all relevant stakeholders, including the government, by promoting cooperative problem-solving and institutionalising a response mechanism to violent conflict (cited in Hopp-Nishanka:Berghof Handbook Dialogue No. 10).

Some of those terms and concepts might suffice here:

- “Peacebuilding infrastructure” referring to international actors as well as the domestic governmental (judicial, legislative and executive) and non-governmental structures and financial system(Dress, 2005 cited in Hopp-Nishanka:Berghof Handbook Dialogue No. 10).
- “Peacebuilding architecture” to denote, according to a more focused approach to strategically assessing and designing solutions for violent conflict according to architectural principles, (Reychler 2002 cited in Hopp-Nishanka, Berghof Handbook Dialogue No. 10).
- “Infrastructures for peace (I4P)” which in contrast focuses on the organisational elements and linkages that form domestic “mechanisms for co-operation among all relevant stakeholders in peacebuilding by promoting cooperative problem solving to conflicts and institutionalizing the response mechanisms to conflicts in order to transform them. National, district, and local peace councils are cornerstones of such an infrastructure”. This emphasises institutionalisation within a government administration (Tongeren, 2011 cited in Hopp-Nishanka, *ibid*)
- “Peace Support Structures”, a concept originated by Berghof Peace Support (2010) which concentrates on individual organisations and capacity building and support for the conflict parties involved in a peace or dialogue process. It highlights the ownership by all conflict parties and includes elements established by conflict parties other than the government, including non-state armed groups. Building on experiences in accompanying Track 1 peace negotiations (Berghof Foundation for Conflict Studies 2008; Hopp 2010; Wils et al. 2006 cited in Hopp- Nishanka, *ibid*),

“Peace Infrastructures” thus consist of diverse domestic, inter-connected forms of engagement between conflict parties and other stakeholders, whose organisational elements can be established at all stages of peace and dialogue processes, at all levels of society, and with varying degrees of inclusion. The objective of peace infrastructure is to assist the parties (e.g. through capacity building or advice), the process (e.g. through mediation between the conflict parties or facilitation of public participation), or the implementation of process results (e.g. through monitoring and coordination of agreement implementation) (Nopp-Nishanka, *ibid*).

Our focus however in this paper is on the government-owned peace infrastructure.

### **Theoretical Underpinning: Nation-building**

As Brown (1994:20) has rightly noted, theory determine consciousness. Finding one's way through unfamiliar terrain also generally requires a map of some sort (Gaddis cited in Alozieuwa, 2005). In searching therefore for an appropriate theory for this study, we are not merely adhering to the Gaddis (*ibid*) dictum that every research process needs be substantiated by the use of appropriate theories, concepts and constraints to elucidate and classify relationships among phenomena. We are essentially exploring the network of reasoning and assumptions that embody the explanations for why such pluralistic societies as Nigeria and Turkey seek to erect certain peace infrastructures that could enable them manage their diversities. We therefore find the theory of nation-building appropriate in this endeavor.

In the contemporary literature, nation-building has come to be associated with efforts targeted at dysfunctional, unstable, failed states or economies with a view to developing governmental infrastructure, civil society, dispute resolution mechanisms, as well as economic assistance, in order to increase stability for such states, (Stephenson, 2005). In such contemporary usage, it is not only equated with the process of democratization in post-conflict societies but also the use of the armed forces for that purpose. A 2003 study by James Dobbins et al for the RAND Corporation for instance underpin this perspective as it defines nation-building as "the use of armed force in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin an enduring transition to democracy," (Dobbins, 2003). The study, which compared seven historical cases of Germany, Japan, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan, in which American military power has been used in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin democratization elsewhere around the world since World War II, thus also proposes nation-building as an externally- driven project.

This perspective, as Stephenson (2005) rightly noted, differ substantially with the school of thought that perceives nation-building as evolutionary rather than revolutionary, a social process that takes a long time and cannot be jump-started from outside. It derives from the notion of a nation as a group or race of people with shared history, traditions, and culture, sometimes religion, and usually language. The people of a nation thus generally share a common national identity, so that part of nation-building process is the building of that common identity (*ibid*). Distinction needs however be made between an ethnic nation, based on the social construction of race or ethnicity, and a civic nation, based on common identity and loyalty to a set of political ideas and institutions, and the linkage of citizenship to nationality (*ibid*). As we have noted earlier, the process of nation-building is usually more onerous, in the latter than in the former. Noteworthy however, is that in each of the variety, nation-building is predicated on the assumption that someone or something is doing the building intentionally (Lipset, 1979).

