Conflict Transformation and Social Peace Building in Post-conflict Era

Training of Trainers' Manual

Sudanese Civil Society Capacity Building Initiative

Project No. (IRG)-0308

2007
This manual is made up of three modules with the objective of providing the trainers with the key conceptual and theoretical understanding of issues critical to working in and on conflict transformation. The trainers, however, are required to link these issues to the reality of their local context and communities. This is an exercise to be developed during the course of the training together with the facilitators. Later, the trainers are required to conduct training for their communities to strengthen their capacity to be able to resolve conflict of their interests and achieve their rights without recourse to violence, which is the core goal of SIHA Network’s project on “Civil Society Capacity Building Initiative”.

This manual will be reviewed on the basis of the outcome and analysis to be carried out during the training. For example, live stories/testimonies and relevant community experience is quite useful additions to contextualise and make this manual operational.

SIHA Network neither claims that the issues included in this manual are not necessarily original nor that it is the first institution to raise them. The added value of the manual is that it links the issues of capacity building in conflict transformation to advocacy, power analysis and policy issues, as well as to social peace [not clear exactly what this means] which is always a neglected component of peace building processes.

During the preparation of this manual, the author made use of the following core reference materials:


Conflict is a relationship between parties who have a difference in interests and/or goals that are difficult to reconcile. The striving of these parties towards these interests/goals is what creates conflict, which takes place when the involved parties (i) find their interests incompatible; (ii) express hostile attitudes; or (iii) take action which damages the other parties’ ability to pursue their interest. Thus, even the day-to-day struggle by individuals or groups and interaction between them to satisfy a specific need may sometimes represent a source of tension and conflict. So, conflict is definitely a fact in human life and it is not necessarily always violent but has a potential for bringing about real change and transformation in issues/relationships that have adverse effects on human life, and that could otherwise continue to accumulate for a long period of time and become irreversible.

Violence includes actions, words, attitudes, structures or systems that cause physical, psychological, social or environmental damage and/or prevent people from reaching their potential.

Peace is an interweaving of relationships between individuals, groups and institutions that value diversity and foster the full development of human potential.

Peace-making refers to interventions designed to stop fighting and reach an agreement, using diplomatic, political and military means as necessary.

Peace-keeping is monitoring and implementing an agreement, using force as necessary. It includes supervising agreed confidence-building activities and verifying whether agreements are being kept.

Peace-building is about undertaking programmes designed to address the causes of conflict and the grievances of the past, and to promote long-term stability and justice. Peace-building is not mainly concerned with conflict behaviour but rather addressing the underlying context and attitudes that breed violence, such as inequality, discrimination, social injustice, social exclusion, prejudices, stereotypes, mistrust, fear, hostility between groups. It is, therefore, a process with low-profile work that continues throughout all stages of a conflict. In other words, peace-building is a transformation process for a positive social/political change through tackling the causes of conflict.
Power is the degree of control over resources (material, human, intellectual and financial) exercised by different sections of society. The control of these resources is what gives the virtue to individual and social power. These different degrees are perpetuated through social divisions, e.g. caste, class, ethnicity, race, education, etc.

Culture is the particular practices and values common to a population living in a given setting. As it is a shared collective, its product provides a range of actions and a standard against which to evaluate the actions of others. Culture is learnt in the socialisation process from parents, family, elders, teachers, religious leaders, and media. It determines the way that we act, the way in which we relate to each other, and the way we perceive events around us. In conflict situations, understanding cultural contexts of the conflicting parties is a very critical and inevitable factor. This includes understanding the societal values, norms, accepted practices, community codes, and community institutions. Any intervention addressing conflict, therefore, must be sensitive to cultural factors. Although cultural diversity is a factor in conflict it is also an asset for peace building.

Identity is about ‘who I am or who we are’ or how we label ourselves, e.g. a woman, a mother, a father, a Muslim, a man, an activist, Sudanese, etc.

Rights in theory refer to what is guaranteed under the constitution of a state that gives equal access to all. An international concept of human rights exists and is concerned with individuals’ rights and how these relate to the cohesion of societies.

Gender: There are various definitions depending on different schools of thinking. In this report we will used the following: gender is a dynamic of human relations and it is concerned with the social differences and relations between women and men, which are learned and transformed. Although people are born female or male, they learn to be girls and boys who grow into women and men. They are taught what the appropriate attitudes, roles and activities are for them and how they should relate to each other and to other people. Therefore, gender is not about sex (being a male or female) but about the dynamics of socially constructed human relations (being a woman, man, boy or girl) that are shaped by the socialisation process through societal institutions (e.g. family, cultural, religious, schools, military or state institutions). This learned behaviour (i.e. gender ideologies) is what makes up gender identities and determines gender roles.
Brief comparison between gender and sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socially constructed</td>
<td>Biologically defined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learned (through socialisation process)</td>
<td>Determined by birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About men, women, boys and girls</td>
<td>About males and females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between and within cultures</td>
<td>Universal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changing: includes variables identifying differences in roles, responsibilities, opportunities, needs and constraints</td>
<td>Unchanging</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Development approaches to gender

As a result of the wars, conflicts and repeated natural disasters, there has been a gradual shift in the way women are perceived within development from that of being victims and passive objects into independent actors. The development approach to gender has, accordingly, evolved through different stages: welfare, Women in Development (WID), Gender and Development (GAD), and Gender Mainstreaming.

Welfare approach: This approach emerged during the 1950’s and 60’s with emphasis on the reproductive roles of women as mothers and homemakers. This approach stereotypes women as economically dependent on men. This approach has no emphasis on men.

WID approach: emerged in the 1970’s whereby the focus was on the division of labour (currently known as gender roles) based on sex and the impact of development strategies on women. It exclusively focuses on women with an assumption that there is a gap between men and women who are lagging behind. And so bridging the gap is through interventions that address women directly. Although the WID approach started to recognise women as direct actors in the social, political and economic life, it has later been critised for treating women issues through marginalised programmes and isolated projects. The critique’s point of departure was that the WID approaches provided women with additional resources but no power to manage these resources. It rather created increased workloads and prevented their empowerment.
**GAD approach:** emerged in the 1980’s following the shortcomings of the WID approach. It focuses on unequal relations between women and men due to institutional structures. The GAD does not only focus on women as an isolated and homogeneous group, but also on the roles and needs of both women and men with gender equality being the ultimate goal. However, the GAD approach remains context-specific and it lacks the universal dimension, i.e. it remains a development approach to gender in a specified setting.

**Gender mainstreaming:** mainstreaming means bringing issues into the mainstream of society. Gender mainstreaming has emerged as a global strategy for promoting gender equality following the Beijing Conference in 1995. Following this conference the UN Economic and Social Council defined gender mainstreaming as:

“In any area and at all levels, a gender mainstreaming perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men in any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part of design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and social spheres, so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality”.

Therefore, gender mainstreaming is not about adding up a component on women or even gender equality into a specific activity or policy, but it is about bringing the experience, knowledge and interest of both women and men into the agenda.
1.2. CAUSES OF CONFLICT THEORIES

1) Community relations theory

This theory explains conflict as a result of polarisation, mistrust and continuous cutting-off of relations and/or hostility between conflicting parties or different groups within a community. The goals using this theory are:

- To improve communication and understanding between groups in conflict.
- To promote greater tolerance and acceptance of diversity in the community.

2) Principled negotiation theory

This theory explains conflict as caused by incompatible positions and interests of conflicting parties. The objectives of this theory are:

- To assist conflict actors to separate individual resentments from overall problems and issues, to be able to negotiate on the basis of all interests rather than fixed or predetermined positions
- To facilitate agreements that offer mutual gains for all parties

3) Human needs theory

Explains conflict as resulting from deprivation, a lack of basic human needs (e.g. physical, psychological, social, security, identity, participation and autonomous). The goals using this theory are:

- To assist parties to identify their most crucial needs and to generate options for meeting them
- To arrive at agreements that meet the basic human needs for all
4) **Identity theory**

According to this theory, conflict arises as a result of identity issues when specific groups feel that their identity is threatened, which often results from the accumulation of unresolved problems in the past. The goals of using this theory are:

- To facilitate dialogue between conflicting groups to identify the threats and fears they feel and to be able to build compassion and reconciliation between themselves
- To reach joint agreements that recognise the core identity needs for all

5) **Intercultural miscommunication theory**

Conflict is a result of incompatibility or inappropriate communication styles between the different cultures. The goals of using this theory include:

- To extend the knowledge of conflicting parties of each others culture
- To weaken the negative attitudes and stereotypes the conflict parties hold for each other
- To enhance effective intercultural communication (i.e. styles)

6) **Conflict transformation theory**

This theory assumes that conflict is a result of serious problems of injustice and inequality expressed by competing social, cultural and economic frameworks. The goals of using this theory are:

- To change structures, systems and framework that cause injustice and inequality
- To establish sustainable relationships and attitudes between conflicting groups
- To establish systems, structures and frameworks that promote empowerment, justice, peace, forgiveness, reconciliation, recognition, social/political transformation
1.3. STAGES OF CONFLICT

There are three main stages of conflict, namely latent, surface and open conflict but there are also two other additional states, which are no-conflict and uncertainty (i.e. no-peace-no-conflict). This section elaborates mainly on the first 3 states while shedding light on the second 2 states of conflict. Identifying the state of conflict is crucial in understanding and analysing it.

**Scenarios/states of conflict**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation of conflict</th>
<th>Symbolic description</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Action required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty (no-peace-no-conflict)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ambiguity in goals and behaviours of conflict parties</td>
<td>Close monitoring and analysis of the situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No conflict</td>
<td></td>
<td>Goals and behaviours of conflicting parties are compatible</td>
<td>Goals and behaviours of groups need to be incorporated and addressed creatively to make them lively and dynamic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latent conflict</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict is below the surface, goals are incompatible but behaviours are compatible, and root causes are there but are not serious enough to open the conflict</td>
<td>Conflict needs to be brought out into the open before it can be effectively addressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surface conflict</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict has shallow or no roots and it may be only misunderstanding and/or incompatibility in goals of conflicting groups while their behaviours are compatible</td>
<td>Misunderstanding and/or incompatibility of goals should be addressed by means of improved communication between the conflicting groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open conflict</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict of this nature is both deep-rooted and visible with causes and consequences. Both goals and behaviours of conflicting groups are incompatible here.</td>
<td>Action required should address both root causes and consequences of conflict</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**No conflict:** This is the stage where interests of groups are compatible.

**Uncertainty (no-peace-no-conflict):**

In this situation it is difficult for one to identify whether there is conflict or not, or classify a certain situation as peace or conflict.

**Latent conflict:**

In this situation, conflict is below the surface as differences of interests between conflicting groups are not serious enough to push them to take action against each other. At this stage, potentials for conflict exist but actors, especially the powerful, are either not aware of them or not weighting their potential. Conflict, therefore, remains disguised but might create ‘instability.’ The powerless, on the other hand, might have an awareness of the injustice inflicted upon them by the latent situation, and if they take action to reverse it, conflict will emerge, becoming no longer latent but evolving into a new stage. This is mostly caused by ‘triggering’ factors.

Latent conflict is prevalent in all human societies but does not constitute a serious threat as long as it continues to be hidden. It is a result of inequality (economic, power, political, lack of access, marginalisation, etc) when the power holders take no action to challenge it. The gender inequality at the household level (e.g. men and women; husbands and wives; boys and girls), enshrined in the dictates of traditions, is a good example of latent conflict that leads to victimisation of the powerless party by the powerful one. The ethnocentric tension between tribal groups is an example of latent conflict at community level. The tension between the centre and the periphery is an example at the national level. While at the international level, latent conflict between states is rampant in international politics between the powerful and powerless nations.
**Surface conflict:**

When conflict becomes known but no violent action is taken, it is called surface conflict. Conflict of this type has shallow or no roots and may be only a misunderstanding of goals which can be resolved by means of improved communication. When actors (states, armies, militias, tribes, etc.) start a military mobilisation and armament, they are in surface conflict. When some nations start military mobilisation, alliance building and media campaigns against one another (e.g. the case of the Iran nuclear file), this is a surface conflict. Surface conflict, therefore, involves no hostilities or violent confrontations but it is visible and known to the conflict parties and others.

**Open Violence:**

Open conflict is both deep-rooted and very visible, and may require actions that address both the root causes and the visible consequences. This is the peak stage of conflict when it becomes ‘overt’ and may entail physical destruction and deaths where it is called violent conflict.
1.4. APPROACHING CONFLICT

Conflict management:

Conflict management is a strategy to prevent further spread of an existing violent conflict through positive behavioural changes of conflict parties.

Conflict prevention:

Prevention is a short-term strategy to reduce tension and prevent outbreak of a ‘latent’ conflict

Conflict reduction:

Conflict reduction is a strategy to reduce incidence, duration and destructive impact of violent conflict

Conflict resolution:

Resolution is a short-term strategy to end violent conflict by addressing the explicit causes

Conflict transformation:

Transformation of conflict is a long-term strategy that addresses the broader socio-political sources (root causes) of conflict to transform the negative forces of war into positive change. It is not only to suppress conflict but also to allow it to develop and foster its expression in a constructive and non-violent way to help foster a sustainable peace.

See comparison below between the different approaches to conflict and the strategic scope each concentrates on.

Figure (p9)
MODULE II

Contextualizing Conflict
This section is primarily focusing on applying theories to the contextual realities on the ground. Each context has its own issues and so conflict differs from one situation to another. A theoretical description of a proposed framework of conflict analysis is presented here, as well as tools of analysis. Applying these tools, various live stories selected from 4 States in Sudan\(^1\) are included in the manual. Practical training sessions took place in these states in order to analyse the impact of conflict in these locations and to make the training manual more generic and context-specific.

### 2.1. CONFLICT ANALYSIS

*Conflict analysis* is a systematic process that involves various steps to develop a multi-dimensional understanding of conflict (root causes, proximate causes and intervening factors), potential for peace (structural factors, dynamics, strategies), as well as actors/stakeholders (aims, agenda, needs, resources, alliances, strategies, etc.). This process enables us to grasp history and reality, and grasp factors that underpin conflict; identify actors involved, to understand perspectives of actors and ways they relate to each other, draw lessons from successes/failures, and provide a basis for planning to work in conflict situation and on conflict issues. Conflict analysis has 2 key objectives, among others:

**Purpose and objectives of conflict analysis – why?**

Normally, a conflict analysis is carried out to:

- understand the context (background and history) of the situation together with current events that are associated with conflict
- identify all the relevant groups and/or actors involved in conflict or who have relations to it
- understand the perspectives of all the identified groups and how they relate to each other
- identify the underpinning factors and trends of conflict
- learn from failures and successful experiences

To understand how to carry out a conflict analysis, the following sections will highlight the process of analysis, the framework and the tools of analysis.

### 2.2. CONFLICT ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK:

Analysis in general requires (i) a designation of an analytical framework, (ii) development of tools to make the framework operational, and (iii) a methodology specifying how the tools are used to carry out the analysis. While the framework provides a checklist of different dimensions (e.g. political, economic, social, or security) that represent structural sources of conflict, tools of analysis are concerned with information collection using specific methodology.

\(^1\) Red Sea, Blue Nile, White Nile and West Bahr el-Ghazal
**The framework …**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analysis of …</th>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Potential for peace</th>
<th>Actors &amp; stakeholders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a) Root causes</td>
<td>(a) Structural factors</td>
<td>(a) Aims, agenda, needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Proximate factors</td>
<td>(b) Dynamics</td>
<td>(b) Resources &amp; alliances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Intervening factors</td>
<td>(c) Strategies</td>
<td>(c) Actions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consider the different dimensions that relate to the specific conflict (political, economic, social, cultural, security, regional, international).</td>
<td>Consider the different dimensions relate to the specific conflict (political, economic, social, cultural, security, regional, international)</td>
<td>Ask questions about actors involved: [who they are, what nature, level of involvement, scale of operation, their aims, agenda, needs, interests and strategies; how much resource do they have &amp; alliances built]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Assessment of risk & scenarios**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Best case scenario</th>
<th>Middle case scenario</th>
<th>Worst case scenario</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(short &amp; medium term)</td>
<td>(short &amp; medium term)</td>
<td>(short &amp; medium term)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Description of the framework …**

The rationale behind the framework is that it is a checklist to systematise a rigorous conflict analysis. It offers two levels of analysis:

**Level 1:** Analysis of conflict, potential for peace and actors and stakeholders

**Level 2:** Assessment of risk & scenarios
Level 2: Analysis of risk assessment and scenarios

[A] First level of analysis - (Conflict; potential for peace; and actors & stakeholders):

[1] Analysis of conflict in terms of the:

(a) Root causes: These are the underlying factors that create possibilities of the occurrence of conflict: (i) they are ‘necessary’ but not ‘sufficient’ causes for violent conflict; (ii) they are static in nature and change slowly over time; (iii) they are mostly entrenched in a historical context (economic situation, socio-cultural legacy, colonial history, etc.).

