THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

THE CASE STUDY OF THE AFRICAN UNION MISSION IN BURUNDI.

BY

IRAMBONA ORNELLA

2015/AUG/MIRD/M218644/WKD

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTERS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY OF

NKUMBA UNIVERSITY

OCTOBER, 2018

DECLARATION

I **IRAMBONA ORNELLA,** declare that the work presented in this dissertation is my own original work, and it has never been presented to any University or Institution for the award of any academic qualification.

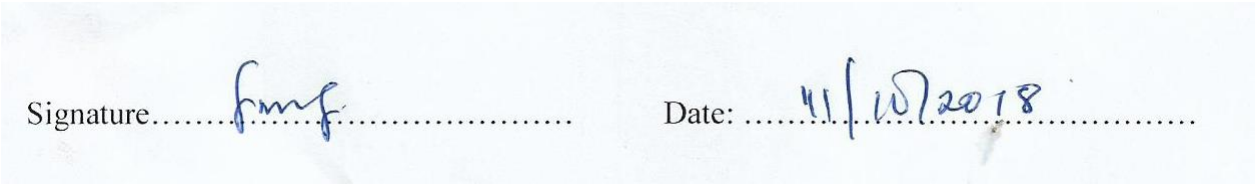
Signature: ..... Date: ...11.1.10.1.2018.....

IRAMBONA ORNELLA

2015/AUG/MIRD/M218644/WKD

APPROVAL

This research dissertation titled "The Effectiveness of International Organizations in Conflict Management: the case study of African Union Mission in Burundi" has been produced under my supervision and has been approved.



Mr. SSEBUUMA BEN KAKOOZA

(SUPERVISOR)

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Almighty God the creator who has been my strength, trust and hope throughout this course, my parents, my husband and well-wishers who have laid for me an academic foundation that has led me to this level and finally to all my friends for their motivation and developmental ideas.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like above all to thank my heavenly father God Almighty for enabling me go through the entire master's program successfully.

Let me also take this opportunity to thank my Parents who brought me into this life and looked after me relentlessly and with ceaseless efforts. There is no other way I can pay you back other than thanking you through this book.

I am also grateful to my supervisor Mr. Ssebuuma Ben Kakooza for the guidance and mastery supervision of this thesis, and for being kind to me while guiding me academically and intellectually.

Befitting also is that I thank the lecturers of Nkumba University, School of Social sciences for their contribution in making me know more about international relations and diplomacy.

Lastly, I wish to humbly acknowledge with sincere gratitude my friends for the advice and guidance during the writing of this thesis most especially for the support in encouraging me to work hard towards the success of this project.

May the Almighty God bless you abundantly.

TABLE OF CONTENT

DECLARATION i
APPROVAL ii
DEDICATION iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT iv
TABLE OF CONTENT v
LIST OF FIGURES ix
ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS x
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS xii
ABSTRACT xiv
CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION 1
1.0 Introduction 1
1.1 Background to the study 1
1.1.1 Historical background 1
1.1.2 Conceptual background 3
1.1.3 Contextual background 5
1.2 Problem statement 7
1.3 Purpose of the study 8
1.4 Study objectives 8
1.5 Research questions 8
1.6 Justification of the Study 9
1.7 Significance of the study 9
1.8 Scope of the study 10
1.8.1 Content scope 10

1.8.2 Geographical scope 11
1.8.3 Theoretical scope 11
1.8.4 Time scope 11
1.9. Conceptual Framework 12
1.10 Theoretical framework 13
1.11 Arrangement of the Dissertation 14
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW 15
2.0 Introduction 15
2.1 Definition of Conflicts 15
2.1.1The Conflict Cycle 17
2.2 Theories of Conflict Management 20
2.2.1 Ripeness Theory 20
2.2.2 Readiness Theory 21
2.2.3 Conflict Transformation Theory by Spencer and Spencer (1995) 22
2.3 The Methods used by International Organizations to promote Conflict Management 23
2.4 The challenges faced by International Organizations in Conflicts management 25
Figure 2: Challenges to conflict and human rights 26
2.5 The Strategies to address the challenges in conflict management 30
2.6.1 Operational Prevention 31
2.6.2 Early warning 32
2.7 Conclusion 35
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 37
3.0 Introduction 37