### **Peace Infrastructures in Nigeria**

Conflict has rightly been defined as an inevitable aspect of the human interaction and unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions (Zartman, 1991:369). The inevitability of conflict among humans or social groups is not strictly as a result of the social inter-reaction, as it about the threat which one party perceives the other as constituting to the goals they pursue which in most cases are incompatible. Apart from incompatibility of goals, struggles over value and claims to scarce resources as rightly noted by Coser (cited in Adedeji, 2005:3) could lead to competing parties aiming to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Hence as a multi-ethnic and religious society, Nigeria has created some infrastructures to moderate the struggles among the Nigerian social groups. A few of them might suffice.

#### **(I). Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution**

The Institute for Peace and Conflict (IPCR) constitutes one of the peace infrastructures established by the Nigerian government. Although founded in 2000, the IPCR has the mandate to coordinate and streamline efforts by various other bodies within the Nigerian peace architecture. As the apex peace and conflict resolution establishment in Nigeria, therefore, it has the mandate to engage in peace research and conflict analysis, provide policy advice on peace, security and democratic values, provide capacity training on peace and conflict management and act as an interventionist agency in conflict situations. In the area of research, the Institute has over the years engaged in high-quality research, some of which have been published. A few of such publications might suffice.

Strategic Conflict Assessment (SCA) Of Nigeria: Consolidated And Zonal Reports 1; Dialogue On Citizenship In Nigeria; Democracy Monitor: Challenges And Opportunities in Nigeria's Democracy; Perspectives On

Traditional African And Chinese Methods Of Conflict Resolution; Mainstreaming Peacebuilding In Development Programming In Nigeria: A Framework; Media, Conflict And Peacebuilding In Nigeria; Peace Building for Development: A Training Manual; etc. In the area of policy, the IPCR SCA 1 was adopted by the United Nations as a model for other African countries on conflict management. The Nigerian government inaugurated a Presidential Implementation Committee (PIC) for the implementation of the SCA 1. The IPCR has also come up with a national peace policy which is awaiting approval by the Nigerian Government. The IPCR Early Warning and Early Response System (EWERS), fulfills both the Institute's policy and interventionist mandate. The IPCR has a national hub in Abuja with zonal centers in the country's six geopolitical zones. Since 2002 therefore when the IPCR organized the first National Workshop of Stakeholders of Peace Research and Conflict Resolution, the IPCR in fulfillment of its mandate, has tried to strengthen practice, build a community of practitioners and create a basis for effectively measuring success relative to the input, including funding and capacity of both state and non-state actors.

## **(II). The Federal Character Commission**

The term federal character refers to “the distinctive desire of the people of Nigeria to promote national unity, foster national loyalty and every citizen of Nigeria a sense of belonging to the nation notwithstanding the diversities of ethnic origin, culture, language or religion.” (Ekehand Osaghae, 1989). Born as a political solution to moderate the intense rife and competition among Nigeria’s disparate groups in the distribution of national resources, the federal character concept was to create a sense of belonging among all groups in Nigeria and promote national unity. It was designed against the backdrop of Nigeria’s multi-ethnic composition and accordingly, was intended to promote integration of the various components of the Nigerian society

The idea to transform the concept into a commission however was first mooted in 1978 by the Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC), and was eventually entrenched in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979. However flagrant violation of the provisions led to the promulgation of the Federal Character Commission Act 1995. The Act was later adopted into the Nigeria’s 1999 Constitution. The Third Schedule Part I-C paragraph 8(1) of the 1999 Constitution, states that the Federal Character Commission is to give effect to section 14 (3) and (4) of the Constitution. Section 14(3) specifically provides that:

The composition of the government of the federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the Federal Character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or in any of its agencies.

Subsection (4) makes similar provision as applicable to the states of the federation of Nigeria.