(b) Proximate factors: Combined with root causes, proximate causes are factors that lead to violent conflict. In terms of conflict timeline, they are closer to the outbreak of intense conflict and can change quickly over time (e.g. Governance; ethnic polarization, etc.). Like root causes, proximate causes are to be analysed according to the dimensions indicated above (i.e. political, economic, social, cultural, security, regional and international).

(c) Intervening factors: Short-term events that can either mitigate or fuel existing conflict dynamics (e.g. cross-border arms trade, civil society initiative, etc.)

[2] Analysis of potential for peace in terms of the:

(a) Structural factors: Relate to historically entrenched structures and mechanisms that favour the peaceful resolution of conflicts between social groups in conflict (e.g. institutional power-sharing mechanisms; culture of tolerance; etc.).

(b) Dynamics: These are the factors that strengthen the capacity of conflict parties to overcome their disputes. Both the “structural factors” and the “dynamics” are to be analysed according to the aforementioned dimensions in the framework.

(c) Strategies: They relate to existing strategies, approaches, mechanisms and tools used for conflict resolution and transformation.

[3] Analysis of actors and stakeholders in terms of their:

(a) Aims, agendas and needs: This category describes the ‘goals’ (what do they want to achieve?), the ‘agenda’ (what is their message and position?) and the ‘needs’ (what are the objective needs that motivate the agenda and the aims?) of the actors (local, national and international) who are directly and indirectly involved in that specific conflict field.

(b) Resources and alliances: Refer to the actors’ strategies by detailing the “resources” (political, economic, social and cultural, etc.) that they use to achieve their aims. “Alliances” refers to the support (political, economic, social and cultural, etc.) that the involved actors receive from other actors (national and international).

(c) Actions: The main actions to which these actors are linked

[B] Second level of analysis: Risk Assessment and Scenarios:

This level of analysis sums up the findings achieved in the first level analysis detailed above. Therefore, risk assessment is the outcome of the analysis of the conflict, the potential for peace and the actors and stakeholders.
There are three scenarios, which are the “best-case scenario”, the “middle scenario” and the “worst-case scenario”; all are divided into short-term and medium-term.

Gender analysis of conflict:

In conflict situations, gender analysis is a process by which one can understand how gender relations change and how women and men, girls and boys are affected differently. It also helps to understand how each of these groups contributes to conflict. In summary conflict analysis helps in the following:

- Who suffers and how (women, men, girls, boys, the elderly)?
- How do they cope?
- What changes (gender relations: roles, identities, power structures, and ideology) and how this change is durable (permanent or temporary)
- How to design conflict-sensitive programming
- What are areas of action?
- What are the processes and structures that perpetuate disadvantages?
- What are the potential processes that encourage and work in favour of change?

However, undertaking a conflict gender-sensitive analysis using conflict analytical tools mentioned earlier in this manual requires knowledge about the main gender analytical framework and tools that are widely recognised, e.g. practical gender needs and strategic gender interests, Harvard Analytical Framework, Seasonal and daily calendars, Gender Analysis Matrix (GAM), Moser's policy approaches, and Longwe Framework. The following is one example of an empowerment framework (Longwe Framework):

**Women’s Empowerment Framework: developed by Sara Longwe, Zambia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of empowerment</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Control</strong></td>
<td>Women and men have equal control over production and distribution of benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participation</strong></td>
<td>Women and men participate equally in decision-making in all programmes and policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conscientisation</strong></td>
<td>Women and men believe that gender roles can be changed and equity is possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Access</strong></td>
<td>Women get access to resources (e.g. land, labour, credit, training, public services, and legal rights) on an equal basis with men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Welfare</strong></td>
<td>Women’s and men’s material needs (food, income, health care, etc.) are met</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** We believe that this module does not address issues of ‘Rights’ and facilitators have to lead a discussion with participants around that.
**Gender relations unpacked**

A better understanding of the term gender is acquired when dividing ‘gender relations’ into four elements: roles, identities, institutions, and ideologies.

**Gender roles:** Gender roles are the daily activities which men and women are expected to carry out within their households or communities, varying according to the socio-cultural context. They are often referred to as division of labour. These roles are normally set by the traditions of society but are not the choice of men or women. In a conflict context, women take on heavier additional responsibilities in addition to their traditional roles, while men’s responsibilities tend to reduce. This is because men are absent; fighting, killed, abducted or scared of going out-doors. Yet, these new roles for women, taken over from men, can still often be given back to men when the conflict is over.

**Gender identities:** Gender identities are the expected or idealised characteristics or behaviour of women and men, which are set through the socialisation processes as they are practised in each socio-cultural setting. Different institutions are involved in these socialisation processes. Parents and grandparents teach their children how they should ideally behave as girls and boys through story-telling and games that emphasise the values of their society. The ‘right way to behave’ (i.e. gender identities) are also shaped by other institutions, e.g. school, religious institutions, the military or the state.

**Gender institutions:** Gender institutions include social institutions that control resources (e.g. household, schools, community structures, state, etc.). It is through these institutions that men and women receive or are denied support, status, resources or protection. The way these institutions work for men and women (access, control, membership or denials) helps to shape people’s attitudes and behaviour, i.e. institutions are important in establishing gender identities. So someone can gain additional or new roles but without gaining increased power or status, which indicates that a change in gender roles does not necessarily imply a change in gender identities.

**Gender ideologies:** Gender ideologies form part of the value system that supports a given set of gender roles, identities and power structures. These ideologies work as an invisible power but they are reflected in poetry, religious practice/beliefs, proverbs, songs, style of dress and the media.
**Gender relations and conflict: a framework for analysis**

An understanding of gender is fundamental to making sense of the dynamics of conflict and how it affects the men, women, girls and boys differently. In conflict analysis we need to consider two key questions: (1) how does conflict affect gender relations? (2) How does gender contribute to conflict? As was mentioned earlier, conflict is an agent for change and it can have a positive contribution. In many conflict situations, women gain new power and new roles although these changes may not be sustainable and disappear with the end of conflict. To have a better understanding of the gender of conflict and answer the above two questions, we need to unpack the gender relations into roles, identities, ideologies and institutions to check how each of them changes and the sustainability of that change over time after the conflict is over (i.e. in the post-conflict time). The following framework can be useful in demonstrating how gender relations are affected by or change as a result of conflict.

**The change could be either positive or negative:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements of gender relations</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>How relations change as a result of conflict</th>
<th>Implications of change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender roles</td>
<td>The division of labour: everyday activities of women and men, girls and boys</td>
<td>Women take on more responsibility while men's work is reduced</td>
<td>Women may gain confidence in taking on responsibility but men may feel lost with their masculinity undermined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender identities</td>
<td>Masculinities and femininities: expected and idealised behaviours of women &amp; men, girls &amp; boys</td>
<td>Exposure to new ways of living may lead to a change in values</td>
<td>Gap between expected behaviours and ability to meet expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender institutions</td>
<td>Institutions which shape behaviour and attitudes and which control resources: e.g. household, community, state</td>
<td>Women may gain new power as a result of increased economic responsibility, but structures may remain male-dominated</td>
<td>Women may have responsibility though limited power, but their experience may led them to mobilise and work towards their rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender ideologies</td>
<td>Culturally determined attitudes and behaviours established over a long period of time &amp; woven into the fabric of society, which provide justification for the prevailing gender roles, identities and structures</td>
<td>Attitudes and values change slowly but may sometimes become more in favour of male control over women</td>
<td>The persistence of patriarchal ideologies may lead to abandonment of women’s gains after the conflict is over. Sometimes there may be a backlash against women’s empowerment, and ultimately increased vulnerability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Answering the second question on how gender relations in general and gender identities in particular can contribute to conflict, the following flowchart is offered as an example.
The following table also gives an example of elements of conflict situations and possible gender dimensions in pre-conflict, in conflict and post-conflict situations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements of conflict situation</th>
<th>Possible gender dimensions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-conflict:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased soldiers’ mobilisation</td>
<td>- May become combatants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Increased sex work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propaganda used to support war</td>
<td>- Femininity stereotype increased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Increased pressure on women to encourage masculinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growing of pro-peace activists</td>
<td>- Active in peace movements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Step outside traditional roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human rights violation</td>
<td>- Women’s rights are not recognised as human rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>During conflict:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trauma, violence, casualties and death</td>
<td>- E.g. Victims of sexual violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- commit sexual violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collapse of social networks</td>
<td>- gender relations subject to change traditional division of labour within a family under pressure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- survival strategies necessitate change in gender division of labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- increased role in family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- more number of dependents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobilisation for conflict</td>
<td>- gender division of labour in workplaces changes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- take over traditional male and other non-traditional roles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material shortages (e.g. food, water, health care, education)</td>
<td>- increased stress and workload</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- non combatant men feel increased stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace negotiations</td>
<td>- excluded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- primary actors and controllers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Post-conflict:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation</td>
<td>- tend to take marginal position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- be the controllers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media messages</td>
<td>- women have unequal access to media and their interests are not represented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- men’s interests have more room to be represented and discussed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elections</td>
<td>- women have more obstacles to voting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- men have less obstacles to voting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation in civil society affairs</td>
<td>Participation in community and NGOs is uneven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More participation possibilities if civil society present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To carry out a conflict analysis using the above framework, there are some widely acknowledged tools of analysis that include Conflict Mapping, Stages of Conflict, ABC (attitude, behaviour, context) Triangle, Onion (or the Doughnut), Conflict Tree, Force-field Analysis, Pillars, Pyramids, etc.

This sub-section includes the theoretical aspects of the conflict analysis tools together with practical examples brought up during the various training sessions held in different parts of Sudan. The examples are applied conflict cases drawn up by participants as real examples from the realities of their local context. Analysis of these examples should not be seen as analytical perspectives given by participants for training purposes.

2.3.1. Stages of conflict

Conflict changes over time and escalates through various stages of action, intensity, tension and violence. Throughout these stages, conflict could be latent, surface or open (violent). Two main factors are important to consider in the stage-analysis, namely the goals and behaviours of conflicting groups, and whether they are compatible or not. There are 5 main stages to consider in the analysis:

Pre-conflict stage

This is the stage at which there is incompatibility of goals between groups, which could lead to open conflict. At this stage, conflict could be hidden (i.e. latent) and there may be tension in relationships between groups but a desire to avoid contact with each other. In other words, although goals are incompatible, behaviours are compatible at this stage.

Confrontation stage

Conflict at this stage becomes more open and violent. One side and its supporters may get involved into different forms of violent confrontational behaviour. Occasional or low level of violence may break out between the conflicting parties. Each party starts to mobilise resources and seek allies increasing the risks of confrontation and violence. Polarisation starts to occur between allies as a result of the strained relationships between the conflict sides.

Crisis stage

This is the peak stage of the conflict when the violence or tension is very intense. If conflict is large-scale, this is the period of war when people from both sides are being killed and injured, i.e. the stage of hostilities. Normally communication between conflicting parties is likely to have ceased and public statements of accusations one side against the other have started.

Outcome stage

Any conflict has to come to an end in one way or another, which starts to occur at the stage of the ‘outcome’ of the crisis through either of the following probabilities:

(1) One side might defeat the other;

(2) One side might call for ceasefire, if it is a war (i.e. large-scale conflict);
(3) One side might surrender and accept the demands of the other side;

(4) Conflict sides might agree to sit for negotiations either with or without the help of a mediator; or

(5) A powerful third party might enforce an end to the fighting. This is the stage where levels of tension, confrontation and violence decrease with the possibility of an end to conflict.

**Post-conflict stage**

Ultimately, the situation is resolved; bringing an end to any violent confrontation, reducing tensions and normalising relationships between the conflict sides. If incompatibility of goals between conflicting parties and the root problems are not addressed adequately, there is high possibility that this stage could lead back into another pre-conflict stage.

**HANDOUT 1:**

**Example 1: Stages of conflict in Sudan: A symbolic presentation**
2.3.2. Conflict timeline

The objective of this tool is to clarify and understand conflict history, as well as help people know and accept each other’s understanding of history. It is a graphic plotting of conflict evolution by events against a particular timescale, e.g. years, months or days depending on the scale. A conflict timeline, therefore, is a presentation of conflict history in chronological order. It also shows the different perceptions of the parties in conflict.

There is no standard graph for a timeline; it depends on the choice of those who are using the tool. It could be a table or column graph. If for example, you are describing a conflict history in your country, you might opt to use a table presentation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Description of events (key issues)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, in a conflict situation different groups might have different experiences and perceptions, and, therefore, different understandings and descriptions of conflict and its events because they have different histories. Groups in opposing sides of the conflict may interpret the events differently and have contrasting emotions and views (see columned-table below).
The aim of using a timeline in this way is not to arrive at a ‘correct’ or ‘objective’ history of conflict but to understand the perceptions of the people involved in it or those who are affected. The perceptions of the opposing groups, therefore, are an important element in understanding conflict. Ultimately, a timeline is a way for people to learn about each other’s history and perceptions of events, which ultimately leads them to develop a better understanding of their shared situation.
The opposition in eastern Sudan evolved as a peaceful movement to claim rights for the isolated and marginalised Beja communities. The successive governments turned a blind eye to the situation and the repeated claims that the area needed urgent development interventions. The different regimes justified the negligence of the area as a lack of financial resources and insecurity across country (i.e. spending on defence and civil wars were their priorities).

The Beja Congress started as the Association of the East but evolved historically until it became an armed movement working with the NDA (National Democratic Alliance). In the course of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement talks, the eastern opposition was not involved and even the resolutions of the CPA were not applied equally to the eastern region. The analysis showed that people feel that it is high time to revisit the Government’s claim that the resources of the area (ports, mines, oil investments, etc.) are national public wealth. They should strike a balance between national and citizens’ needs.

**Example 2: Timeline for conflict evolution in Darfur**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960-1955</td>
<td>Local conflicts</td>
<td>Small-scale conflicts between farmers and pastoralists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Spread of arms</td>
<td>Conflict escalated as a result of the spread of arms across borders, armed robbery emerged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Foreign investments started</td>
<td>American Chevron oil company entered Darfur and some participants believe that it had some hidden agendas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Economic boycott</td>
<td>America decided to introduce an economic boycott on Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-86 to date</td>
<td>armed robbery Famine, drought,</td>
<td>Conflict and armed robbery escalated (during, before and after the democratic regime); living conditions degenerated and there were no development efforts – displacement started</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-90s</td>
<td>Government Military coup and</td>
<td>Situation was exacerbated, burning of villages emerged more vividly and also the ethnocentric and tribal issues became more prominent; popular defence came into existence and the development situation did not improve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arrival of Salvation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Movements emerged</td>
<td>Armed movements emerged and started their operations within the region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Passive government role</td>
<td>The government neglected the situation and started the armament of Arab militias known as Gangaweed; open violence started and the issue was made international through media and organisations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Mediations</td>
<td>Libyan and Chadian mediation failed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Mediations contin.</td>
<td>Abuja talks – a Nigerian mediation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Peace agreement</td>
<td>Peace agreement reached between government and some movements</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Implications and consequences of war:

- robbery, burning of villages, displacement, destruction, killings, rape
- war continued despite the peace agreement
- Internationalisation of issue resulted in: partial peace agreement, arrival of humanitarian agencies, issuing of resolutions through the UN Security Council

2.3.3. Conflict mapping

This is a direct mapping of actors, their interests, and strategies. To do mapping, one needs to identify actors, issues and relationships (of actors to the problem and to each other). While the relative size of actors in the diagram indicates the power relationships, lines between actors symbolise the type of relationship (alliance or broken relationship). A conflict geographical map can also include mapping of issues, power alignments, potential allies, needs, fears and entry points for action. When people with different views do mapping, it provides them an opportunity for learning about each other’s experiences and perceptions.