3.1 Research design 37

3.2 Study approach 37

3.3 Study area and population 38

3.4 Sample size 38

3.5 Sampling techniques and procedures 40

3.6 Data collection methods 40

3.6.1. In depth Interviews 41

3.6.1.2 Observation 41

3.7 Data presentation and analysis 42

3.7.1 Data analysis 42

3.7.2 Data collection and processing 42

3.8 Data Quality Control 43

3.8.1 Validity 43

3.8.2 Reliability 43

3.9 Ethical Considerations 44

3.10 Limitations and delimitations of the study 44

3.11. Conclusion 45

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS 46

4.0 Introduction 46

4.1. The nature of tasks you do to promote peace, security and stability in Burundi 46

4.3. The methods used by African Union Mission to Burundi to promote conflict management 50

How effective the African Union methods were? 51

4.7 The Major Challenges faced by African Union Mission in Burundi. 54

4.9 The Strategies to address major challenges faced by African Union 56

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 63

5.0 Introduction 63

5.1 Discussion of the findings 63

5.1.1 The methods used by AU Mission to promote conflict management in 63

5.1.2 The challenges faced AU Mission in conflicts management in Burundi 66

5.1.3 The strategies to address the challenges in conflict management 67

5.2 Summary of findings 68

5.2.1 The methods used by AU Mission to promote conflict management in Burundi 68

5.2.2 The challenges facing AU Mission in their attempt to resolve conflicts in Burundi 69

5.2.3 The strategies which have been explored to address the above challenges 70

5.3 Conclusions 71

5.4 Recommendations 73

5.5 Areas for further study 75

REFERENCES 76

APPENDIX 1 82

Interview Guide for the staff of African Union Mission to Burundi 83

APPENDIX 2 84

Interview Guide for the selected Political Leaders in Burundi 84

APPENDIX 3 85

MAP OF BURUNDI 85

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework 8

Figure 2: Challenges to conflict and human rights .....**Error! Bookmark not defined.**6

Figure 3: Determining sample size from a given population 26

ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

AUMB : African Union Mission in Burundi

AI : Amnesty International

AU : African Union

CAR : Central African Republic

ACHPR : The African Commission on Human and People's Rights

APSA : The African Peace and Security Architecture

ASFPF : Africa Standby Force and the Peace Fund.

AUC : The African Union Commission

CEWS : Continental Early Warning System

CNARED : Conseil National pour le respect de l'Accord d'Arusha pour la Paix et la Réconciliation au Burundi et de l'Etat de droit

CNDD-FDD : National Council for the Defence of Democracy Forces for the Defence of Democracy

CPEWD : Conflict Prevention and Early Warning Division

DRC : Democratic Republic of Congo

EAC : East African Community

EASF : Eastern Africa Standby Force

ESDP : Security and Defence Policy

EU : European Union

EWS : Early Warning System

FRODEBU	: Front for Democracy in Burundi
GATT	: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
HSRP	: Human Security Report Project
ICR	: International Colloquium Report
ILC	: International Law Commission
MAPROBU	: Mission Africaine de Prévention et de Protection au Burundi
MoU	: Memorandum of understanding.
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGOs	: Non-Governmental Organisations
OAU	: Organisation of African Unity
PALIPEHUTU	: National Forces of Liberations
PDC	:Preventing Deadly Conflict
PSC	: Peace and Security Council
PSCD	: Peace and Security Department
RCMs	: Regional Coordinating Mechanisms
RECs	: Regional Economic Communities
UN	: United Nations
UNITAF	: UN Security Council authorized a US-led unified Task Force
UNOSOM	: UN operation in Somalia
WB	: World Bank

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Effectiveness: Effectiveness is the capability of producing a desired result or the ability to produce desired output. When something is deemed effective, it means it has an intended or expected outcome, or produces a deep, vivid impression. In conflict it is the practice of recognizing and dealing with disputes in a rational, balanced and effective way Peter (2006: 64).

International Organization: According to Hanson (2009: 63), an international organization is an institution drawing membership from at least three states, having activities in several states, and whose members are held together by a formal agreement. Following the International Law Commission, an international organization is seen as an organization established by a treaty or instrument governed by international law and possessing its own international legal personality.

Africa Union: The African Union (AU) is a political and administrative organization, founded in 2002. It consists of 54 countries in Africa with its principal administrative capital located in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The AU has several objectives, the primary of these is to promote and encourage unity among African countries and citizens. In addition, this organization works to retain the independence of its members, to promote peace and security, to protect human rights, and to advance sustainable development economically and socially.

Burundi: Burundi is a small, landlocked country (27,830 km²), with a population of about 10 million, comprising approximately 85 per cent Hutu, 14 per cent Tutsi and 1 per cent Twa, gained its independence in 1962 from Belgium. The tense relations among these groups, especially between Hutu and Tutsi, have plunged Burundi into a cycle of conflicts. The Burundian conflict is rooted in the unequal distribution of state power and socio-economic

benefits along ethnic fault-lines. The country's major institutions such as the military and judiciary are privatised and controlled by a small section of the country's population.

Conflict: Amoo (1992: 30) asserts that conflict can be defined as a purposeful struggle between actors in an interactive environment with the aim of controlling, neutralising, deflating or removing opponents in order to gain access to power, scarce resources and other values. In this sense, conflict is a net result of incompatibility of goals and actions between actors. This understanding of notion of conflict is upheld by other scholars.

Conflict Management: According to Rahim (2002, 208), conflict management is the process of limiting the negative aspects of conflict while increasing the positive aspects of conflict. The aim of conflict management is to enhance learning and group outcomes, including effectiveness or performance in organizational setting

ABSTRACT

The study was about the Effectiveness of International Organizations in Conflict Management: the case study of African Union Mission in Burundi. The study was guided by the following study objectives; to establish the methods used by AU Mission to promote conflict management in Burundi; to identify the challenges faced by AU Mission in conflicts management in Burundi and to explore the strategies to address the challenges in conflict management.