Apart from the powers conferred on the Federal Character Commission as contained in Section 5 of the Commission’s Act of 1995, to among other things formulate and provide guidelines for Government agencies and other employers and providers of services and socio-economic amenities, the main reason for the establishment of the commission is clearly spelt out in the “Guiding Principles and Formulae for the Distribution of Posts in the Public Service”. The guidelines provide as follows:

- that each state of the federation is to be equitably represented in all national institutions and in public enterprises and organizations.
- that the best and most competent persons are recruited from each state of the federation to fill positions reserved for the indigenes of that state.
- that once a candidate has attained the necessary minimum requirement for appointment to a position, he/she should qualify to fill a relevant vacancy reserved for the indigenes of his/her state.
- that where the number of positions available cannot go round the states, then sharing should be on zonal basis but that in the case where two items only are available, they should be shared between northern zones and the southern zones.
- that if the indigenes of a state are not able to take up all the vacancies meant for them the indigenes of other state(s) within the same zone should be given preference in filling such vacancies.

- that in an ideal situation, posts to be distributed among the indigenes of the states and Abuja on the formula of equality would be 2.75% for the indigenes of each state after reserving 1% for the indigenes of Abuja.

Related to federal character principle is the quota system, which operates at the federal level, and is used in determining who gets what employment in the federal civil service. It also determines who gets admission into any federal school from secondary to tertiary level. One of the greatest criticisms that has however trailed both federal character and quota systems is that the attempt to accommodate every component of the federation in appointments and admission into public offices, and federal educational institutions, has compromised standards, merit, expertise and quality of personnel. For example, under the quota system, if a position has been reserved for a particular zone or state of the country, rather than take a capable hand from another state or zone to fill the position, that position is either left vacant or fill the post with a less qualified candidate from that very zone or state. In the case of admission to educational institution, the standard is lower for persons from certain areas of the country in order that such areas are accommodated.

### **(III). The National Boundary Commission**

Land is a central issue in Africa not just as an important factor of production. To the African, it bears sublime significance that transcends its mundane economic appeal. Land to the African severs an economic purpose as it is a link to the ancestors. Attachment to land in Africa, therefore, bears both material and spiritual imports. While as a factor of production, land serves the African's material well-being, attachment to the ancestors through land ensures his spiritual well-being, as it also defines his identity and essence. These explains the seriousness, with which matters of land is taken in Africa.

For emphasis, the story of Nigeria is that of a political community made up of people of diverse political, social and cultural origins and lumped into a single political economy by European imperialism. The claim to autochthony, which result to indigene/settler feud with attendant bloodletting links directly to this strong attachment to land, and arguably resonates more to identity and essence than economic considerations. The series of territorial disputes between and among several Nigerian communities that has become problematic to the leadership can also be explained within this theme. The violent conflict resulting from territorial disputes in the Warri area, South-South of Nigeria is an example. To ensure relative peace, Warri was delineated ethnic lines- Warri South for the Itsekiri ethnic group, Warri North for the Urhobo and Warri South for the Ijaw.

The National Boundary Commission (NBC) was created to resolve territorial disputes. The delineation of Warri was carried out by NBC in conjunction with the State Boundary Committee. The NBC was established in 1990 to deal with both internal and external (with neighbouring countries) territorial disputes. Generally, the functions of the NBC among others include:

- Intervene, determine and deal with any boundary dispute that may arise among States, Local Government areas or communities in the Federation with a view to settling the disputes;
- Define, and delimitate boundaries between States, Local Government Areas or communities in the Federation and between Nigeria and her neighbors in accordance with elimination instrument or document established for that purpose;
- Monitor trans-border relations between Nigeria and her neighbors with a view to detecting areas of tension and possible conflict;
- Promote trans-border co-operation and border region development;
- Encourage negotiated settlement of border disputes in preference to litigation;
- Facilitate equitable utilization of shared border resources of land, water, games, forest resources, etc.;
- Consider recommendations from the technical committees or any other committee set up by the Commission and advise the Federal Government on such recommendations;
- Take all necessary steps towards the implementation of resolutions on internal boundary disputes;
- Disseminate information to educate the general public on the functions of the Commission under this Act.