**How to do a conflict mapping?**

1) Choose a particular time in a specific situation and decide on what you want to map from a particular point of view. If you decide to map many issues you might need more than one map to avoid complication.
2) Put yourself and your organisation on the map, which might open up opportunities for working on conflict
3) Think of what can be done because mapping is dynamic and about taking an action. For example, ask questions like: what can be done? Who is better placed to do it? When is the best moment for action? What groundwork needs to be laid beforehand and what structures needed afterwards?
4) Map the issues between parties and ask why the conflict does exist!
5) Put the issues identified and the position of the conflicting parties into boxes
Conflict Transformation and Social Peace Building in Post-conflict Era

**What?** Conflict mapping is a visual technique showing relationships between parties in conflict.

**When to use?** (1) Early in a process of analysis together with other tools (2) Later to identify possible entry points for action. **What variations?** (1) Mapping of areas and parties involved (2) Mapping of issues (3) Mapping of allies and powers (4) Mapping of needs, fears, feelings and relationships.
Example 1: Conflict map of Imam Mahdi University Administration and students

Key

Direct relations
Broken relations
Very broken relations

Community

(A)
Management of Imam Mahdi University

(B)
Students

Issues:
Denial of transport

Position:
Strikes & destruction of properties

Issues:
Student

Position:
Arbitrariness (exams, dismiss)

Students' representative

Police

Key informant & Shiekh's

Ansar's Foundation

Students
Example 2: Conflict map of the Maban displaced and some settlers in Russeiris town:

Key:

**SCC:** Sudanese Council of Churches

**IDPs:** Internally Displaced Persons

- **Direct relations**
- **Very bad relations**
- **Bad relations**
- **No relations**
The conflict between the Maban displaced living in Russeris town and the settlers of the Eastern Neighbourhood goes back to 1993 when the Maban, a Christian group, wanted to build a church where they could practice their religious teachings. Because the settlers of the neighbourhood are overwhelmingly Muslims, they opposed the idea of building a church without a prior approval from the concerned authorities and they burnt the newly built church in the camp. The conflict erupted and the Maban took various violent actions against the settlers. Both conflict sides established their allies, and the circle of violence was widened accordingly. A committee of mediators, who have good relations with both sides, was formed and the conflict was resolved but the consequences are still there. The above analysis reveals the conflict map of relations, issues and positions taken between the two conflict parties and their allies. The results of the conflict were various and included:

- The settlers of the Eastern Neighbourhood took revolt and burnt the church
- As a reaction, the Maban took violent action against the settlers
- The issue was contained with the intervention of a committee of mediators made up of the Police, the Commissioner, U’mda (Mayor), the Sudanese Council of Churches and the Funj Native Administrator
- The conflict had a gender dimension as women from both sides contributed to the conflict. Settlers of other quarters in the town (both men and women) also contributed to the conflict through provoking the settlers of the Eastern Neighbourhood “not to allow the spread of Christianity”.

---

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---
Example 3: Map of a tribal conflict from eastern Sudan

One of the common issues, which came out of the conflict mapping exercise, occurring among the tribes in eastern Sudan, namely the Beja, concerns incidents of killing and bloodshed. Participants did not name the tribes but rather referred to them symbolically. In such cases, a tribal system normally applies as the traditional resolution system in conflict and they start it with what is known as Galad (stopping of hostilities or ceasefire) to create a peaceful environment between conflicting parties and allow the mediation to take place. It is clear from the map that traditional leadership and tribe E is the key entry point for resolving the problem.

Legend

Direct relations

Broken relations

Very broken relations

No relations
Example 4: Mapping of an incident of a woman killed by her husband in Wau:

The above map shows a serious problem affecting women in Bahr el-Ghazal. Incidents of husbands killing their wives are common in the area and the present example is no more than an explanation of a real story that took place in the area as one of the serious consequences of war that is still affecting the community. This conflict took place as a result of fighting between the wife and her husband. The husband was an alcoholic and regularly absent from home. This behaviour was not acceptable to the wife who continued to try to convince her husband to stop this without success. The wife’s claim (conflict issue) was that her husband’s continuous absenteeism from the family had denied her many family rights which should have been met by her husband. The position she took to address that problem was a peaceful one by approaching his family, her
family and the Sultan but all the efforts she made were doomed to failure. The husband was more attached to his friends (who were described by participants as ‘devil friends’). He did not respond to his wife’s advice but preferred to listen to his friends with whom he had good relations. His relationships with his relatives, children, wife’s relatives and the neighbours were bad. Because men’s relationships with their Sultan are normally good, the Sultan did not take action or speak out against the husband.

The situation escalated until one day when the husband came home he got into conflict with his wife who decided to flee the house. He then started to beat her until she died. Participants thought that there are many factors involved in why this incident was able to occur:

- Ignorance of family rights and escaping responsibilities
- Disrespect of women’s (wives’) rights by men (husbands)
- Weakness of faith
- Ignorance of law
- Alcohol addiction which is a common problem leading to the victimisation of wives
- Economic pressures which led the husband to escape home and keep company with his ‘devil friends’
- Early marriages which leads to relationships outside the family boundaries for both men and women – but women are blamed more when they do so than men
- Large families because people get married and start having children at an early age
2.3.4. The conflict tree

This ‘problem’ tree is often used in community development work and within groups rather than as an individual exercise. Using the tree as a tool for conflict analysis might require us to ask a range of questions:

What is the core problem?

What are the root causes of conflict?

What are the consequences of this problem?

What is the most important issue to address in group analysis?

The tree analysis, therefore, offers a method for a group or community to identify the issues that are perceived as important and then categorise them into: (1) core problem (stem of the tree); (2) causes (roots of the tree); and (3) consequences (branches of the tree). In terms of actions and/or interventions, addressing consequences is about working in conflict by delivering practical work to relieve the situation of those living through the conflict. While addressing the root causes is about working on conflict addressing the issues that have given rise to it.

How to use the tree tool?

1) Draw a picture of a tree composed of roots, trunk and branches on a flipchart or the ground
2) Each person needs to write a word or draw a symbolic picture indicating a key issue in the problem as s/he views it
3) Each person involved in the analysis then needs to subscribe his/her words/pictures to the tree: (1) to the trunk/stem, if s/he thinks it is a problem; (2) to the roots, if s/he thinks it is a cause; (3) to the branch, if s/he sees it as a consequences
4) After all words/pictures are subscribed to the tree, one person needs to facilitate the discussion so that the group can reach a common agreement about the subscription of the issues, especially the core problem
5) Persons needs to visualize their work, whether it is addressing the roots or consequences, i.e. whether they are working in or on conflict
6) If an agreement is arrived at, those participating in the exercise need to decide on what the core issue is the first core issue to address concerning the conflict
7) The exercise is a long process that should continue in further discussions in future
Handout 4


Despite the fact that the Gazira Aba Battle happened 36 years ago; it is still fresh in people’s memory particularly those who lost their fathers when they were children. Since that time, neither compensation nor development has taken place. Citizens feel that the area has been deliberately neglected by successive regimes and been the subject of interference because the area is considered a constituency for the Mahdi’s and Umma Party’s supporters.

The problem is still unresolved which is evident in the memo submitted by the affected families to the UN in April 2006 asking it to consider the battle as a crime against humanity and take the necessary penalties against those who committed the crime.

It is worth mentioning that 3 neighbouring countries participated in the battle, a dimension that the participants see as crucial and should not be overlooked because it had a significant contribution to the fact that people were killed.

There were many reasons for the outbreak of the battle including the political reasons represented in the dissolving of the Communist Party and the seizing of power by ex-president Nimeiri and his announcement of destroying the traditional forces (e.g. Umma Party and Mahadi’s supporters) which was the beginning of political polarization. The social factors are reflected in the government’s fear of the homogenous social fabric established in Gazira Aba at times of Imam Abdel Rahman Al-Mahdi, a serious threat in the government’s view.

The religious factors took the form of lobbying, made by the right-wing coalition of Mahdi’s supporters, Muslim Brothers and the National Unity Party, around issuing an Islamic constitution through the parliament, as they raised the slogan of “No peace with Islam”. The Communist Party (left-wing) was expelled from parliament and ex-president Nimeiri (left-wing) seized power; and so religious and ideological polarisation continued.

The economic factors were represented in the ‘Mahdi’s Economic Circle’ and its influence in the White Nile area. This was viewed by Nimeriri’s regime as an economic threat and a rival power that should be destroyed. The human factor in the government’s view was the exploitation of people by the Mahdists to serve their interests. The government’s claim was to free people from this exploitation while the Mahdi supporters’ view was that the people were not exploited but rather they were serving their ideology. Finally, the security reasons appeared in the form of the Government thinking that Gazira Aba became a state inside the state. It was claimed that an assassination attempt was made on Nimeiri on his way to visit the White Nile region (where Aba is located).
Example 2: Tree of conflict over a plot of land in Red Sea:

The above problem tree illustrates a real and prominent case that took place in Port Sudan town and the impact is still there because the case has not yet been resolved. The case started when the housing authorities awarded the same plot of residential land to two different people each of whom holds a legal document and has claimed ownership of the land. A clash erupted between the two owners and one of them killed the other. The killer was sentenced to death at the court but appealed the judgement and was ultimately sentenced innocent. He fled to Eritrea as the other party requested the court to arrest him again. As the relationship between Sudan and Eritrea was bad at that time, the Eritrean authorities refused to hand over the person and this created political tension and aggravated the already beleaguered situation. The case has thus become a political issue.

When the killer was found innocent and freed, relatives of the victim caused riots inside the court and outside in the market area of Port Sudan town. The results were that a prominent leader on side of the killer was killed inside court, properties were destroyed in riots, Problem took political dimension, Problem is pending.

Affected party claimed the court to get hold of the killer, Riots in town, A prominent leader from the guilty party was killed inside court, Properties were destroyed in riots, Problem took political dimension, Problem is pending

Killing, killer was sentenced to death by court, court decision was appealed, killer was found innocent and freed, killer escaped to Eritrea, political tension with Eritrea arose

Consequences: see two

A mistake in residential land management

Conflict between 2 persons holding legal contracts for the same plot of land

Participants’ view of the solution is that the first thing to do is to get hold of the escaping killer once the relationship between Sudan and Eritrea is improved. The next step is to seek a solution through the traditional mechanism of the Beja, the first step of which is reaching a ‘Galad’ period of time (stopping of hostilities) with the two parties to enable the mediating representatives of the native administration to resolve the issue traditional methods.
Example 3: Tree analysis of conflict between farmers and herders in South Blue Nile:

The conflict between farmers and herders has been ongoing since the resettlement of nomadic tribes in 1972. Although the results of this conflict are various (see tree analysis below), the consequences are that the nomadic tribes have abandoned their areas and some of them migrated to Ethiopia, which meant a huge loss in livestock to local and national economy. Farmers also abandoned their farms and either moved into town or joined other economic sectors. Herders think that the committees formed to evaluate the loss when their animals invade farms are biased and have an interest with the farmers. This sense of injustice and the repeated conflict has led to tribal grievances, particularly between conflicting tribes and/or parties, which have continued from one generation to the next. As women are an important economic force, they been adversely affected as a result of loss of livestock and agricultural produce. One of the serious causes of this conflict was bad planning in terms of the introduction of mechanised farms which were often at the expense of the traditional livestock routes and pasturelands and which did not involve the herding communities.
Example 4: Tree of conflict between Bahr el-Ghazal University Administration & the Students:

Following a timeline analysis, the above conflict arose between the university administration and students. In 2001 students requested the administration to allow them to form a union but they did not receive an answer and felt marginalised by the administration. In 2002, four students were dismissed because they did not pay the exam fees. Students went on strikes in response to the dismissal of their colleagues and the refusal to allow them to form a union. As a result, the university was closed. In 2003, the reopening of the university was announced but the students continued their strikes. Female students were separated from their male colleagues and students felt that the administration was attempting to weaken them and create a feud among them through the various actions that it was taking against them. In 2004, the police intervened and violence started. The university administration built an alliance with the police and violence continued. The university was ultimately closed and the problem is still there. Participants think that this problem has a political dimension and it goes beyond the demands of students that could have been solved through:

- provision of qualified teaching cadres
- formation of a students’ union
- provision of equipped library and laboratories
- establishment of halls and provision of lighting
- improvement in health services
- healthy environment of freedom of expression
2.3.5. ABC (Attitudes, Behaviour and Context) triangle

The ABC triangle is based on an assumption that conflict has three major components: the Context or situation, the Behaviour of those involved in conflict and their Attitudes. The initials ABC form the corners of the triangle. For each conflict actor, drawing an ABC triangle helps to understand the position from which each actor is approaching conflict, the context within which conflict is taking place, and helps to identify the key needs of each actor. These three components influence each other (the arrows). For example, a context that overlooks the needs of one group (e.g. minority) is likely to breed an attitude of frustration that may result in protests. This behaviour might promote a condition of further denials of rights, greater frustration and ultimately violence. What should then be done? Action in this case should reduce the level of tension by addressing the three components: (i) Context: change the context by ensuring that demands are acknowledged; (ii) Attitudes: reduce the level of frustration by helping people to focus on the long-term nature of their struggle; and (iii) Behaviour: provide outlets for non-violent behaviour.

How to use the ABC triangle:

1) Draw up a separate ABC triangle for each of the major parties in the specified conflict
2) Put Attitude, Behaviour and Context in the corners of the triangle
3) On each triangle, list the key issues on Attitude, Behaviour and Context from the viewpoint of that party
4) Indicate the most important needs and/or fears for each party in the middle of the triangle. Remember that this choice is your own perception
5) Compare the different triangles for the different parties, noting the similarities and differences in perceptions

What is the ABC triangle?

An analysis of factors related to Attitudes, Behaviour and Context for each of the major conflict parties

What purpose?

(i) to identify the 3 sets of factors for each of the major parties; (ii) to relate these to the needs and fears of the major parties; (iii) to identify key entry points

When to use?