The study used a sample of 43 key respondents because it was hard to get many in such a politically volatile region/ state, but they provided valuable data where it was discovered that the current conflict which is no longer news in the country and beyond stems from the fact that the incumbent president-Pierre Nkurunziza has abrogated the 2000 Arusha accord and the Constitutional Provisions which sanctioned the term limit to not more than two terms. Therefore the current impasse seems to be beyond the capacity of Burundi and requires the intervention of the African Union. The findings revealed that the government of Burundi is still adamant for peace thus she continues to look on as violations of human rights continue in this destructive conflict. There is no word to lose, the conflict in Burundi is a manifestation that local and international conflict bleeds war if not mitigated, after experiencing its devastating effects in recent history, countries such as Burundi are at the Centre stage of conflict management anresolution mechanisms created by international organizations and institutions to solve the conflict in the country in peaceful ways through a series of international negotiation/mediation efforts from third parties which has become hard because the government is less willing to accept to lose part of its pie in the process.

The study recommended that regional organizations such the East African Community must pay adequate attention to longer-term inclusive processes. There is need for continued engagement by the international and regional community, and key member states to adhere to and expand on political settlements, local actors such as civil society, women and youth groups need to be engaged alongside political and government actors, to achieve progress on signed agreements. Institutions such as the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission, agreed upon in the Arusha Agreement for Burundi, become a useful and timely tool for the aims originally envisaged, there is a need for longer-term sustained engagements to ensure the follow-through of agreements reached, from the international and interstate level down to local communities and regional organizations are ideally placed to play a key 'conveyer belt' role in such processes, linking and ensuring complementarity between local, national, regional and international levels. This role needs further bolstering by strengthening, expanding and resourcing instruments at their disposal, if regional organizations are to move beyond merely promising frameworks that deliver little.

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The study assessed the effectiveness of international organizations in conflict management focusing on the African Union Mission in Burundi. This chapter addresses the background information, problem statement, purpose of the study, study objectives, research questions, and significance of the study as well as arrangement of the research study.

1.1 Background to the study

The background of the study addresses the historical, theoretical, conceptual and contextual background of the study.

1.1.1 Historical background

The world remains beset with international, intra-state, civil and communal conflict that is sometimes violent and often structural. International organizations have increasingly become important within the areas of peace and security. Today international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU) have developed an increasing arsenal of instruments that is political, military, economic and civilian to act within these areas, and their role is only becoming bigger Williams (2011: 149).This development, which began in the 1990s, should be seen in light of the sharp increase in international efforts and interests in confining and ending conflicts on the negotiating table rather than on the battlefield. Many of these negotiated settlements are being facilitated by international organizations.

Conflict is an inevitable part of life and it has recurrent decimal in every political system. As a social problem, it is as old as man and cuts across continents, regions and nations. Conflict arises in societies as a result of rival opinions, divergent wants, competing needs and opposing interests Ndiho (2010: 36). For the past 25 years or so the picture portrayed by the tourist leaflets dating from colonial times on Burundi's beautiful weather and landscape as well as the legendary hospitality of its people have been shattered by ethnic conflict which some "scientific" media and writings take pleasures in presenting over and over again as the scars of ancestral ethnic rivalry.

Burundi has experienced repeated clashes between Hutu and Tutsi groups. Despite the fact that the country is made up of an 85 per cent Hutu majority, the Tutsi minority of around 15 per cent enjoyed disproportionate levels of power following the country's independence in 1962 (Svensson, 2008: 24).

The most serious constitutional crisis in the history of contemporary Burundi took place on 24 October 1993 when a group of military officers assassinated Melchior Ndadaye who was a newly and democratically elected president in June of the same year, together with his close collaborators. This stupid act took place three months after power had been monopolized by the Front for democracy in Burundi in (FRODEBU) and tension erupted Svensson (2008: 54). The assassination of President Ndadaye was followed on the one hand by the genocide of a Tutsi community and the Hutus in the opposition in several provinces of the country and on the other hand by a massive flight of Hutus fearing for their lives following the acts they had just committed and reprisals from the army.

In 1996 the first peace negotiations took place, but it was not until 28 August 2000 that the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement 2000 was signed. The agreement was, however, not

completely comprehensive as some of the warring factions of the PALIPEHUTU and CNDD did not sign it. Instead, different ceasefire agreements were signed between the government and the remaining warring parties and it was not until 2006 that all rebel factions had sign an agreement with the government Boshoff and Rautenbach (2010: 79). The party in power since 2005, the National Council for the Defence of Democracy Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDDFDD), won elections unopposed in 2010. This was a major setback for the consolidation of democratic institutions and processes and enabled the ruling party and its president, Pierre Nkurunziza, to run the country unilaterally for five years.