With regards to internal boundary issues the Commission has an Internal Boundaries Technical Committee that concerns itself with local territorial disputes. The functions of this Committee include:

- Deal with any internal boundary dispute with the view to settling the dispute; define and delimit internal boundaries in accordance with the delimitation instrument or document established for that purpose;
- Proffer solutions to any internal boundary problem;
- Promote the development and effective management of internal boundaries; and

- Make recommendations to the President through the Commission on boundary and border issues between States, Local Governments and communities where necessary.

#### **(IV). National Youth Service Corps**

Nigeria fought a bloody civil war that pitted the Igbo ethnic group against the rest of the country's over 250 ethnic nationalities. At the end of bitterly fought 30-month war, the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) was created in 1973 to serve as an integrative initiative targeted at the country's youth population. Indeed although the opposing sides of the war had commanders who obviously above the youth age bracket, majority of the foot soldiers were actually youths. The objective of the NYSC are:

- To develop common ties among the Nigerian youths and promote national unity and integration;
- To remove prejudices, eliminate ignorance – and confirm at first hand the many similarities among Nigerians of all ethnic groups;
- To develop a sense of corporate existence and common destiny of the people of Nigeria;
- To inculcate discipline in Nigerian youths by instilling in them, a tradition of industry at work, and of patriotism and loyal service to Nigeria in any situation they may find themselves;
- To raise the moral tone of the Nigerian youth by giving them the opportunity to learn about higher ideals of national achievements, social and cultural improvements;
- To develop in the Nigerian youths the attitude of mind acquired through shared experience and suitable training, which will make them more amenable to mobilization in the national interest;
- To enable Nigerian youths acquire the spirit of self-reliance by encouraging them to develop skill for self-employment; and
- To contribute to the accelerated growth of the national economy.

In order to achieve these objectives, the Service shall ensure:

- The equitable distribution of members of the service corps and effective utilization of their skills in areas of national needs;
- That as far as possible, youths are assigned to jobs in States other than their States of origin;
- That such group of youths assigned to work together is as representative of Nigerian as far as possible;
- That the Nigerian youths are exposed to the modes of living of the people in different parts of Nigeria;
- That the Nigerian youths are encouraged to eschew religious intolerance by accommodating religious differences;
- That members of the Service Corps are encouraged to seek at the end of their one year national Service, career employment all over Nigeria, thus promoting the free movement of labor; and
- That members are induced partly through their experience with members of the Service Corps to employ more readily and on a permanent basis, qualified Nigerians, irrespective of their States of origin

At inception in 1974, the Scheme started with an annual enrollment of 2, 364 participants. By 2014, the number had to 229,016 and is being projected to reach 300, 000 by 2020. The NYSC members apart from their primary national assignments, have been deployed for such national duties as support staff to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) for the conduct of elections in Nigeria. In a recent pronouncement on the programmed, President Mohammadu Buhari had stated as follows:

I firmly believe in NYSC and I think it should remain a national programme to promote integration. Whenever I go home to Daura, I look out for corps members from Lagos, Aba and other parts of the country. I am always thrilled to learn that except for the NYSC, some of them have never left their states of origin to visit other cities in the country (247 Naija.com @ <http://www.247naija.com/nysc-may-soon-be-voluntary-dg/>)

#### **(V). National Grazing Routes**

Nigeria is one of the countries within sub-Saharan Africa that harbors a huge population of nomadic herdsmen moving from one point to the other in the country in search of fodder and water for their livestock. The practice dates back to pristine time. However, concomitant with this history also is the pastoralists-cultivators conflict arising from encroachment on the latter's farmlands by the former in quest of grazing reserves for their livestock. Government's response to the resultant conflicts is the demarcation of grazing routes, especially in the Northern part of the country.

However in its Strategic Conflict Assessment (Consolidated and Zonal Reports), the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) notes that

Development of settlements... have forced food cultivators to encroach on encroach on the erstwhile grazing routes, and the pastoralists are left with little choice but to take their cattle across new farmlands. The conflict that then ensues over the destruction of the cultivator's crop is usually bloody, (IPCR, 2003: 30).