(i) early in the process of gaining insight into parties’ motivations; (ii) later to identify factors to be addressed by intervention; (iii) to reveal how a change in one aspect might affect another
Adopting the ABC triangle techniques, one would be able to:

(i) gain an informed analysis and insight into motivations of conflict parties and the structures and/or system in place that contribute to the conflict;

(ii) identify the key needs of each conflict party; and

(iii) find entry points to address conflict

**Example 1: ABC Triangle of conflict between Merawi Dam Committee and the affected settlers**
Example 2: ABC analysis of conflict between students and Ministry of Education in Blue Nile:

Summary of Attitudes, Behaviour and Context (ABC) triangle analysis by gender:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analysis of:</th>
<th>By gender</th>
<th>Attitudes</th>
<th>Behaviour</th>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Students:    | Boys:     | Not in favour of delaying exams | – Refused to enter classes  
– Absence from school  
– Demonstrations and stoning of teachers | Students were prepared for exams (academically and psychologically) according to the specified schedules |
|              | Girls:    | Not in favour of delaying exams | – Sat with school headmistress and convinced her to have alternative exams from that of the Ministry |
| Ministry:    | Headmasters: | In favour of delaying exams | – Punishment of boys for absenteeism and refusal to enter class rooms  
– Invitation of police and security authorities to contain the situation |
|              | Headmistresses | In favour of delaying exams | – Agreed with girls to have alternative exams from those of the Ministry  
– Informed girls that records of alternative exams will not count in the final results  
– Advised girls that alternative exams are useful trials |
|              |           |           |           | In accordance with its annual master plan the state MOE specified the schedule for the exams and circulated that notification to schools. However due to technical problems the MOE delayed the exams. The reasons given for this included problems with the Ministry’s printing press and printing outside is expensive and does not guarantee secrecy. |
Example 3: ABC analysis of conflict between merchants and the Commissioner over expired goods in Wau market:

The above example is one of the direct economic consequences of war on citizens who were left to survive and face market challenges after the adverse effects of war had been inflicted upon them. During war, there was no control on merchants and the most powerful of them were importing the goods and storing them until the prices jumped up. This monopoly led to the expiration of goods which were sold to people irrespective of their adverse health impact. After the CPA, when government structures were put in place, concerned authorities took measures to protect civilians against food-transmitted diseases, some of which were caused by expired food. This action created conflict with the powerful merchants who started to resist governmental protective measures and decrees.
Example 4: ABC Triangle of conflict between a private school & SPLM in White Nile:

Summary of Attitudes, Behavior and Context (ABC) triangle analysis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analysis of:</th>
<th>Attitudes</th>
<th>Behavior</th>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Party 1:</td>
<td>Selling to more than one buyer</td>
<td>Breaching of contract with Party 2, Received telephone intimidation, Fled the country, Reimbursed the money to bank account of Party 2</td>
<td>Expansion of private education as a profitable and attractive business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party 2:</td>
<td>Stopped activities in school</td>
<td>Opted to go to court</td>
<td>The signing of the CPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party 3:</td>
<td>Took control of the building by using its influential position</td>
<td>Started its activities while the building was already occupied by Party 2</td>
<td>Expansion of political space, Economic and financial situation of individuals, institutions and parties</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This analysis concerns a woman who was the owner of Adnani Private School (conflict Party 1) in Rabak town who sold her school to the owner of Mustaqbal Private School (conflict Party 2) and again resold it out to the Sudanese Peoples’ Liberation Movement (SPLM). Although the case has not yet been resolved, amidst numerous legal complications, the analysis reveals how the three parties developed their attitudes, what behaviours they showed and what was the context within which the cases took place.

The expansion of private education as a profitable business and the signing of the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) have been influential factors in the context of this conflict. After the signing of the CPA, the SPLM became a political party who were active in expanding their outreach to the northern parts of Sudan and that required it to find a private plot of land to establish its offices. This is the political context.

In terms of the economic context land has become a valuable asset and it is financial buying power that determines who is eligible to get ownership. It was the promise of a better price that encouraged the original owner to resell the plot of land to the SPLM and reimburse the payment received from Party 2 especially as it became apparent that Party 2 was not able to meet its financial commitment with the original owner. The SPLM immediately started to use the estate by virtue of the money it paid out and through its political and military power.
2.3.6. Pyramids:

This tool is used to analyse conflict that has more than one level, where we identify the key parties at each level (i.e. top, middle, bottom grassroots levels). Levels can be greater or less than three depending on the situation. This tool is critical in analysing actors and stakeholders vis-à-vis alliances they build, resources they mobilise and strategies they develop/use to achieve their agenda. Let’s assume that we have 3-level conflict:

**Top Level:**

Leaders with high and visible influence (military, political, traditional or religious), leaders of international organisations, and government officials

**Middle Level:**

Leaders within sectors, ethnic/religious leaders, academics, NGO leaders, and professionals

**Bottom Level (grassroots):**

NGO and community workers, health workers, community members, women and youth groups, local officials, camp leaders, and activists

**What is a Pyramid tool?**

A diagram showing the various levels of stakeholders in conflict

**What purpose?**

1. to identify key actors at each level
2. to decide at which level we are currently working and how to include other levels
3. to decide on types of approaches/actions appropriate to work at each level
4. to think about ways/links between levels
5. to identify potential allies at each level

**When to use?**

1. when analysing a situation that includes actors at various levels
2. when planning actions that address multi-level conflict
3. when deciding where to have more focus
HANDOUT 6:

Example 1: A pyramid analysis of a young girl who fled her family in White Nile State

**Work strategies across layers:**

**Top level:** Initially, police carried out a search for the girl in co-ordination with the judiciary; later, the judiciary issued educational materials and directed Imams and media to disseminate knowledge of rights and raise peoples’ awareness

**Middle level:**

Women’s unions provided counseling; schools drew attention to following up on children’s family and psychosocial problems and linked this in with their education programme; tribal leaders activated traditions relevant to the case; the residential quarter renewed neighborhood rights and worked to strengthen community spirit etc.

**Bottom level:**

The case has become a community issue rather than just a family affair; family revisited its way of relating to kids; there is always a host family for vagrant children until they return home

**Consequences of the problem:**

- Reputation of family and squatter residents and community was questioned
- The family suffered economic hardship (when the father left them and the mother had to take on his role as well as her own). The heavy burden led her to become aggressive towards the girl until the child reached a point where she felt she had to leave home
- Psychological problems for girl and mother, as a result of the pressure that the mother faced in providing for the family, and the heavy repression inflicted upon the girl until she left home; the girl even denied her family when the host family tried to return her and decided that instead of returning her they would keep her after gaining permission from the police and the judiciary

**Results:**

- Social work was carried out in the area to work towards preventing further similar cases arising
- A psychological relief to family and residential quarter
- Family changed its positions toward the girl and started to care for her
- Girl was made to reunion her family

**Recommendations:**

- the importance of awareness raising (through media, school and social researchers)
- use of media to disseminate knowledge and create awareness
- the judiciary to orient imams to enlighten people with their religious teachings
Example 2: Pyramid analysis of a student who was killed by a colleague in Russeiris:

**Top level:**

The police did the necessary investigations after a student was killed by one of his colleagues. The killer mentioned that the victim has had an affair with one of his female relatives. The court sentenced the killer to 7 years in prison and the girl to 3 years.

**Middle level:** The crime provoked residents of the neighborhood where it took place (relatives) to get involved. Without the intervention of the Native Administration, Religious Men and State Legislative Council, the conflict could have spread and the issue turned into revenge with the risk of serious insecurity.

**Bottom level:** The issue was transformed from an individual incident into a tribal issue. This was clear from the insistence of the affected tribes to have the case judged through court. This attitude led to the collapse of all mediation efforts between the two families. The family of the killer refused to accept the sentence and appealed the case, i.e. the decision went outside hands of concerned families and grew to tribal level. The affected tribe asked for blood money (*diyah*).

**Results:**

This incident had a serious impact:
- Family of the killer refused to accept the court’s decision and appealed
- Collapse of all reconciliation and mediation efforts
- A bad reputation for the girl in the community
- Tense social relationship between the two families and the rest of the residents in the neighbourhood
- A negative psychological impact on girl and her mother who died later as a result of the pressure

**Recommendations:**
- The importance of use of media, mosques, social clubs and schools to raise community awareness and spread peace amongst its citizens.
- The state should advise parents to play an active role in providing their children with religious teaching.
Example 3: Pyramid analysis of a tribal conflict in Rea Sea

The pyramid tool is used to analyse conflict that cuts across more than one level and/or layer. In terms of the example above, it was a conflict between two tribes as a member of one tribe killed someone from the other one. In such cases conflict does not only affect the family of the killed person but widens to include the whole tribe. If the affected tribe takes revenge, it is going to target the tribe of the killer and so the cycle of violence expands to include the whole community. This is why we find that the bottom level of the pyramid is more affected than the top level, which is the family of the killed person.

In the middle level, we find the traditional leaders who normally act as mediators to resolve the problem before it gets out of control. The traditional leaders are representatives of both the tribes and some other tribes who contributed to the mediation. Although the affected family had the final decision, it was bound by the customs and traditions of the community.

The mediators have different strategies for each of the three levels of the pyramids. The first thing they do is to start with the bottom level to curb the conflict from further expansion. They begin with stopping hostilities between the two tribes through the *Galad* (stopping of hostilities), which is a sacrosanct agreement respected by all members. Once the *Galad* is achieved, it is an indicator for a peaceful environment for the mediation to take place. Evidence shows that the *Galad* can even be made at a burial ground.

Example 4: Pyramid Analysis of Peace Forces in Bahr el-Ghazal:

Before the CPA during war time in the mid eighties, there was a situation of chaos and rape was occurring. This drove Wau town dwellers to form a body to protect them. This body later became what is known as ‘Friend Forces’, and it received popular support and the support of the central GoS in 1987.

After the CPA, the two partners (the national Congress and the SPLM) asked all other military bodies/militias to dissolve and join one of them. As a response, some of the high ranking officers were absorbed into the national army. But the low ranking soldiers were not absorbed into either party and still remained armed. This caused a situation of insecurity and conflict. Participants suggested that these soldiers should be absorbed into the SPLA. Those who are not absorbed should be disarmed, given civic training and integrated into mainstream civil society. The following chart illustrates this conflict which has many cross-cutting layers:
2.3.7. The conflict ‘onion’:

[1] The onion tool is used when conflict parties agree to get into negotiations to resolve their conflict without recourse to violence, to identify a common ground and clarify for themselves their own needs, interests and positions. This opens up space for trust building between groups in the course of negotiations.

[2] The conflict onion is a tool of three layers in a form of concentric circles drawn for each conflict party. First, the inside layer (the core) represents the needs that need to be satisfied (i.e. what we must have). The second layer represents the interests (i.e. what we really want to achieve from a particular situation). The third outer layer represents the positions that are taken publicly (what we say we want). The logical sequence of these layers is that the needs create/lead to interests, which in turn lead people to take positions.

[3] Even in times of peace, people may want to disclose their real needs to others and discuss them openly. During a time of mistrust, in conflict situations, people may keep their basic needs hidden. Keeping needs hidden breeds opportunities for conflict to erupt because people are likely to look for a collective level of interests and base their actions accordingly. When these interests are at risk of being attacked, people may proceed ahead and defend a position.

[4] The point of the onion is to unpeel as much as possible the layers built up as a result of instability and mistrust in a specific conflict situation so as to try to meet the basic needs that form the basis for peoples’ individual and collective actions (i.e. interests and positions thereafter). The long-term objective of the onion analysis is to improve communication and trust between groups in conflict to the extent where they are able to reveal their own needs as well as understanding others’ needs.
Example 1: Onion analysis of conflict between landowners & oil companies in White Nile State:

The above onion analysis describes a conflict of interest between the landowners and the investment oil companies in a village called Mhaid El-Sharief. At one stage of the conflict, the two parties sat together and agreed to resolve the case in a peaceful way and this is why the onion analysis was used to reveal the real needs, interests and positions of each party. It is clear from the analysis that the villagers were hiding their real needs (practical) behind the common interests (strategic needs) that brought all parties together, which are development, financial compensation for their lands and work opportunities with oil companies. Their declared public position is a refusal to the projects to be established in their lands although they appreciate the benefits that these projects will bring to them. This is a tactic that is used at times of conflict as a result of mistrust between conflict parties.

For the oil companies their position was the practical implementation of projects following approval for this from the Government. However they faced opposition from the villagers at the projects sites. This is why they then developed a common interest of getting approvals and the formal requirements to achieve their real need, which was getting plot of lands where they could establish their projects.
According to the analysis carried out by participants, the two parties were successful in handling the cases and in mutually achieving what they needed. Below is a gender analysis of the onion case and how it affected/benefited men and women differently.

Example 2: Onion analysis of a wife who took a second husband in Wau

This onion analysis concerns a form of conflict in Wau that was especially common after the signing of the CPA when people started to return home from the North to the South. The two onions below show a conflict between two men (the first husband and the second man who replaced him). The first husband joined the war and was absent for a long time without communicating with his wife and child. After two years, due to economic pressures, the wife felt that she needed another man. This new relationship produced two additional children.

After the peace agreement was signed the first man (conflict Party A) returned home and found his wife had been taken by another man (conflict Party B). The first man started regular visits to his wife with the intention of renewing their relationship. While visiting he used to take some gifts with him for the wife and the children. The wife started to respond to her first husband and the conflict arose when the second man became jealous of such a situation and started to beat her. She told her first husband and built an alliance with him against the second man. The first husband finally took the case to the court and the final decision was in his favour and he was able keep his relationship with his wife and the three kids because the local traditions say that the kids from the second man are considered as part of the family of the first husband. The two onions above illustrate the practical needs, the strategic interests and positions of the two men who appeared:

| Husband: Had positive position; managed to win back wife and children | Second Man: Had negative position; responded with violence and lost his wife and children |
Example 3: Onion analysis of conflict about students’ Support Fund in Port Sudan:

This is an analysis of the conflict that took place concerning a Students’ Support Fund in Port Sudan town. This situation resulted from economic reform policies (privatisation and liberalisation) and inefficiency of the social funds that were put in place to absorb the negative repercussions of these policies. The students’ needs were not met which led to riots by the students and a heavy impact on themselves and private properties in the market.
Example 4: Onion analysis of peoples’ abandonment of a health centre in Russeiris town:

This conflict onion analysis shows peoples’ abandonment of a reproductive health centre that was established by the state health authorities. The health centre was established by the local authorities without the involvement of the beneficiaries in the planning process. Peoples’ claims were that the authorities did not consider the suitability of the location as it was built at a far distance from the residential areas and the road to the health centre passes through unlit roads and through a graveyard. Since those who were most likely to attend the centre were mainly women this location was seen by people as inappropriate and in addition to that it also lacks water. The local authorities, on the other hand, see the location as appropriate because it serves both the residential areas in the town and the displaced persons who are settled quite a distance outside the town. Because the resources at hand were limited, the health authorities view the location they selected as accessible and beneficial for both groups of residents and the displaced.

The result was that people from the residential areas abandoned the health centre and the conflict between the health authorities and the residents started. Because both sides have an interest in the establishment of the health centre, they agreed to lead a dialogue process on how to resolve the issues raised by citizens (see onion analysis above). To make the centre accommodating for peoples’ needs, both sides agreed to the following:

1. Construction of a water reservoir;
2. Expansion of the water network to the health centre and residential areas; and
3. Provision of electricity along the road to the health centre.
2.3.8. Force-field analysis

This tool is about identifying the different forces that influence conflict, both the negative - hindering what people want to achieve – and the positive - supporting the desired change. This tool is useful in identifying these negative and positive forces as well as assessing the strengths that need to be consolidated and weaknesses that need to be addressed and to have more clarity on what is maintaining the status quo.

How to use the tool?

1) Specify the objective: could be an action one intends to take or a desired change to achieve. This objective can be written at the top of a page with a line drawn down the middle dividing the page into two sides

2) On one side of the page, list the positive forces that seem to support the action/change that people want to happen with an arrow pointing to the centre line (i.e. the direction of the change). The length and the thickness of the arrow indicates the relative strength of this force compared to others

3) On the other side of the page list the forces that restrain or hinder (i.e. negative forces) the change/action happening with an arrow for each force pointing back towards the centre line (i.e. opposite to the change direction). Similarly, the relative strength of each force is indicated in the length and thickness of the arrow

4) Think of which of these forces could be influenced: either to strengthen the positive ones that support your action/desired change or to minimise the negative forces so as to increase the possibility of the change/action happening.