The government of Burundi now faces an internal and external legitimacy problem since President Pierre Nkurunziza decided to stand for a third term in May 2015. Nkurunziza's political opponents and civil society immediately contested the third term, seeing it as a direct violation of the 2000 Arusha Agreement and the Burundian constitution. Since the elections, killings are reported on a daily basis mainly in the capital city, but also in the countryside (BBC NEWS 2015). Hundreds of opposition politicians, civil society activists and journalists have left for exile, 240,000 Burundians now live as refugees in neighboring countries which has also created a situation that now vexes the African Union (AU) and its efforts to reach a resolution.

1.1.2 Conceptual background

The presence of international organizations within the spheres of peace and security stems to a large extent from the experiences of the great powers in the twentieth century. The frequent meetings, conferences and cooperation during the Second World War had a profound impact on the formation of international organizations in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when the foundation of international organizations such as the UN, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

(NATO), the predecessors of the EU, the Bretton Woods system and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) were laid down (Hanson, 2009: 98). The magnitude of war in is evident in the fact that, in the last decade, the attempt to deal with armed conflicts on the has made up about two-thirds of the United Nations Security Council's activities and has involved nearly three quarters of its active peacekeepers International and regional organizations have often taken the lead in attempting to resolve these conflicts.

According to Human Security Report Project (2008: 22), ever since the founding of the African Union (AU), there has been a significant gap between its declarations of intent and its actual activities and International Organizations: Their Role in Conflict Management accomplishments, since Africa is one of the most conflict-ridden regions of the world, with many African states having little or no control over their own territories. It can therefore be seen as somewhat bizarre that something like the AU exists at all. Amongst the key objectives of the African Union is to 'promote peace, security and stability on the continent.

Svensson (2008: 57) defines conflict management as the practice of recognizing and dealing with disputes in a rational, balanced and effective way. Conflict management implemented within a business environment usually involves effective communication, problem resolving abilities and good negotiating skills to restore the focus to the company's overall goals. Conflict management tends to focus more on mitigating or controlling the destructive consequences that emanates from a given conflict than on finding solution to the underlying issues causing the conflict. It typically involves the use of military force for deterrence or peacekeeping.

Conflict resolution is a more comprehensive approach based on mutual problem sharing between the conflicting parties. Deep rooted causes of conflict are addressed so that the situation is no

longer violent, hostile and exploitative. Conflict resolution elicits win-win solution and does not use coercion (Sandole &Van de Merwe, 1993: 107).

Conflict management and resolution offer a more viable outcome to conflict, because they convert the conflict into a shared problem, setting up a process in which both sides participate equally in finding solutions which are acceptable to both and which, therefore, are selfsustaining. Those who advance the management approach argue rather that given the lack of a community of interest, the most that can be hoped for is the suppression or perhaps the elimination of overt violence.

1.1.3 Contextual background

The conflict resolution community seems to pursue conflict resolution efforts in Burundi from a variety of purposes and interests and with policies that are often replete with ambiguities and contradictions. This situation may be the reason why many Burundian conflicts may be silenced but remain largely unresolved. Although Burundian conflicts involve the activities of seasoned peacemakers using the best of personal skills and recently developed knowledge about ways of managing and resolving conflicts, international efforts at conflict management have not been particularly effective or efficient in overcoming the disasters that have brought them to the continent. The critical question then is how we understand the problem of conflict resolution and management in Burundi when the actors, mainly external to Burundi, propagate the idea of peace and conflict resolution corresponding mainly to their own interests and view of Africa and the world.

The conflict in Burundi stems primarily from crises of national governance and from the failure of governmental institutions to mediate conflict. It argues that this factor must be taken into

consideration in the attempts to address conflicts because the roots of many post-colonial conflicts in Africa, such as the recent case of Burundi, remain buried in Africa's past and, specifically, in the colonization and de-colonization processes.

In a conflict situation the two parties are unable to stand outside their own perceptions. In order to move from the argument to the design mode there is a need for a third party. The third party is not a go-between, negotiator or mediator. The third party acts as a mirror, an overview, a provider of provocation and creativity and a director of thinking.

Too often, conflict resolution is used as a cover-all term that fails to face up to the different processes involved in the reduction or elimination of violence. It is necessary to explore the main features of conflict resolution and conflict management, two approaches in conflict scholarship, in order to better understand and assess the motivations and actions of intervening agencies such as the United Nations, and in the case of Burundi, the African Union Mission to Burundi with the support of the East African Community leadership and the Burundi Peace Initiative have come up with several resolutions such as agreements for cessation of hostilities and each side managing its personnel to make them accept the need for peace. The resolution approach favor the raising of fundamental issues because of the belief that conflict can be resolved. When disruptive conflict behavior cease and hostile attitudes and perceptions at least can be ameliorated, but the ultimate source of conflict will also be removed so that no unsatisfied goals remain to plague the future. Also the use of management approach, on the other hand, attempts to resolve conflicts in a realistic way. Attention is being put on ameliorating the symptoms of the conflict, and in this way reducing suffering, which can later help in further resolution of conflicts.