Although the incessant clashes between pastoralists and cultivators had been a Northern phenomenon, occurring mainly in such states as Plateau, Benue, Nassarawa, Kogi, Kwara, these clashes have increasingly also occurred in such southern states as Edo, Delta, Enugu, Abia, Ebonyi, Ondo, Oyo Osun, etc. The problem is complicated because of the ethnic dimension. The nomads are essentially Fulani tribesmen. As a Nigerian journalist, Onwuka Ezeshi rightly noted,

By their culture, tradition and occupation, they have remained an itinerant race who owned lands nor had any permanent abode. In fact, they cared less about land ownership because they are always on the move. They simply lived with their cattle wherever there was abundance of fodder and absence of tse-tse fly, the blood sucking insect that once threatened the existence of their flocks (Ezeshi, 2013).

The pastoralists-cultivators conflict is no longer perceived from that prism but seen from communal point of view. This has exacerbated the conflict. The development has led to the call for the establishment of a National Grazing Routes and Reserves Commission. The Commission when established would acquire and manage parcels of land across the 36 states of Nigeria and Abuja for the purpose of providing pastures for these nomads and their herds of cattle. The bill to that effect is currently in the National Assembly.

#### **(VI). National Peace Committee on 2015 Election**

Unlike the aforementioned structures, the National Peace Committee is an ad-hoc peace infrastructure that have emerged in Nigeria to address specific issue. The Committee came into effect against the backdrop of the violence and bloodletting that marked the 2011 general elections and the palpable fear which the 2015 pre-election tension evoked across the country. It was convened by the Founder of the Kukah Centre for Faith and Leadership Research and Catholic Bishop of Sokoto Diocese, Bishop Mathew Hassan Kukah. Although invariably not founded by the government, the committee however tapped into the mood of the nation- that the post-2015 election might be dogged by another spate of violence.

The Committee assembled various stakeholders from across the broad spectrum of interests in the country- from the political parties, political actors, religious bodies, media eminent personality in Nigeria from across the broad spectrum of the countries ethno-regional divides, critical institutions such as the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, the security services, etc - with a view to ensuring that there was no re-occurrence of post-election violence as experienced in 2011. Precisely, the National Peace Committee aimed at ensuring full compliance with the Abuja peace accord signed prior to the election by then incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and his challenger in the presidential election, and eventual winner, Major Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (retd.) of All Progressives Congress (APC). A statement by the chairman of the Committee and Nigeria's former Head of State, General Abdulsalami Abubakar (retd.) succinctly captures the purpose of the Committee:

Any Nigerian, who loves this country, must preach peace. There is apprehension and there is no need for that. Nigerians, please, I beg you. Learn from the former mistakes. We must ensure that we do not repeat the mistakes of the past. We must ensure that February elections are peaceful and secure. When I was approached to chair this committee, I did not hesitate. Since I left office, I have been involved in a lot of engagements in Nigeria and across Africa. If you go to many African countries, you will see the kind of carnage going on as a result of post-election violence. We must live in peace. Whenever there is election violence, people blame politicians. But the people are the ones inflicting violence on themselves. If we destroy property and other things, we will still have to come back and rebuild what we have destroyed. I am very happy that the contestants in the forthcoming Presidential elections have signed a peace accord and I expect that they follow up in keeping up with this agreement. We all have roles to play.... (<http://www.informationng.com/2015/02/post-election-violence-do-not-repeat-mistakes-of-the-past-abdulsalami-begs-nigerians.html>)

### **Peace Infrastructure in Turkey**

As noted earlier, although Turkey shares the common characteristic of a plural society as Nigeria, she is less complex in her diversity. Notwithstanding, her seemingly less complex make-up has not made her nation-building process a less difficult experience. While Nigeria's heterogeneity may be more pronounced in the number of ethno-linguistic nationalities, in terms of religion however, Turkey bears more complexity. The Turkish society comprises in addition the world's two religions of Christianity and Islam, Judaism. Although the Kurdish resistant movement now espouses some form of Islamism, it is the Kurdish Separatism that actually constitutes the greatest threat to Turkey's peace.

Turkish authorities have however introduced "Turkification" as an official policy meant assimilate other ethnic groups into a more unified country. The policy draws on the Kemalist ideology which aims to build a national Turkish identity and society, by unification of all the groups in Turkey ethnically, culturally and linguistically. It dates back to since the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Critics however insist the policy has been characterized by the suppression of revolts, forcible displacement, the criminalization of language and culture, and the arbitrary imprisonment particularly of the Kurds.

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