5) Review and modify your plan/strategy on the basis of the strength of positive forces while trying to reduce or remove the effects of the negative forces.
HANDOUT 8:
Example 1: Force-field Analysis of Environmental Sanitation Project for Rabak Cement Factory

**Objective: Environmental Sanitation of Rabak Cement Factory**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive forces</th>
<th>Negative forces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Ministry of Health made a contract with an investor with the condition that a filter should be installed into the Factory</td>
<td>The investor was reluctant to install the filter because it would cost money, and hence reduce profit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressure by both ministries and citizens on the investor to accept installation of the filter</td>
<td>Lack of follow-up from the government side to implement the articles of the contract with the investor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The consensus among citizens and government is that the factory should remain and continue to operate</td>
<td>Employees’ hesitation to put pressure on the investor for fear of losing their jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The citizens’ acceptance of the idea of making changes to the factory</td>
<td>Lack of an environmental study to assess the impact of the factory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Positive aspects of the Factory:**
- provision of employment opportunities for the local people
- economic support to the local government
- availability of cement which strengthened the infrastructure and architecture in the area
- support to civil society institutions

**Negative aspects of the Factory:**
- an environmental study was not carried out
- pollution of environment with various adverse health implications
- hand-over of the factory to foreign investors making a large number of workers redundant

**Recommendations:**
- to establish any other factory in the future a comprehensive environment-sensitive feasibility study should be presented to the authorities

**Expected final result:**
- An environment free of adverse effects as a result the cement production
Example 2: Force-field analysis of banning FGM practice in Blue Nile:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive forces</th>
<th>Negative forces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Majority of religious scholars agree on the destructive aspects of the practice</td>
<td>Communities continue to practice FGM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific, medical and social studies support banning of the practice</td>
<td>Men’s refusing to marry uncircumcised women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media’s contribution to behavioural changes</td>
<td>Passive role of fathers towards the practice and the perseverance of mothers to perform the practice on their girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The decision of the Medical Council to penalise practitioners</td>
<td>The misconception that circumcision preserves families’ honour and girls’ virginity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The differences and divergence between religious scholars on the legitimacy of the practice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Strategies to address the negative forces:*

- Awareness, counseling and orientation multidisciplinary campaigns (medical, health, social and religious)
- Activation and revision of law while putting its application as a responsibility for the whole community
- Economic alternatives for practitioners
- Linking curricula to rights and communal consciousness – issue should be a core subject in the curricula
- Linking the practice to HIV and AIDS pandemic
Example 3: Force-field analysis of establishing an agricultural project in Red Sea:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive forces</th>
<th>Negative forces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Strategic location of the project</td>
<td>• Project reduces residential lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Utilisation of fertile cultivable land</td>
<td>• Publicity of projects affects individual interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Introduction of modern agricultural technology</td>
<td>• Mistrust in project management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Creation of employment opportunities</td>
<td>• Technology reduces labour-intensive employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Increase in production</td>
<td>• Cynicism about training because citizens are farmers by nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Increase in personal income</td>
<td>• Land is considered a historical heritage and sacrosanct private ownership that should remain unchanged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Provision of qualified cadres for training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above example is part of a set of problems that create tension if any change is planned to take place. Sometimes people resist the change even if it is going to benefit them either because of lack of trust in those who are leading the change or the influence of the traditional value system. However, the change in such traditional communities should not be forced but achieved through consensus and awareness-raising of the importance of the change. CSOs in this respect have a vital role to play in moving citizens from the stage of limited awareness to the level of critical awareness whereby they can question any change affecting them and claim their rights in a positive way.
Example 4: Force-field analysis of moving animals outside Wau town:

Keeping animals inside residential areas is one of the consequences of war. During war time, herders were asked to bring their animals inside the town for security reasons. But after fighting stopped and the signing of the CPA the existence of animals together with the residents of the town has created various forms of tension. The Commissioner of Wau issued a decree requesting herders to move their animals outside the residential areas of the town. This decree was not well received by all herders. Meanwhile, whilst all cows were moved outside the town, the goats/sheep were not moved and continued to cause problems for residents. Participants felt that this was one of the serious problems facing their community and carried out the following analysis using the ‘force-field’ tool to unravel positive and negative forces and to find some solutions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective: Transfer of animals (goats/sheep) outside Wau town</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive forces</td>
<td>Negative forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wau Commissioner’s Decree</td>
<td>Animal owners are power wielders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regulations of the Ministry of Agriculture</td>
<td>Animals are a source of income for herders and they don’t want to risk losing this by keeping them in an insecure place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence of conflict between herders and farmers</td>
<td>Lack of safe pasture for animals away from town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental sanitation</td>
<td>Animals provide milk for their owners’ families which would be difficult to collect if the animals are far away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence of conflict between households and animal owners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Strategies to address the negative forces:**
- Provision of safe pastures
- Encouragement of herders to get additional work
- Provision of milk farms/factories
- Awareness raising of herders about the adverse effect of keeping animals inside residential areas
2.3.9. Pillars

Pillars represent yet another graphic tool for conflict analysis based on the principle that in unstable situations a range of forces or factors are causing this tension. Identifying these pillars and trying to remove them or minimise their adverse effect will enable us to bring down the negative side and build up a positive one.

How to use the tool?

1) Name the changing (unstable) situation (e.g. conflict or discrimination) and graph this as an inverted triangle standing on one corner
2) Name the forces/factors that are maintaining this situation and graph them as the ‘supporting pillars’ on both sides of the inverted triangle
3) Think about how each of these pillars (forces/factors) can be weakened or removed from the situation and briefly list your strategies for each of the pillars
4) Think about what stable situation could replace the unstable one you have named above

Summary notes:

Pillars: What is it? It is a graphic illustration of elements, factors or forces that are holding up an unstable situation.
Purpose: (1) to understand how structures are sustained (2) to identify factors that are maintaining an undesirable situation (3) to consider ways to weaken or remove the negative forces or change them into positive forces.
When to use it? (1) When it is not clear what forces are maintaining an unstable situation (2) in situations caught in structural injustice
HANDOUT 9:
Example 1: Pillar analysis of the challenge of resettling IDPs in White Nile State:

Resettlement - in this analysis - means either repatriation to areas inside the state or to other areas of Sudan. The White Nile State has received a massive influx of displaced people since the beginning of the war in southern Sudan. However even after the signing of the CPA meeting the needs of these people is still a serious challenge.

Participants did a ‘pillar’ analysis of the challenges faced by resettlement initiatives. Despite the long stay in north Sudan the displaced persons have been living in isolated areas (e.g. camps on the outskirts of Khartoum) and have not managed to integrate well with local communities.

The analysis found four key challenges (pillars) to resettlement (desired change) that needed to be removed. Despite these challenges (refusal of repatriation, poor services, landmines and lack of work opportunities) there are opportunities for breaking down these pillars. They include actions/strategies, such as:

- development projects and creation of employment/work opportunities in areas where the displaced are going to be resettled and/or repatriated
- provision of basic social services that encourage the displaced to accept the principle of repatriation and/or resettlement
- awareness raising and encouraging the displaced to rethink the issue of being displaced/resettlement
- removal of the effects of wars, e.g. de-mining

If these actions are taken to remove the pillars there will be a voluntary repatriation and resettlement of the displaced persons who have been away from their home areas for more than 20 years.
Example 2: Pillars of conflict between landowners and a private company in Blue Nile State:

This was a problem between landowners and a foreign investment company intending to establish a project for agricultural and animal production. Although the company got formal approval from the authorities it faced some constraints on the ground. The company sat with individual owners as a group and was able to remove the pillars it faced, e.g.:

- Employment of villagers in the project
- Construction of a water reservoir in the village
- Financial compensation and alternative land for farmers
- Establishment of schools, clinics, police station, roads and means of transport

Example 3: Pillar analysis of establishing a modern port in the Red Sea

The new oil investments in the Red Sea have been creating conflicts of interest between local settlers and the Port authorities. The Port Authorities wished to transform the Hoshiri coastal area into a modern port but it faced many challenges. The local population feel that they have not been a priority in terms of employment opportunities. They also feel that the compensation offered to them was not enough and they had not been paid it. As a result of the analysis of these pillars, participants suggest the following strategies to remove/weaken them through the following strategies:

- Peaceful negotiations between the two parties
- Citizens have to claim their rights in a peaceful and transparent manner
- Involvement of the local leadership
- Reasonable financial compensations should be awarded to affected citizens
- Prioritisation of the local people in employment opportunities
- Resettlement of affected families
Example 4: Pillar analysis of girls’ education in Wau:

Girls’ education in Wau is facing many constraints. The main pillars hindering this are:

1. Poverty, which leads family to prioritise boys’ education
2. Consequences of war, e.g. father is dead and mother must go out to work so limited care for children
3. Bad management by parents who are not ensuring that their children go to school leading children to discontinue education
4. Early marriage, as a consequence of war, which means that the eldest daughter has to get married to sponsor her younger brothers and sisters
5. Girls’ using the excuse of school sport activities taking place some distance from their house to play truant.
6. Long distance from schools which discourages girls from continuing their education.

Participants proposed some actions to remove these pillars:

- sport centers in residential quarters
- sanctions issued by Sultans, key figures and legislative councils banning early marriages
- community awareness sessions in residential areas about the importance of girls’ education through radios, TV and community sessions
- improvement of living conditions by government (salaries) and civil society (skills training)
- social control by community
- special lessons at stage of adolescence in basic schools
- boarding houses in girls’ schools
2.3.11- Summary of relevance and advantages of tools of conflict analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tool</th>
<th>Relevance</th>
<th>Advantages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conflict analysis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict tree</td>
<td>Identification of different stages and patterns of conflict evolution over a specific period of time</td>
<td>- identify stages and process of conflict escalation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- predicts future conflict patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- specifies particular event for further analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict timeline</td>
<td>Reaching group consensus on the core problem to be addressed and linking the underlying causes and the effects of the problem</td>
<td>- relates causes and effects to each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- helps to focus interventions, especially methodology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- assists in identifying work priorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stages of conflict</td>
<td>Stages of conflict</td>
<td>- gain an informed analysis and insight into motivations of conflict parties and the structures and/or system in place that contribute to the conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- identify the key needs of each conflict party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- find entry points to address conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict map</td>
<td>Force-field analysis</td>
<td>- find right approaches for working at different levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- positioning of own work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- identify potential allies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tool</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage-analysis</td>
<td>Identification of different stages and patterns of conflict evolution over a specific period of time</td>
<td>- identify stages and process of conflict escalation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- predicts future conflict patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- specifies particular event for further analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict tree</td>
<td>Reaching group consensus on the core problem to be addressed and linking the underlying causes and the effects of the problem</td>
<td>- relates causes and effects to each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- helps to focus interventions, especially methodology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- assists in identifying work priorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC triangle</td>
<td>Understanding the context, position of actors and their needs</td>
<td>- gain an informed analysis and insight into motivations of conflict parties and the structures and/or system in place that contribute to the conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- identify the key needs of each conflict party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- find entry points to address conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyramids</td>
<td>Analysis of conflict that has more than one level to identify key actors/leadership and links between levels with emphasis on sensitivity to local circumstances</td>
<td>- find right approaches for working at different levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- positioning of own work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- identify potential allies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pillars</td>
<td>Nothing here –please add</td>
<td>Nothing here – please add</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onion</td>
<td>Identification of common ground between groups as a basis for further discussions</td>
<td>- moves beyond public positions of each actor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- prepares ground for facilitation, mediation or problem-solving interventions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timelines</td>
<td>Detailed plotting of related key events against a particular timescale</td>
<td>- clarify local conflict history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- help people know and accept each other’s understandings of history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict mapping</td>
<td>Geographical mapping, mapping of issues, mapping of power alignments, mapping of needs and mapping of fears</td>
<td>- identify actors, relationships between actors and issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- identify potential allies and entry points for action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Force-field analysis</td>
<td>Analysis of positive and negative forces/factors influencing a desired change or plan of action. It is useful for conflict transformation efforts</td>
<td>- clarifies negative and positive forces that are working for or against the continuation of violent conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- helps draw strategies for reducing the negative forces and building on positive ones</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1. What conflict transformation is about and how different it is from other approaches

Conflict is not always destructive; it can have a constructive impact too and it is an important agent for change in relationships – e.g. social, economic and political. As a concept, it has recently emerged as both descriptive of conflict dynamics and prescriptive of peace building. It is descriptive of conflict dynamics because it challenges the overall social context, changes communication styles, and affects relationships and perceptions of those in conflict. It is prescriptive of peace building because it changes destructive relationship patterns and seeks constructive systematic change.

The rationale behind the concept of ‘transformation’, therefore, is that conflict is an agent of change in relationships and it prescribes to the idea of a dynamic understanding that conflict can as well take a constructive direction. What is required is to maximise the constructive achievements (processes and outcomes) of conflict to mutually benefit the conflicting parties.

Conflict transformation, therefore, is the process by which people can change situations, relationships and structures that cause injustice so that they can achieve their rights, reconcile their interests without recourse to violence. Conflict transformation is ultimately not seeking just to suppress conflict or stop it, but to allow it to develop and foster its negative forces and/or energies into constructive and non-violent manners so as to build a sustainable peace.

Because it addresses causes and not just consequences, and because it seeks to transform relationships, systems, structures and the overall context, transformation provides a holistic approach to addressing conflict contrary to other approaches such as prevention, resolution and management, for example. Prevention is about measures and efforts to prevent the breakdown of peaceful conditions and to stop existing tensions from further escalating into violence. Resolution is about building bridges between hostile communities through grassroots reconciliation to open up opportunities for new relationships. Conflict transformation is a strategy in peace building, a deliberate process of action and decision-making, and it occurs when violence ceases and structural sources of conflict (economic, social, cultural, political, security, military, and justice system) have changed in some way or another.

Transformation starts following the ‘ceasefire’ stage of conflict when the hostilities halt and the conflict parties agree to sit for negotiation. At this stage, the objective becomes to address the structural causes and injustice in a holistic and constructive approach. This can only happen if transformation occurs as a systematic process for peace building that is mutually beneficial for all parties. It allows for containing all situations of conflict but highly dependent on the willingness and genuine preparedness of the parties in conflict. The following table shows the strategy scope of various conflict approaches, e.g. prevention addresses latent conflict, resolution addresses open conflict, management applies when conflict is both latent and surface, settlement addresses both surface and open conflict, and transformation offers a strategic scope for all (latent, surface and open violent conflict) to reach a sustainable peace (See figure p9).

3.2. Advocacy and conflict transformation

3.2.1. What is advocacy?

Advocacy is about having a voice to amplify change and bring about justice. The voice does not need to be a spoken one but rather demonstrated, i.e. “actions speak louder than words”. Voice is about making personal sacrifices – moral courage and conviction!
The aim of advocacy is to change power imbalances, inequalities, policies, processes and practices that create injustice, tensions and ultimately conflict. It aims both to influence policy (policy advocacy) and its processes (planning and decision-making), and the practices by the people themselves in a given context that affect specific segments of the society more than others, e.g. forms of violence against women (rape, FGM, etc.).

3.2.2. Types of advocacy:

There is no standard classification of types of advocacy but it is highly dependent on the goal of those who are advocating for a specific change. For instance, four types can be distinguished: lobbying by businesses, Awareness Raising, People-centred and Policy Advocacy.

1) Lobbying by businesses:

Examples of this type of advocacy are: big companies that influence governments, or influence people through advertisements and promotion of commodities (TV, radio, or other media). The objective of advocacy here is profit-making and business expansion.

2) Awareness raising advocacy

This type of advocacy is about behavioural changes: e.g. to influence peoples’ perceptions and practices with regard to a specific issue. The objective here is to generate a critical awareness among people towards a specific issue. Theoretically, there are four types/stages of awareness: magic awareness, naïve awareness, and critical awareness (the ultimate objective of this type of advocacy).

Stage 1 - Magic awareness:

At this level of awareness, people tend to explain events or phenomena that affect their life in terms of myths, magic and powers beyond their understanding and control. At this stage, people are normally passive not placing blame on any one person or organisation about what is happening to them or affecting them but accepting it as a fact of life.

Stage 2 - Naïve awareness:

A naïve person is someone who has incomplete understanding but is a higher level of awareness than those at the magic stage. At this level people are no longer passive but continue to accept the values, rules and social order
defined by those with the power. They rather try to imitate those people at the top (e.g. language of outsiders, style of dress, behaviour, etc.) and make no attempt at changing the social order defined for them.

*Stage 3 – Critical awareness:*

As people start to develop critical awareness, they look more carefully at the causes of their problems and begin to analyse them using observation and reasoning rather than just through myth or magic. They start to question the values, rules and social order passed down by those in control of power. They discover that no-one but the social system itself is responsible for the inequality, oppression, discrimination or exclusion inflicted upon them. They might discover that those in control of power are also abused by the system. Therefore, a critically aware person is someone who realises that only by changing the system organises society in ways that perpetuate injustice can they bring change, tackling issues that involve both the rich and the poor, the powerful and powerless, or the oppressed and oppressors. A critically aware person is flexible and self-critical and works with others to change what’s wrong with the social system.