1.2 Problem statement

Recently Burundi has been moving toward greater instability since President Pierre Nkurunziza decided to stand for a third term in May 2015 due to his desire to control power in Burundi by not respecting the constitutional limits on presidential terms which has caused mayhem killings, and atrocities that have been challenged by those in opposition and the international community. Despite efforts to mediate the conflicts, conflicts continue to thrive in Burundi requiring further

African Union intervention; hence this study focused on the effectiveness of international organizations in conflict management.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to assess the effectiveness of international organization in conflict management.

1.4 Study objectives

The study was guided by the following study objectives;

a. To establish the methods used by AU Mission to promote conflict management in Burundi.

b. To identify the challenges faced AU Mission in conflicts management in Burundi

c. To explore the strategies to address the challenges in conflict management.

1.5 Research questions

The following research questions were guided by the study;

a. What are the methods used by AU Mission to promote conflict management in Burundi?

b. What are the challenges faced AU Mission in conflicts management in Burundi?

c. What are the strategies to address the challenges management?

1.6 Justification of the Study

According to the current study, conflict is a purposeful struggle between actors in an interactive environment with the aim of controlling, neutralizing, deflating or removing opponents in order to gain access to power, scarce resources and other values. Hanson (2016: 23), noted that the

African Union Mission in Burundi has undertaken their roles under the International Law Commission to try and ensure that peace and stability are restored in the country (Burundi) through conflict resolution and management mechanisms involving negotiations, arbitrations and in extreme cases use of force on powers or sides which do not oblige. As an international organization, the AUMIB has the mandate of the African Union and United Nations as well as support from bilateral partners as a committed group of members in Africa with the resolve to ensure that peace returns to Burundi, and as such several efforts have been attempted at conflict resolution and management. The study on the role of international organizations in conflict management and resolution in Burundi was thus undertaken and has been fulfilled in the subsequent sections.

1.7 Significance of the study

The study was beneficial to a number of stakeholders, that is;

a) The AU: the findings enabled the diplomats from the African Union to come up with strategies for enhancing peace negotiations in order to resolve the old conflict in Burundi and create everlasting peace in the country for the good of humanity.

b) The EAC: The east African Community will utilize the findings to design more strategies for expediting peace keeping, resumption and promotion strategies in order to fast track peace restoration to this honorable land of the African continent.
c) Political leaders in Burundi: the findings will benefit them in a way that it will enable them to devise their approach to governance in the country whereby they will resort to democracy which gives opportunity to all political players to accept victory or concede defeat for peace to continue prevailing in the country.
d) The researchers: the researchers will get a reliable source of literature from which they can draw findings for reference in their own research in future.

1.8 Scope of the study

The scope of the study was divided into the content, geographical, theoretical and time scope.

1.8.1 Content scope

Burundi has been riddled by conflicts since independence which now has been proliferated by

Pierre Nkurunziza's urge for power and failing to strike a compromise with the opponents to his government. Therefore, the current study focused on the role of international organizations in conflict management and resolution in Burundi by collecting data on the methods used by AU Mission to promote conflict management and conflict resolution, the challenges facing AU

Mission in their attempt to resolve conflicts and the strategies which have been adopted by AU Mission for enhancing conflict management and resolution activities in Burundi.

1.8.2 Geographical scope

The study took place in Burundi particularly in Bujumbura, it is one of the independent nation states found in the Great lakes region of Africa. It is neighbored by Rwanda to the North, Tanzania to the East and DR Congo to the West and South west. Burundi has been riddled by conflicts which have over the past two decades even degenerated recently when the former president decided to go for a 3rd term.

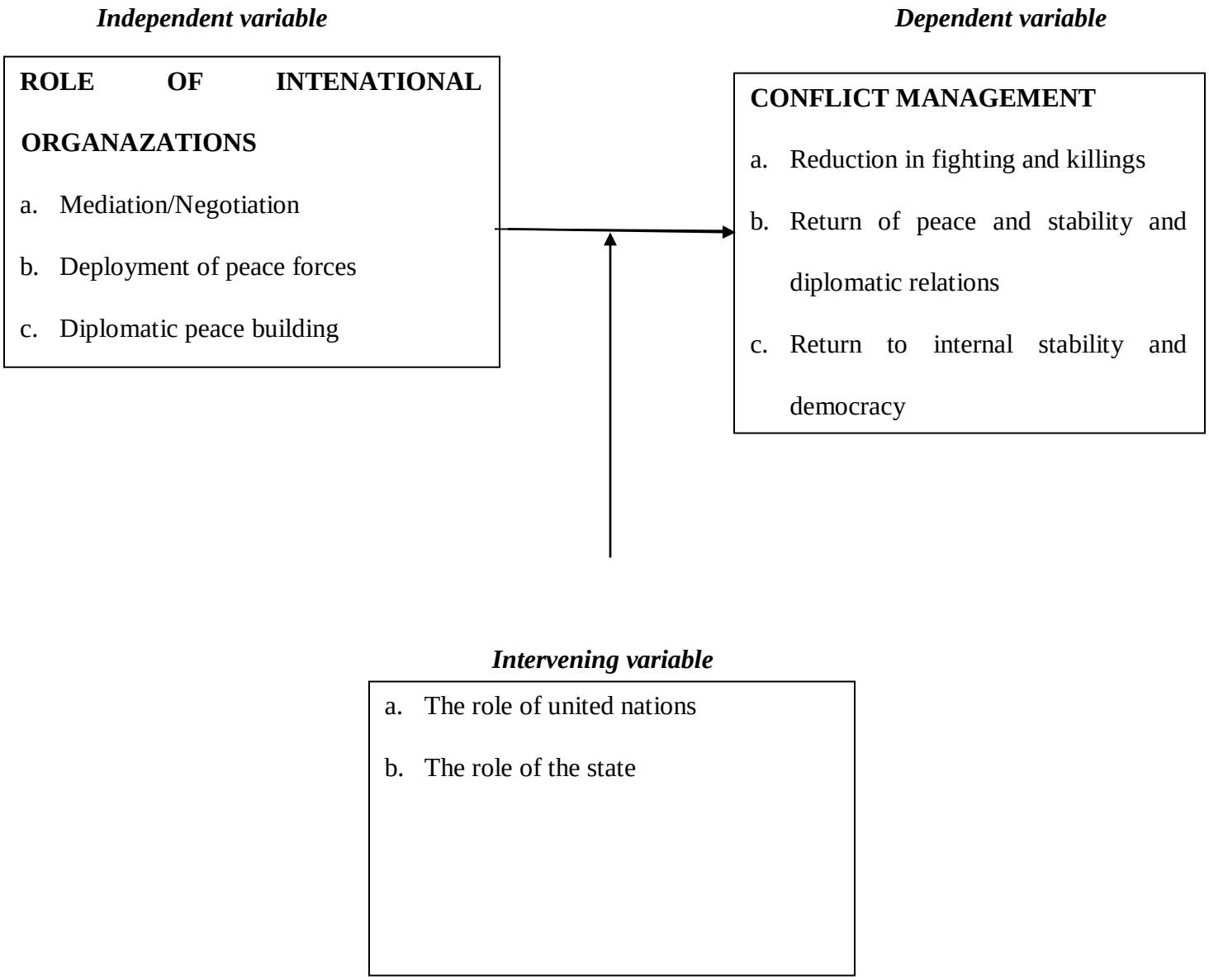
1.8.3 Theoretical scope

Since conflicts are inevitable for as long as society is not egalitarian, and various political players have personal and group interests they want to supersede those for the collective whole, this study is premised on Ripeness theory which is one of the most influential theories of conflict management and resolution, ripeness theory needs to have a systemic combination of its objective and subjective elements and a collaboration between track I (official actors like governments) and track II (unofficial actors such as NGOs) interveners in order to create proper conditions in the conflict.

1.8.4 Time scope

The study scope covered a period of four years from 2014 to 2017 because it is during this time that the recipe and break out of the unrests and conflict have become critical due to the massacres which have become rampant in Bujumbura and the adjoining areas engulfing the country into endless political strife. The researcher was able to obtain data within a period of two months from the time of approval of this research proposal.

1.9. Conceptual Framework



Source: Developed by the researcher

The conceptual framework above dramatically presents the relationship between the variables under the study. Independent variable: the international organization African Union (AU) roles and methods that is: Mediation/Negotiation, Deployment of peace forces: Diplomatic peace building.

Dependent variable which include: reduction in fighting and killings, return of peace and stability and diplomatic relations and return to internal stability and democracy. Finally it's the intervening variable which include the state and the role of United Nations.

1.10 Theoretical framework

Conflict management is a most recent addition to the family of theoretical disciplines, and professions, having existed as a helping profession for as long as human memory. There has been no society, however primitive, which did not evolve its own method of dealing with the social and individual problems that confronted its members. The perpetuation of any society depends upon the efficacy of such methods and techniques (Svensson, 2008: 81). With the emergence of complexity in human organization leading to the evolution of division of labour, it becomes essential for the peacekeeping and human service to be institutionalized and for the profession of conflict resolution to emerge.

This study is based on the Ripeness theory which is one of the most influential theories of conflict management and resolution in the field today Zartman (2000: 44). It is William Zartman's theoretical approach to the study of conflict. In his opinion, two factors are centrally important for finding a solution by negotiation or mediation to an international conflict: the substance of proposals and timing of efforts. He focuses on the timing of efforts. Since political have covered Burundi April 20015 and the period before, the coming in of the African Union Mission to Burundi is a necessary condition for the initiation of negotiations, bilateral or mediated for restoration of peace and stability to the country.

1.11 Arrangement of the Dissertation

This research study is arranged in five chapters. Chapter one contains the background to the study that is statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives and research questions on which evaluations are done and where the study problem is outlined, chapter two contains the study literature arranged in line with the study objectives as well as the conceptual framework. Chapter three contains the methodology; chapter four contains data presentation, analysis, interpretation and chapter five contains the discussion of findings, the summary, conclusion, recommendations and areas for further study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the review of literature related to the effectiveness of international organizations in conflict management. The literature is aligned to the study objectives from which the following subthemes are constructed: to establish the methods used by international organizations to promote conflict management, to identify the challenges faced international organizations in conflict management and to explore to address the challenges in conflict management.