*Stage 4 - Fanatic awareness*

Fanatic means extreme beyond reason. A fanatically aware person or group rejects completely those in power and everything they represent or advocate for without any attempt to separate between what is good and what is bad about the existing social system. People with fanatic awareness often return to traditional customs, beliefs and behaviours in an exaggerated manner because they are susceptible to the ideas of their popular leaders and tend to believe in radical doctrines. Because they are sceptical, they fanatically reject everything. Whereas the outlook of persons with critical awareness is positive, that of fanatics is destructive. Fanatics are rigid and their actions are informed more from hatred rather than from understanding. They tend to be radical rather than learning and communicating with others as equals.

No one can be classified as wholly falling in one level of awareness or another. People possess a combination of characteristics from different stages of awareness. Many people are magic about some things, naïve about others, critically aware about others, and at times a bit fanatic. The ultimate objective of awareness advocacy in theory, however, remains one of creating critical awareness.

**Example statements about levels of awareness:**

- *Magic level of awareness:* ‘Anything you say is wise, boss’ (i.e. acceptance or conforming)
- *Naïve level of awareness:* ‘Your ignorance and appearance disgust me’ (i.e. reforming or adapting)
- *Critical level of awareness:* ‘Don’t you think that we are equal?’ (i.e. transforming or changing)
- *Fanatic level of awareness:* ‘Muslims are terrorists’ (i.e. rejection)

**3) People-centred advocacy**

This is a grassroots-based advocacy. It is about strategies and actions to empower people to enable them to advocate for their rights and interests. People-centred advocacy challenges the belief that policy is the terrain and/or the specialisation of experts. It supports people to better negotiate on their own behalf. Sometimes, citizen-centred advocacy is used to mean an organised political process that involves co-ordinated efforts of
people to change policies, practices, ideas, values, and systems that perpetuate inequality, injustice and exclusion. Strategies for citizen-centred advocacy combine:

- Shaping the public opinion using the media
- Educating the public
- Lobbying decision-makers
- Bringing in the excluded voices
- Organising constituency groups
- Developing citizen leadership
- Raising political awareness
- Conducting research and analysis
- Building allies and coalitions

4) Policy-centred advocacy

Policy advocacy focuses exclusively on policy agendas and a specific policy goal. The advocates usually assume that policy change produces tangible change on the ground.

3.2.3. Social Action

People-centred and policy advocacy combined together are referred to as social action, which is a ‘sanitised’ form of an advocacy strategy. Social action encompasses what is termed rights-based advocacy building on the legitimacy of economic, social, cultural and political rights enshrined in national constitutions and international conventions and procedures. Rights are a basic ethical foundation for citizen-centred advocacy. Social action in general is about:

- collective rights
- collective entitlements
- defending existing rights (universal declaration of human rights: civil and political rights; economic, social and cultural rights; rights to self determination)
- demanding and claiming non-existent rights

Social action may lead to a social movement which is different from rebellion or revolution. While social movement is about peaceful action by powerless people against powerful opponents, rebellion is about changing the state using violence. Revolution, on the other hand, is about transforming society (values, attitudes, practices, etc.) to bring about a fundamental change in values, structures and systems of society using ideology, violence or both.
3.2.4. Advocacy and social activism

Social activism can be defined as attitudes, behaviour and actions that attempt to influence the social distribution of statuses, power and resources, i.e. to influence the social justice system. Social activists accordingly are people who act as the conscience and voice of many individuals within a society. While advocacy often involves risk-aversion, activism is based on risk-taking. It is generally said that advocacy is about doing things with ‘gloves on’ (i.e. risk-aversion) while activism is about doing things without gloves (i.e. risk-taking). However, activists can avert risk by working strategically to minimise it through what can be described as ‘quiet encroachment’. They need to think about what blocks the change they want to bring and to better understand power dimensions. This means that power analysis is a critical issue for any change and/or transformation, particularly in relation to conflict, through advocacy and social activism.

3.3. Power, advocacy and conflict

Power is an integral factor in conflict and those who are powerful should be aware of their own power, how they use it and how it affects others. Power can be defined as the degree of control of material, human, intellectual and financial resources exercised by different sections of society. The control of these resources is what gives individual and social power, which can become a source of social, economic and political tension. When power is abused, it leads to discrimination that could be direct or indirect. The abuse of power will inevitably lead to victimisation. Discrimination leads to the denial of rights and injustice. When people are denied rights they may develop a stance seeking to regain these rights and protect their interests which may be done in a violent way. If people are not critically aware (if they have either a magic or naïve level of awareness) and they are subjected to an ideology of superiority imposed on them by those who are powerful, they internalise this ideology and accept the situation as a fact of life, thus leading to further social exclusion. This process of power imbalance is what creates conflict.

Power is not found in a vacuum but has its winners and losers. So, to give someone power, someone else has to lose it. The CPA is a good example in this case. The Government of Sudan and the SPLM agreed a specific formula for distribution of wealth and power sharing taking the whole 100% between them and leaving no space for others, such as other opposition factions. If another peace agreement is to be reached, with all political parties involved, both the Government of Sudan and the SPLM have to surrender part of their shares.

However, power is not static; it is dynamic and relational rather than absolute. It is exercised in the social, economic and political relations between individuals and groups. Its different degrees are sustained and perpetuated through social divisions of gender, age, caste, class, ethnicity, race, education, etc. These social divisions can often be abused by powerful groups to exclude others, e.g. sexism (gender), ethnocentrism (ethnicity), classism (class), racism (race) and elitism (education).

3.3.1. Power analysis

Power analysis is a crucial factor in advocacy and conflict transformation. When undertaking power analysis, it is important to know the sources, types and faces/forms of power. This will enable us to know on what to focus and which actions/strategies we should adopt.
Sources of power: from where do people get power?

Sources of power are summarised in the word ‘HERCULE’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Hierarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Expertise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Relationships (networks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Control of environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>Use/utilisation of information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Legislation/legitimacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Experience (strategic)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Types/expressions or forms of power

There are four major types of power that can be distinguished, namely power over, power with, power to and power within.

1- Power over

To give someone a power (+) someone else must lost a power (−). In politics, those who control resources and decision-making have power over the rest of people. Power over has various negative implications for people, such as corruption, repression, discrimination, abuse, etc. To deal with this type of power we need to consider three other positive types/expressions of power (power to, power within and power with). These three expressions of power are collaborative and alternative ways of exercising the power to challenge the power over, i.e. they are solutions for the negative associations of the power over.

2- Power with

Power with has to do with finding common ground among different interests to transform conflict and promote equitable relations. It is based on mutual support and collaboration with others to seek change. And this is why power with is known as ‘the power of numbers’ because advocacy groups seek allies and build coalitions drawing on each others power. The current war in Iraq is an example of where the Americans chose to work in coalition with other supporting countries rather than fighting alone.

3- Power to

‘Power to’ refers to the potential of every individual to make a change, i.e. each individual has the power to make a difference. When it is based on mutual support, ‘power to’ opens up opportunities for joint action (i.e. power with).

4- Power within

This is the person’s sense of self-worth and self-knowledge and it includes one’s ability to recognise individual differences while respecting others. It is the power to resist and the capacity to imagine and have hope.
power to is combined with the power within, it is referred to as the agency for change. Both types of power are concerned with individuals themselves and they are what give hopes for actions, social change and transformation led by individuals.

**Faces/levels of power (over)**

To work on unequal distribution of power and transformation, one has to be aware of the levels through which the *power over* operates. If you work at only one level of power another layer may come into force and damage your efforts.

1- **Visible power**

This includes symbolic power in its definable and visible aspects, e.g. the formal rules, structures, authorities, institutions, and procedures of decision-making. The police, army, elections, political parties, the Presidential Palace, etc. are examples. Visible power is observable decision-making and it can discriminate against people in two ways: (i) policies and laws that are biased - they may seem neutral in theory but in practice they serve one group at the expense of others, and (ii) corrupt, closed non-participatory, unrepresentative and non-transparent decision-making structures and/or systems that do not equally involve the voices and/or interests of those they are intended to serve.

2- **Hidden power**

This is the level of power that works behind-the-scenes and it is labelled by activists as the ‘kitchen cabinets’. Although it is less obvious and more difficult to engage, hidden power is what really shapes decision-making through behind-the-scenes, political, economic, social and cultural forces. It is the power that sets the (political) agenda. In other words, certain powerful people/institutions maintain their influence by controlling who gets to the decision-making table and what gets on the agenda, therefore, excluding the less powerful groups, e.g. women and the poor. For example, excluded groups say that their issues (e.g. violence against women, discrimination, and rights violation) are both invisible to society at large and absent from the political agenda.

As a *power over*, hidden power could be challenged by creating broad-based strong and accountable constituencies for policy and institutional reforms to reduce systematic exclusion. Building strong and accountable civil society organisations enables them to mobilise their power with other groups (power in numbers) to get to the decision-making table.

3- **Invisible power**

This is the level of power that is manifested in terms of ideologies and informed by them. So, it renders competing interests and problems invisible, i.e. it is the power of ideology. This dimension of power not only keeps significant problems/issues from decision-making table and political agenda, but also from the minds and consciousness of the different players involved directly or indirectly in the problem/issue.

**3.4. Advocacy for conflict transformation**

The idea of conflict transformation raises the question of what is sustainable peace and whether it is reachable. Peace is not just the absence or stopping of conflict but the absence of structural inequalities in power and relationships between those involved in conflict. Referring to the progression of conflict (from latent to surface
and to open conflict), transformation is about changing the (i) structural inequalities (economic, social, political), (ii) unequal distribution of power, and (iii) un-peaceful relationships between groups in conflict.

According to the following chart, conflict transformation is an agent of change. But how does it work? If we adopt a social activism/advocacy approach, Figure (p59) can illustrate the transformation process and how an action could be taken and the change could be brought about. When conflict is latent (hidden at pre-violence stage) and people are not aware of the power imbalances and injustice affecting them, they need to raise their awareness about the unequal relationships and work to restore equality. When people are aware of their needs and interest, they raise their demands and take a public position through advocacy (whether people- or policy-centred). This legitimises the concern of the powerless groups, and involves some form of violent or peaceful confrontation, depending on the choice of the oppressed and powerful groups. If some level of recognition from both sides is secured, then negotiation can take place and transformation applies with the existence of a mediating party. The role of mediator will be to move the situation from violent into peaceful confrontation. If negotiations are fruitful, they will lead to restructuring of the relationships and power imbalances into a more peaceful situation and ultimately a sustainable peace is reached.

**Figure (p59)**
3.5. Tools for advocacy:

The following are the most common tools of advocacy:

− Lobbying
− Negotiation
− Networking (working in networks and coalitions)
− Campaigning (includes even e-mail signature campaigns)
− Media, information and communication
− Petitions (including press use)
− Demonstration, vigils and protests
− Discussions
− Research and information dissemination
− Vigils, e.g. sitting and hunger strike

In using these tools, one needs to notice the following:

− Every tool has a potential risk that needs to be weighted before using it
− Integrity and credibility of advocates are important and ignoring them might be costly
− You should have the mandate of whom you represent: always crosscheck with people
− Develop and nurture trust as it helps at time of crisis

3.5.1. LOBBYING:

Lobbying involves formal and informal meetings with power-wielders, with the aim to influence them to support an issue. There are certain lobbying techniques which can be followed:

*Before the lobby visit/meeting:*

− Identify the issue and be clear on it
− Be clear on what support you want and the interest it might create
− Develop an alternative solution (propose)
− Provide a verification of the problem (research, information)
− Learn something about the power-wielders (particularly invisible power)
− Prepare a brief on the problem, what you want done and your contacts
− Agree on roles before the visit
− Try to get a letter confirming your meeting and don’t miss it!

*During the lobby visit/meeting*

− Get the correct names/titles of people who you are visiting
− Recognise gatekeepers and personalise greeting as much as you can
− Be on time
− Be informal for a few seconds to ‘break the ice’ and reduce the barriers of power relations
− Thank the power-wielders for the appointment and introduce yourselves and the purpose of your visit in a clear and simple way showing what help you want from them
− Listen well to the issues raised in response to your request
− Avoid lengthy and unnecessary arguments – clarify issues, don’t argue
Do not interrupt – if the power wielder strays outside the topic, lead him/her gently back to your topic
Do not waste time and when you get the support, thank the power-wielder and leave. If you do not get the support, say that you will look for help elsewhere, and thank him/her and leave
When the power-wielders are unable to help, ask for suggestion on who you might contact for help
Remember to leave behind information (e.g. relevant documents, your contact details) the power-wielder

After the lobby visit

− Celebrate regardless of the outcomes
− Hold a debriefing session to assess your visit and decide on how to use the outcomes
− Write back and thank the power-wielder

3.5.2. NEGOTIATIONS:

When entering into negotiations, it is important to think about the different positions, interests, stakes, rules, processes and relationships.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positions:</th>
<th>The stand one has on an issue - the view, perception and value system</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interest:</td>
<td>The motivation behind being involved in the issue. Interests are motivated by one’s value system and freedom of choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stake:</td>
<td>Things which are most important to people and that they do not want to lose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rules:</td>
<td>Laws and regulations that govern and organise the processes of negotiations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processes:</td>
<td>The steps and activities involved through which the negotiations escalate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships:</td>
<td>These are the links between the parties involved in the negotiations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Skills of a good negotiator:

− Stable temperament – not easily annoyed or swayed by emotional appeals
− Of good integrity and reputation
− Able to think on his/her feet – notices sudden changes in the other parties’ body language or mood and can read between the lines

What one can do in the negotiation process – list of DOs:

− Do keep your stakes hidden, do not make them clear in the process
− Do have credible information to convince the other people that your argument is a strong one
− Do listen to the other person/party and identify points of weaknesses in their argument
− Do put forward your arguments against what the other party is saying but focusing less on challenging ‘facts’ and more on the ‘position’ or justifications the other party gives
− Do put your argument ‘side-by-side’ with the opponents by showing why your view will work and theirs not
− Do focus on the issue rather than personal issues with the other parties
− Do watch for non-verbal communication
− Do use emotions creatively and powerfully - facts alone may not win the case
− Do anticipate ‘dirty tricks’ from the opponent and be prepared to counter them
− Do give an incentive (perhaps some kind of compromise or by highlighting a benefit for that they may not have seen) that is hard to resist
− Do develop your alternative options

**What one should not do in negotiations – list of DON’ Ts**

− Don’t allow yourself be boxed into a corner – put opponents on their defence if possible

**Dirty tricks in negotiations:**

− **Stone-wall or deaf-ear:** a ‘take it or leave it’ stance by the opponent refusing to listen to your side of the story or claims
− **Smoke screen:** pretending to negotiate when the decision has already been taken
− **Sponsoring rivals:** sponsoring one’s rivals to do something and claim credibility – antagonisms
− **Naming and shaming:** making the issue personal - selecting individuals for blame
− **Threats of violence:** arresting and harassing people with the aim of creating fear and halting negotiations
− **Manufacturing consent:** we have agreed/decided, go and do it
− **Hiding information:** this trick illustrates itself
− **Delay tactics:** dividing the negotiations into pieces or getting bogged down in details
− **Divide and rule:** dividing up your negotiating team through various means causing internal conflict and mistrust
− **Bribery:** entering into this may weaken your position as you are doing something unofficial which is outside the rules of negotiation

**Countering dirty tricks**

− Identify the trick and name it
− In case of threat, expose it and ask for protection
− If you are pushed into a corner, find a way of getting a break in the negotiations – stop it
− Suddenly alter the pace of negotiation, when the other party seems exhausted
− Get and build support behind the scenes
− Use your strongest arguments such as having the law on your side to deal with their tricks
− Develop your **BATNA** (Best Alternative to Negotiate an Agreement)
3.5.3. NETWORKS AND COALITIONS

While networks are a loose grouping of organisations seeking a common goal on one or more issues, coalitions are a closely-knit group of organisations bound by a set of rules and norms around a specific project.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Networks</th>
<th>Coalitions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advantages</strong></td>
<td>- Spreading the risk</td>
<td>- internal conflict may take too long to resolve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Using others’ resources</td>
<td>- take too long to discuss process rather than issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- You can walk out of it at any time</td>
<td>- cannot go out of it once you have signed a memo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disadvantages</strong></td>
<td>- False legitimacy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structure</strong></td>
<td>Loos</td>
<td>Closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Motivation?</strong></td>
<td>Goal, issue</td>
<td>Rule, project</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5.4. MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION:

Communication is relaying a message from one person to another using media, whether popular, traditional or public mass media. In communication, we need a message, a medium to transmit the message and an audience to receive it.