2.1 Definition of Conflicts

Every academic discipline has its own definition of conflict. To eliminate ambiguities, therefore, it is critical that this study offers a definition from the perspective of the political science discipline. It is hoped that contextualizing the term in this way will allow the involvement of the AU in African conflict situations to be better understood. According to Hamad (2005: 63) the idea that conflict is understood in many different ways is illustrated by the fact that economists focus on game-theory and decision making; psychologists explore interpersonal conflict situations; sociologists take status and class conflicts as their focal points; and political science is centered on intra-national and international conflict situations. However, pointing out the areas of focus chosen by various disciplines in their understanding of the concept cannot be mistaken for a definition of conflict.

Amoo (1992: 30) asserts that conflict can be defined as a purposeful struggle between actors in an interactive environment with the aim of controlling, neutralizing, deflating or removing opponents in order to gain access to power, scarce resources and other values. In this sense, conflict is a net result of incompatibility of goals and actions between actors. This understanding of notion of conflict is upheld by other scholars.

For instance, Wallensteen (2007: 14) believes that the resultant incompatibility is caused by "a severe disagreement between at least two sides, where their demands cannot be met by the same resource at the same time". He further notes that conflict consists of three distinctive components namely; incompatibility, action and actors. Thus, for Wallensteen (2007: 14-15), conflict can be defined as a social situation in which a minimum of two actors or parties strive to acquire at the same moment in time an available set of scarce resources.

Thus, conflicts could be sparked between two or more parties over a territorial dispute, language recognition, religious beliefs, natural resources, migration and political power. For instance, inter-state conflicts should be understood as conflicts resulting from (real or perceived) incompatible interests or goals between two or more states while intra-state conflicts are the result of (real or perceived) incompatible interests or goals among parties or groups of people within a state. Indeed, Paul Collier et al (2003: 82) concurs when he argues that international conflicts arise out of irreconcilable objectives between states, when the achievement of one political units objectives hinder, limit or ruin another states interests or values.

According to Collier et al (2003: 04), conflicts not only leave legacies of atrocities but also weakened economies for the rival parties. This suggests that a conflict could be a costly exercise that may prove an impediment to development. Moreover, it has been observed that conflicts

often contribute to regional security dilemma issues and arms races that serve to divert scarce resources away from development efforts. For instance, Paul Collier et al (2003: 184), state aptly: "in response to the risk of civil war, and more in response to its actual occurrence, the concerned government sharply increases its military expenditure. Therefore neighbours tend to copy this increase for various reasons". Thus, an eruption of conflict in one country may not only put the entire region in the state of alert, but also may easily spark conflict considering that countries would be ready for any eventuality.

From these definitions it can be deduced that conflict erupts because two or more parties or actors cannot attain their goals at the same time. In this sense, conflict erupts as a net result of incompatible goals. In a nutshell, therefore and for the purposes of this study, we can say that the Burundian conflict is defined as a phenomenon that results from the experience of frustration in a relationship situation between two or more parties or actors who cannot attain their goals at the same time due to the incompatibility of their goals or actions.

2.1.1The Conflict Cycle

One way to structure research within the field of conflict management is to subdivide the area of conflict into different phases, each with its own characteristics. When these phases are put together, they can be seen as forming a complete conflict cycle, which most conflicts go through in one way or another. Sriram and Wermester (2003: 23) noted that conflicts are not to be seen as a single phenomenon with identical features. All conflicts are unique, and each conflict exists within its own overall context and local framework. Moreover, not all conflicts necessarily go through all the phases, nor do they have all the same characterizes within each phase. As a point of departure, it can be said that all countries that are prone to conflict, some more obvious or

likely than others have some of the underlying structural causes or root causes that, if mobilized and triggered, can evolve into a unifying objective that has the potential for igniting a conflict.

The conflict cycle is an 'ideal type' that does not necessarily mirror the 'perfect' image of reality to be found in its complete form in real life Murithi (2009: 74) pointed out that the model should be seen as representing common characteristics and elements within the given phenomenon here, conflict to be used for scientific analysis and holistic understanding. The conflict cycle and its phases begin with structural instability before leading to manifest social unrest and violence, and finally to sustainable peace and conflict resolution.

A key feature of the conflict cycle is to demonstrate that conflicts can easily escalate into new fighting even after peace has been agreed and post-conflict peace-building initiated. Statistically, according to a World Bank study conducted by Paul Collier (2003: 83), there is a 44 percent chance of new fighting breaking out within five years of conflict settlement. The conflict cycle does not follow a sequential course, and not all armed conflicts outlive every individual phase, but are solved early on in the conflict cycle, as when conflicts 'jump' from the gestation of conflict directly to the post-conflict phase.

Within each phase of the conflict cycle, different conflict-prevention measures can be activated to resolve the conflict. In the Carnegie Commission's report entitled Preventing Deadly Conflict Carnegie Commission (1997: 69), these measures are divided into structural and operational conflict prevention measures. Prevention within this context refers to activities or programmes that aim to avoid the escalation of conflict into other, more violent phases for example, from the mobilization phase into the armed conflict phase or that aspire to minimize violence by facilitating the transition from the armed conflict phase to the post-conflict phase.