Examples of audience: political decision-makers, politicians, opinion leaders, local leaders, religious leaders, institutions (local, national, international), partners

Examples of a medium: mouth-to-mouth (interpersonal communication), drama, puppetry, letters, telephone, faxes, drama, newspapers, radio, television, internet, poster, etc.

**Qualities of a good message**

- Must be suited and tailored to the audience
- Should build on what the audience already knows (familiar and relevant)
- Must be simple - avoid jargon
- Must state the problem, name who is responsible and provide a solution (what you want your audience to do)
- Be clear on what you want your audience to do
- Should be direct – avoid using ‘maybe’

**Message development**

- Use language and examples that are familiar to your audience
- Use statistics but don’t overdo it e.g. 6,000 is the total population, number of affected people is 2,000
- Use comparisons: 25 million is total expenditure but only 1 million is actually spent on education and another half million on health
− Be cautious when challenging strongly held cultural beliefs
− Develop your message according to the medium you are going to use
− Put a frame around the message – offering one interpretation
− Always check to ensure that you are using accurate, reliable and credible information. If you have doubts, do not use the information
− Carry out research to make sure your information is authentic – but do not delay communication for long periods because research findings are not yet in, look for an alternative.

**Message delivery:**

− Stick to your message – people may be more likely to accept information if it is repeated several times. Repeating the same information also prevents it from being distorted
− Choose an appropriate medium for your message – ask is it accessible, popular and affordable?
− Be cautious of cultural sensitivities – do not offend your audience!!
− Try to combine an emotive message with facts

### 3.5.5. CAMPAIGNING

A campaign is an advocacy project with a single goal (mission) organised around a specific issue (problem) over a definite period of time.

**Elements of a good campaign:**

− must be carefully planned
− must be relevant/salient to those it is intended to benefit
− must have a mission and time frame
− must have the support of those who matter to the campaign
− must be driven by a team of committed and motivated activists
− must have sufficient resources
− must clearly define its target group:
  − including both direct and indirect audiences
  − targets are the people, organisations, processes and policies to be changed, i.e. the elements that stand between you and your goals

**HOW TO PREPARE AN ADVOCACY CAMPAIGN – THE STEPS IN PLANNING**

**Step 1: Issue identification and analysis:**

Identify the issue that is most relevant – one which needs immediate attention or one that is an important entry point for other issues. You can identify the issue of a campaign by using the conflict analysis tools described earlier in the manual. In identifying and analysing an issue, you need to consider the following questions:

− Why is the issue important and relevant?
− What is the cause of the issue/problem?
− Who does the issue affect (women, men, girls, boys)
− How does it affect people differently (economic, social, political, environmental impact)
\textbf{Step 2: Statement of the mission}

What aspect of the problem will you change and with what result? Your mission is ultimately the desired change that you want to bring. Give a simple one sentence statement if possible.

\textbf{Step 3: Strategy formulation}

How you will achieve your mission (i.e. the desired change). When forming your strategy do an ‘ACT-ON’ analysis:

- Advantage of working on the issue using strategies
- Challenges you are likely to face
- Threats are risks you might face (who will oppose you?)
- Opportunities for achieving the desired change
- Next-steps if you achieve change what you want then what will you do?

\textit{How to develop a strategy through strategic visioning?}

There are many methods of developing a strategic vision. The following is the Inverted-eight Model.
Notes on Steps of the inverted-eight:

[1] The first step represents the stage of analysis, whose tools we explained earlier. By analysing the specific issue/problem of the campaign, it then becomes easy to identify the items included in this step, which are (HERO):

- **History**: represents the history of the problem and where it came from
- **Environment**: represents the factors that are forcing us to make the desired change through the campaign
- **Risks**: represents constraints that we might face during the campaign, which should be fully identified as much as possible
- **Opportunities**: represents a careful counting for the possibility of success of the campaign according to findings of the analysis we carried out

[2] The second step (PICI) is dependent on the analysis we carry out in step (1) through which we are able to identify the:

- **Problem** that should be specifically named and pinpointed in terms of history, causes and consequences
- **Inventory**: which is listing of all issues and elements obtained from the analysis
- **Crossroad**, which is the intersection point where all key issues and elements meet, i.e. it is the denominator and/or common factor among all issues/elements of the problem
- **Issue**, which is finally identified as what will constitute the ‘issue’ for the campaign; the issue that will make a great difference if it is addressed through the campaign

[3] The third step (VMOS) is a direct result of the previous steps wherein:

- **Vision**, which represents the long-term objective of the campaign, i.e. what would the campaign achieve in future time after it has been implemented. At this step the vision is formulated, but should be clear and short, e.g. one sentence
- **Mission**, which is the desired change and represents the message that the campaign is intended to convey, i.e. short-term change that is achieved immediately at the end of the campaign
- **Objectives**, which is what we are intending to do so as to help in achieving the mission of the campaign
- **Strategy**, which represents the best approaches/methods that we should follow in the implementation of the campaign activities (based on objectives) on the ground and ultimately achieve our mission

[4] The fourth step is called ‘Revise and get all on board’ (RAGOB): the outcome of the previous step must have provided us with a lot of information that we used to formulate our strategy. The objective of this step is to review and share the outcome with all of our stakeholders to ensure participation and reliability of our information. If there is any incorrect information or analysis, it should be rectified and approved by all as long as this represents the base capital for our campaign and, therefore, should be neat and reliable. Any wrong information represents a serious risk to the campaign and challenges its credibility, especially if it is discovered by the targets of the campaign who will exploit it to counter the campaign and influence its constituency. Also, participation means ownership as all members of the constituency will feel that the campaign is theirs and they will be ready to defend it and face any challenge that might affect it on the way. And this is one of the items of a successful campaign – ‘participation of all’ and ‘ownership by all’.
[5] The fifth step is called the ‘Bold Step’, which is the take-off step/action that when is taken, is then final. It is only taken when we are sure and confident of our analysis, planning and reference information obtained and revised in step 4 (RAGOB). It is, therefore, the critical moment of decision-making announcing the practical start of the campaign, i.e. the take-off whistle. It could take different forms that can be decided on by the campaign leaders depending what is appropriate in each situation, e.g. mobilising people, forming network, etc.

[6] When the bold step is taken, activities and implementation of the campaign follow immediately as a practical step to what is agreed upon. Implementation of activities is simply the translation of agreed objectives through a specified action plan so as to achieve the desired change. This step does not come out of a vacuum (i.e. ad hoc) but a normal product of previous steps in strategic planning of the campaign.

[7] The last step is ‘monitoring and evaluation’ of campaign implementation (activities, risks, opportunities, success, failures, etc) according to action plan and agreed strategies. So it is important to monitor and evaluate each activity/step immediately after it has been implemented so that we are able to rectify mistakes, assess performance, and put alternative plans for any emerging constraint/risk or for those identified at the stage of planning. The monitoring team might regularly need to meet after each activity has been implemented and take a look at necessary actions.

It is worth mentioning that these stages are overlapping and feed into each other. The last step of monitoring and evaluation feeds into the first stage of planning to check what has changed immediately (mission), what will be the long-term impact (vision), and what has not change; putting into consideration that the target desired change was specific.

Another technique is the Fish Bone Method of Planning:

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**Step 4: Action Plan:**

You have to prepare your action plan, identifying clearly the process, the strategies, activities and time frame. In preparing an action plan, you need to answer the questions:

- What will you do?
- Where?
- When?
- With whom?
Constituency building - How to build an advocacy constituency?

Core constituency (the inners) are those who have agreed to work on specific issue, spent time and have commitment to it. They are people who may not be directly affected but agree to work and are willing to spend time, energy and resources to bring the change. They may not benefit directly but have a level of commitment. They include those who plan and implement.

Constituency building is a crucial step in the process of planning of an advocacy campaign and it has no specific sequence in the process but overlaps and evolves across it. There are three categories of constituencies – primary, secondary, passive.

1) Primary constituency:

This includes those who are affected by the specific issue or problem, and stand to benefit directly if the issue is resolved and the change is achieved/brought. They are also called beneficiaries.

2) Secondary constituency:

This includes those who are not directly affected and those who may not benefit directly but are willing to support, e.g. donors, networks, etc.

3) Passive constituency:

This includes those who may be affected or not but cannot support unless you tell them how they can benefit or how they can help. You need to approach them on how they can benefit or help you. Passive constituency may be potentials if you work on them through mobilisation.

Process of constituency building

- Use personal contacts to reach them and use them to reach other constituencies, i.e. networking and mingling
- Join existing networks and contribute within them, or use them to build your own networks and contacts
- Form coalitions or networks and benefit from their contacts
- Get respected public figures to support you as it gives credibility to your campaign. But make sure they do not hijack your campaign
- Use public events to market your campaign
- Use popular media, e.g. theatres, songs, paintings.
- Use mass media – Radio, TV – to popularise your campaign. Remember that mass media is forced on you
- Use festivals – e.g. annual events to celebrate a specific issue
- Use participatory research to provide information and bring in others

Principles of constituency building:

- Participation – get all on board
- Communication – communicate to convince, convince to change, change to commit, and commit to convert to and for your mission
- Integrity – a shirt, however white it is, with a small spot makes it dirty.
HANDOUT 10:

Example 1: An advocacy campaign to families of victims of Gazira Aba “massacre”:

_Slogan:_
Rights cannot be lost if we demand them.

_The Problem:_
The injustice inflicted by the government upon the affected

_Background:_
In March 1970 the Government of Sudan, with the assistance of some of the Arab neighbouring countries, shelled Gazira Aba using all types of arms which resulted in the killing of more than a thousand persons, leaving a large number of injured and permanently disabled persons

_Mission:_
Formation of a pressure front to present those who committed the massacre’ to a fair international trial and treat the psychological, social and economic repercussions.

_Vision:_
To learn lessons from the massacre and take it as an example of one of the crimes against humanity so as to avoid repeating it somewhere else

_Activities:_
(1) Briefing sessions, conferences and symposiums to explain to others the dimensions of the massacre
(2) Petitions
(3) Press conferences
(4) Peaceful demonstrations to hand over memos to the concerned government authorities

_Constituency building:_
To build coalitions with the following bodies:
(1) Citizens of Gazira Aba and neighbouring towns
(2) Political parties and religious structures
(3) The Native Administration and civil society groupings
(4) Different mass media
(5) International agencies
(6) Rights-based institutions and organisations

_Risks:_
(1) Government interference to stop the campaign
(2) Resistance from within inside the local community
Example 2: Advocacy campaign against expired consumer goods:

Motto:
“Together towards a community free of food-transmitted diseases”

Background:
The year 2005 had seen the spread of expired goods in Wau markets. Due to adverse effects of these expired goods, the government issued a decree banning sales of these goods destroying them when technical investigations are positive.

Mission:
Community awareness raising of impacts of expired goods and how to avoid buying them

Vision:
A community free of diseases

Target:
All consumers (i.e. community)

Constituency:
Sultans; Media; Government and Community

Risks:
Resistance of the campaign from within the community (e.g. merchants and traders)

Solution:
Follow of formal channels and legal procedures

Approaches:
(1) Health education of the public (e.g. on how to note the details of the production and expiration dates)
(2) Lobbying of international organisations and civil society to build a united coalition

Activities:
(1) Orientation sessions in quarters;
(2) Press conference; and
(3) Memos to line authorities

Action plan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>where</th>
<th>when</th>
<th>Who</th>
<th>Target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orientation sessions</td>
<td>Residential areas</td>
<td>3-7.2.07</td>
<td>Campaign leaders</td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press conferences</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memos</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Line government authorities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example 3: An advocacy campaign for girls’ education:

**Motto:** “Education is a light”

**Background:**
Available statistics demonstrate that illiteracy is widespread among women and deteriorating girls’ education while no efforts exist to enhance their education. This is partly due to consequences of the long war, economic pressures, lack of education services (schools, boarding houses, etc), lack of clear policy, and discouraging local traditions, such as early marriage, devaluing of girls’ education.

**Mission:**
Community awareness-raising about the importance of girls’ education

**Vision:**
A community free of illiteracy

**Target:**
Youths; parents; community members; and line government authorities (structures, policies and practices)

**Constituency:**
Community activists; Department of girls’ education; Sultans; Women Affairs Advocacy Network (WAN); NGOs and UN agencies (UNICEF and UNIMIS)

**Opportunities:**
Solidarity and lobbying with members of networks and expected participation of the community in the activities of the campaign

**Risks:**
Lack of funding; and lack of means of transportation

**Implementing agency:**
Women Affairs Advocacy Network (WAN)

**Activities:**
(1) Interviewing the public; (2) Community forums; (2) Seminars; (3) Workshop; (5) Information dissemination through newsletter and posters
Action plan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Where</th>
<th>when</th>
<th>Who</th>
<th>Target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>Wau</td>
<td>1-14.1.07</td>
<td>WAN Comm. unit</td>
<td>Youths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forums</td>
<td>Kosti quarter</td>
<td>15-30.1.07</td>
<td>WAN Pub. Relations</td>
<td>Parents’ councils - PCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seminars</td>
<td>Peace Conf. Hall</td>
<td>12.02.07</td>
<td>WAN</td>
<td>Youths &amp; PCs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workshop</td>
<td>Balica Conf. Hall</td>
<td>1-6.3.07</td>
<td>WAN &amp; UNIMIS</td>
<td>Comm. leaders, youths, religious leaders</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 4: Advocacy campaign to address the farmers-herders conflict:

**Issue:**
Farmers-herders conflict since 1972 to date

**Mission:**
Transformation of conflict between herders and farmers

**Vision:**
Towards creation of a model farming and herding community that can be replicated somewhere else in Sudan

**Objectives:**
- Involvement of the two parties in the identification and demarcation of livestock routes
- Provision of water sources
- Making the state investment map sensitive to needs of both parties

**Activities:**
- Formation of a stock routes committee from both parties, with a clear plan of action
- Digging of water reservoirs in co-ordination with concerned authorities
- Review of the state investment map

**Strategies and action plan:**
- Contact with the leaders of the two parties and involve them in the campaign from the on-set
- Awareness raising of the two parties on the benefits of the campaign
- Co-ordination with the concerned authorities
Activities:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Who’s responsible</th>
<th>Target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Formation of committees</td>
<td>1.11.06</td>
<td>Damazine town</td>
<td>NGOs Network</td>
<td>Farmers’ &amp; herders’ unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Review of investment map</td>
<td>Dec 06</td>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture</td>
<td>Agricultural Bureau</td>
<td>Committees of farmers &amp; herders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Demarcation of stock routes</td>
<td>Jan 07</td>
<td>Western and eastern parts of the state</td>
<td>Farmers’ and herders’ committees</td>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Digging of water reservoirs</td>
<td>Mar 07</td>
<td>Western and eastern parts of the state</td>
<td>Ministry of Planning</td>
<td>In co-ordination with stakeholders</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 5: An Anti-AIDS Awareness Campaign:

The slogan:
AIDS concerns me, does it concern you?

Issue:
Spread of the AIDS epidemic in Red Sea State

Target groups:
All segments of society in Wihda Quarter in Port Sudan

Time frame:
August 5th to 9th 2006

Objectives:
1) Awareness raising
2) Reduction of incidence of the pandemic
3) Convincing people to do a voluntary blood test

The mission:
Awareness and counselling and collection and analysis of information about the disease in a conflict context

The strategy:
Filed activities (e.g. home visits) to raise awareness about the disease
Risks and challenges (expected):

1) Lack of understanding of the risks of the disease
2) People deny the fact that they are infected with the disease
3) Lack of co-operation on peoples’ side
4) Inappropriateness of timing (summer)

Opportunities for success:

1) Public awareness against the disease
2) Detection of positive cases
3) Reduction in the incidence of the disease

Next steps:

1) Monitoring and evaluation of information collected (analysis)
2) Use of media (popular and mass media)
3) Carrying out of research and handing it over to relevant authorities

Action plan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Where?</th>
<th>When?</th>
<th>Who?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An awareness campaign against AIDS pandemic: filed activities</td>
<td>Wihda Quarter in Port Sudan</td>
<td>5-9.08.06</td>
<td>State MOH, Abuhadia Society, Women Dev. Society, and Popular Committee in Wihda Quarter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 6: An advocacy campaign against renaming the Russeiris Dam in the Atlas:

Motto:

Russeiris is the origin and history

Background:

The Dam has been established since 1966 for hydropower and water storage on the Blue Nile River bank in Russeiris town. At that time, Damazine town has not yet been founded.

Problem:

Although the Dam has since establishment been named after the Russeiris town, in a recent Atlas issued by the Federal Ministry of Education the name has been changed to Damazine Dam. This change generated a situation of upset among citizens of Russeiris, which they consider as violation of historical facts and passing over of wrong messages to new generations
Mission:
Retaining the original name of the Dam – Russeiris

Vision:
Restoration of historical rights/facts in curricula and national records

Activities:
Inclusive conference;
Formation of technical committees; and
Writing up of memo

Strategies and action plan

− Revise and get all on board: contact with all citizens irrespective of their affiliations and involvement of native administration and informants from the state as well as those who believe in the issue from outside the state
− Submission of a memo through state government to Federal Ministers’ Cabinet to restore the old name and dispose off the new Atlas
− Provision of supporting documents/records to strengthen memo’s content

Action plan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Who’s responsible</th>
<th>Target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inclusive conference</td>
<td>5.12.06</td>
<td>Russeiris</td>
<td>Local activists</td>
<td>Local leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formation of technical committees</td>
<td>6.12.06</td>
<td>Russeiris</td>
<td>Conference participants</td>
<td>Invited key informants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing up of memo</td>
<td>7.12.06</td>
<td>Govt HQs</td>
<td>Conference delegates</td>
<td>Federal Minst. Cabinet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 7: An advocacy campaign by Wad Nur El-Dayim Village Association to eradicate Miskeet trees, White Nile State

Slogan:
Wad Nur El-Dayim Village free of Miskeet trees

Duration:
6 days
Problem:
The spread of Miskeet trees which is affecting the environment, agriculture, soil fertility and other tree varieties

Issue:
Eradication of Miskeet trees

Vision:
Improvement of environmental condition in the village

Mission
Retention of land fertility

Objectives:
(1) to convince the opposing citizens with the adverse effects of the tree
(2) to find alternatives for those who are depending on the tree for their survival

Strategies for work:
(1) Contact with religious leaders, native administration, other traditional leaders, school teachers and students, youth associations, civil society organisations, and the management of horticulture
(2) Provision of cutting machines and media tools
(3) Use of information and evidence that support the adverse impacts of the tree together with the formal decisions issued by the concerned authorities

Action plan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Responsible persons &amp; beneficiaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campaign 1 &amp; associated programme</td>
<td>Northern neighbourhood</td>
<td>Day 1&amp;2</td>
<td>Association and settlers of the neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign 2 &amp; associated programme</td>
<td>Central neighbourhood</td>
<td>Day 3&amp;4</td>
<td>Association and settlers of the neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign 3 &amp; associated programme</td>
<td>Southern neighbourhood</td>
<td>Day 5&amp;6</td>
<td>Association and settlers of the neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 8: Advocacy campaign to move animals outside Wau town:

Motto: Swa-swa (together) towards a healthy/clean environment

Duration: 15-18 February 2007
Background:

The problem of animals inside Wau town dates back to times of war, when herders felt insecure and so they were asked to bring animals inside Wau. But this has been creating conflicts between herders and residents of Wau town, as well as some health problems resulting from the smoke of burning animal dung. After the CPA, herders have again been asked to move their animals outside the town but some of them have been resisting this government decision.

Mission: To create a healthy environment in the town

Vision: A clean and beautiful town

Target: Herders and animal owners

Constituency: Wau Commissioner, farmers and civil society members

Strategies:

(1) Issuing a decree through the Commissioner

(2) Finding solutions to problems (negative forces) raised by herders and owners, e.g.:

- provision of safe pastures for animals
- establishment of milk factories (small-scale)
- encouraging herders to involve in additional work (diversification of income sources)

Risks: Herders, livestock owners and influential persons refuse the decision by the commissioner

Solution:

Formation of a network in partnership between government, community, farmers and herders; this will be a forum where a common understanding is made and challenges solved

Evaluation: A close monitoring of the campaign implementation while keeping continuous communication and use of these evaluation indicators:

- Number of participants in campaign activities
- Number of owners and herders who responded to campaign
- Number of animals moved outside
- Disappearance of animals from streets/roads of Wau town (participants’ observation)
Action plan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>where</th>
<th>when</th>
<th>Who</th>
<th>Target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home visits</td>
<td>Wau quarters</td>
<td>Day 1</td>
<td>Commissioner, sultans, community representatives</td>
<td>Residents in quarters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness</td>
<td>Urban, rural</td>
<td>Continuous</td>
<td>Radio, Tv, specialists</td>
<td>Whole community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual meetings</td>
<td>Homes</td>
<td>Day 2</td>
<td>Sultans, volunteers</td>
<td>Herders and owners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Network formation</td>
<td>Wau Theatre</td>
<td>Day 3</td>
<td>Community, government</td>
<td>Community &amp; government</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example 9: An Advocacy Campaign for Hoshiri Affected Settlers:

Background:

Hoshiri is an area where the government is establishing a national port on the Red Sea cost. The hypothetical campaign is intending to help the affected settlers to claim their rights, such as compensations. The port has been renowned as Nimairi’s port since 1983.

Context:

The agro-pastoralist community but transhumant with traditional rain-fed agricultural activities.

Project name:

Claim Hoshiri settlers’ rights from the government.

Vision:

A sustainable development and tourism in the area that create stability using the strategic and security location of the area.

Objective:

Claiming citizens’ rights and transforming transhumant communities into permanent settlers.

Specific issues:

Financial compensations and development of the area.

Time frame:

August 20th 2006 to August 20th 2007.

Risks:

1) Insecurity chaos.
2) Over enthusiasm of local peoples and advocates
3) Lack of commitment to campaign
4) Pessimism of campaigners
5) Dependency

**Expected challenges:**

1) Lack of finance
2) Lack of a common vision
3) Lack of commitment to meet agreed compensation by concerned authorities
4) Difficulties with communication
5) Difficulties with implementation
6) Negligence of campaign outcomes

**Action plan:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What?</th>
<th>Where?</th>
<th>When?</th>
<th>Beneficiaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Formation of a committee from lead figures with influential status in society</td>
<td>Port Sudan town</td>
<td>20/08/06</td>
<td>Direct affected &amp; indirect beneficiaries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Example 10: Advocacy campaign to Maban displaced in the Eastern Neighbourhood:**

**Motto:**

“*Together towards religious tolerance and co-existence*”

**Problem:**

In 1993, a group of Maban tribe was displaced and settled in Russeiris town in the Eastern Neighbourhood whose residents considered the new-comers as a security hazard and a beginning for the practice of new and unacceptable practices. As a result, the residents burnt the church that was built in the displaced camp, which led to the eruption of a conflict between the two sides.

**Mission:**

Transformation of the conflict (causes and consequences) between the Maban displaced and Eastern Neighbourhood settles through a committee from influential and acceptable persons to both sides

**Vision:**

Ensure that the Maban are citizens who have rights and responsibilities

**Activities:**

- Formation of a mediation committee
− Orientation sessions
− Media programmes in Arabic and local dialect of Maban

**Strategies & constituency building:**

− Formation of committees from enlighten persons from town settlers, political and religious elites, local and international NGOs, media, civil society and rights organisations
− Contacts with U’mdas (Mayors), Native Administrators and religious leaders and authorities

**Risks:**

Opposition to the campaign from hardliner and phonetic persons in the town

**Tactics:**

− Seek formal procedures and legal channels
− Involvement of legislative body, e.g. State and Locality Legislative Councils

**Example 11: An advocacy campaign for the dismissed students from Mahdi University:**

**Problem:**

The problem dates back to the conflict between the administration and students; resulting in dismissal of some of them. Students refused the decision and escalated the conflict as a means to retain their rights.

**Mission:**

Towards a stable university environment free of students’ violence

**Vision:**

A stable university that preserves student rights and brings up ideal students

**Motto:**

A wise student and a rational university administration

**Affected:**

Students, community and university administration

**Beneficiaries:**

Students, community and university administration

**Risks & tactics to mitigate**

(i) Police/security authorities – should be approached delicately; (ii) lack of support from some students to their dismissed fellows – should be enlightened about the problem and value of their support; (iii) administration refuses to retain the dismissed students – an appeal should be prepared
Opportunities

There is a wide range of opportunities for the success of the campaign

Strategies & action plan:

(1) Collection and analysis of the information about the nature and the process of conflict;
(2) Formation of a mediation team from some respected figures from the civil society that has direct relationships with the conflict parties;
(3) A process of direct mediation between the conflict parties separately;
(4) close monitoring and review of all steps
(5) Involvement of all stakeholders in a participatory way;
(6) Regular debriefing sessions with students on what was agreed with the administration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Who</th>
<th>Target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mediation</td>
<td>Gazira Aba</td>
<td>12/10/03</td>
<td>Mahi’s supporters foundation, sheikhs and traditional leaders</td>
<td>University administration and dismissed students</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Annex

An example of traditional mechanism for addressing conflict in Sudan:

The advantages of the traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution and reconciliation between conflicting parties are by far greater than their disadvantages. This is because these mechanisms are built on consensual agreement of the conflicting parties, which ensures their sustainability. To the extent that these mechanisms emanate from the beliefs and traditions of communities, they are accepted, shared and respected by community member. Below is one example of a viable mechanism from the Red Sea.

1. The Beja traditional conflict resolution mechanism

In the event of any conflict among the Beja, the resolution proceeds through main interlinked stages and/or steps, each of which is a preparatory (and planning) for the next one. All these stages are executed or handled by mediators (known in the Beja dialect as Djiw-ar). The mediators are recognised and qualified persons and are drawn from the different tribes. Conflict resolution among the Beja is a responsibility of those who are not party to it. The cost of mediators is covered by all tribes who are not involved in the conflict. The conflict party that refuses reconciliation is subjected to economic and social boycotting through a recognised and agreed penalty system.

The process of conflict resolution among the Beja is not documented but is found in their oral history and passes from one generation to another. The four stages of resolution are:

First stage – the Galad

This is the stage of stopping hostilities, i.e. a typical ‘ceasefire’, through a convention (Galad) prepared by the mediators and endorsed by the conflict parties. Any party who violates the galad is considered as a betrayer and dishonest, and is unacceptable by the community. The galad is limited to a specific period of time according to the mediators’ decision. At this stage, the mediators talk to each party separately and it is considered as a test for the mediators and the extent of their acceptance by the conflict parties. If any mediator is found unacceptable at this stage, he will be removed from the mediating group (the Djiw-ar). The mediation meetings are chaired by the eldest member the Djiw-ar who has knowledge and expertise in mediation and traditions of the society. Any person who wants to speak during these meetings will be given enough time and listened to by others irrespective of the content of his speech or opinion. Given the Muslim nature of the Beja, speakers normally start with prayers in the name of the Prophet Mohamed (pbuh).

The rational behind the galad is to contain conflict in a tight circle and avoid its further spread, as well as calming down the conflict so that the involved parties has an opportunity to think judiciously and plan for the next step.

Second stage – the Kila’t

It is the most difficult and long stage in the process. This stage is a detailed and critical analysis of conflict in terms of the problem itself, the causes and consequences. A roadmap for the best resolution is also prepared at this stage. Negotiation with conflict party continues either in form of group or individual discussion.
The main purpose behind this stage is to identify the guilty/wrong party and convince it to pay the Kila’t, which is a symbolic payment (cash or in-kind) and is considered as admittance of guilt and acceptance of the role in the conflict, as well as accepting the initiative of the mediators.

The stage of the Kila’t is the stage at which one party is pronounced guilty. The guilty party is prepared psychologically to accept the reality and take responsibility. This stage mostly uses the mediators who have greater experience. After this, joint negotiation meetings are postponed many times (wagab) and held with each party separately.

After achieving results at this and the mediators have received the Kila’t money from the accused party, the money will be handed-over to the innocent party. The implicit message of the Kila’t to the innocent party is that the accused party is willing to apologise and take responsibility. Then, a specific time for a joint meeting for the two parties is determined.

**Third stage – Ajart yei hamad**

This is the stage of blames and reconciliation. The first two stages are for removal of constrains, icebreaking for psychological and financial barriers. The stage of reconciliation (Ajart yei hamad) is a stage of blames and transparency between the conflict parties directly with the presence of mediators. Each party announces its spokesperson and identifies what it needs from the other party. The role of mediators is reduced to facilitation of dialogue between the conflict parties, narrowing the differences in opinions and assessment of the situation.

In the end, the losses are evaluated for each party. The difference between the agreed real value of loss and the prepaid kila’t is determined so that it is completed. The difference in loss is mostly left as a debt or an asset for the future as a sort of social security. The forgiveness and apologies of each party to the other are then publicly announced to bring a general reconciliation and resolution to the conflict.

**Fourth stage – the Shari’a**

It is a stage which most conflicts do not reach. It takes place either when the mediation does not succeed, mediators fail to reach a common ground between the conflict parties, or when one party opts to use Shari’a laws. In these cases, a religious judge (known as muftii) is identified to resolve the conflict, or each party identifies its judge in addition to the mediators’ judge. The consensus of the three judges or at least two of them is considered as obligatory for all parties. This process at this stage has some problems. First, the final judgement is not obligatory for the supreme judiciary authorities and could most likely be cancelled at the first appeal. Second, it belittles the sacrosanct nature of the oath because of the repeated cancellation and lacks endorsement and/or certification from the supreme judiciary authorities.

**The required key qualifications and skills of a Beja mediator**

- The wisdom, optimism/determination and willingness to resolve conflict – should not be despairing
- Be very patient and relatively rich
- Be good listener allowing all parties to voice out their opinions freely
- Has a sense of volunteerism (money, time and effort)
- Trustfulness and common acceptance by all parties
- Has experience and enough knowledge of the social and cultural context/background of the conflict parties
- Be fair and absolutely neutral
- Has high negotiation skills
- Frankness, clarity of objective, simplicity of language/communication, honesty and commitment to objective
- Able to maintain continuity of dialogue
- Has a considerable skills in planning, organising and communication skills
- Has most of the criteria of good moralities

The status quo of the Beja mechanism

This is a comparative analysis of the past and present status of the traditional reconciliation mechanism among the Beja.

- The mechanism lacks the adoption and recognition by the government concerned authorities as they view it as racism/ethnocentrism and is not a national Sudanese culture
- Dissolution of the Native Administration system and lack of formal acknowledgment of its role and utilisation of its accumulated experience despite the independence and acceptance of its leaders to their communities
- Weak economic infrastructure of local communities led to lack of facilities (transportation means, food, cloths and cash) for mediators to play their role. This is because a mediator is respectable and needs a special status and appearance
- Displacement and migration of community members to the urban centres have influenced their traditional culture and value system
- Migration of the expertise of the mechanism (mediators)
- Absence of an organising body of the mechanism
- Absence of the role of civil society organisations
- Emergence of transitional leaders, which marginalises the role of traditional leaders
- Lack of research and studies of the mechanism
- Descendents are not inheriting the mechanism from their fathers and/or ancestors and some of them view it as primitive and backward
- Lack of training activities and training expertise
- Declining of the sense of volunteerism because of the deteriorating living conditions. The mechanism is no longer a priority compared to provision of food for family
- Awareness of the conflict parties that this mechanism is not obligatory for them
- Politicisation of the mechanism.