Structural conflict-prevention measures comprise strategies that concentrate on the root causes of a given conflict. Root causes are referred to as strategies that aim to meet basic human needs, such as economic, social, cultural or developmental needs. Yet, as Miall and Woodhouse (2011: 34) has pointed out, Structural conflict-prevention implies long-term sustainable and locally anchored measures both before and after the eruption of conflict in the conflict cycle, primarily in the potential conflict phase and the post-conflict phase. In the post-conflict phase, structural conflict-prevention measures are normally implemented in close cooperation with major national or international state actors and organizations, among other things with the aim of strengthening nation building activities and preventing renewed fighting.

Paul Collier et al., (2003: 338) added that the conciliation or compromising conflict style is typical of individuals who possess an intermediate level of concern for both personal and others' outcomes. Compromisers value fairness and, in doing so, anticipate mutual give-and-take interactions. By accepting some demands put forth by others, compromisers believe this agreeableness will encourage others to meet them halfway, thus promoting conflict resolution. Operational conflict-prevention measures in Burundi are undertaken when violence seems imminent or has broken out. They can be implemented in most of the five phases of the conflict cycle as articulated by the Carnegie Commission (1997: 39-43).Due to their technical character and quick impact, African Mission in Burundi, their implementation is highly sensitive and implies careful planning and understanding of the conflict dynamics in a given context in order to avoid the escalation of dangerous situations or the creation of unintended negative spill-over effects on other preventive initiatives. Operational conflict-prevention has normally been undertaken by a variety of international and local actors led by African Union Mission in

Burundi, from civil-society organizations and NGOs to international organizations and governments.

The segregation of a conflict into phases enabled the researcher to understand its individual elements better, thus apprehending what causes conflicts to escalate into new and more violent phases, the height it has reached in Burundi calling for interventions by an African Union Mission. Thus, the conflict cycle can be viewed as a tool for conflict management, resolution and prevention in this study.

2.2 Theories of Conflict Management

The following sets of theories make an in-depth inquest into reasons why conflicts occur in order to devise means of ending them through proper management and resolution;

2.2.1 Ripeness Theory

Ripeness theory is William Zartman's theoretical approach to the study of conflict resolution and management in studies starting from the 1980s. He published several studies on this theory (for example: 1986, 1989, 1995, 2000 and 2001). In his opinion, two factors are centrally important for finding a solution by negotiation or mediation to an international conflict: the substance of proposals and timing of efforts (Zartman, 2000: 76). He focuses on the timing of efforts.

The ripe moment is described in the dictionary as the juncture in a dispute when the parties are most inclined (perhaps out of exhaustion) to make a settlement and when, therefore, it is best to start a negotiation or force the pace of an existing one. Zartman defends that substantive proposals are fruitless until the moment is ripe for parties.

International conflict is social conflict and could result in war. After experiencing its devastating effects in recent history, countries created international organizations and institutions to solve international conflicts in peaceful ways. Conflicts and wars continue to exist and international negotiation/mediation efforts from third parties have important roles to play even they are not for only humanitarian reasons.

Since political and ethnic conflicts have covered Burundi since 1993 and the period before, the coming in of the African Union Mission to Burundi is a necessary condition for the initiation of negotiations, bilateral or mediated for restoration of peace and stability to the country. It must be seized by the parties or by the mediator. The mediator must specify the meaning and evidence of ripeness in order that the conflicting parties can fruitfully start mediation sessions. It is predictive in identifying some elements necessary for the productive initiation of the mediation (Zartman, 2000: 225). These are mutually hurting stalemate and perception of way out. Hanson (2009: 203) examined different conceptions of ripeness to evaluate their usefulness to war termination theory and practice. He concluded that ripeness theory needs to have a systemic combination of its objective and subjective elements and a collaboration between track I (official actors like governments) and track II (unofficial actors such as NGOs) interveners in order to create proper conditions in the conflict.

2.2.2 Readiness Theory

Readiness theory, with the description of his author, is a revision and elaboration of Zartman, (2000: 225), ripeness theory. Readiness theory differs from Ripeness in that it uses variables rather than necessary states and focuses on a single party rather than both parties to a conflict. The Readiness notion is a characteristic of one party reflecting the thinking of its leadership with

regard to conflict with the other party and it might vary within a wide scale of conciliatory behaviour.

Readiness advances conciliatory behaviour like the African Union Mission to Burundi has made efforts to bring peace between the Government (Pierre Nkurunziza) and Opposition (comprising CNARED). In addition to that as Riox (2003: 1524)argues, an extension of ripeness is better able to fit historical cases as well as being more heuristic, with its ability to include more elements of conflict mediation outcomes. For Riox, readiness has two components which combine in a multiplicative way: Motivation to end the conflict and optimism about the outcome of conciliation and negotiation or mediation.

2.2.3 Conflict Transformation Theory by Spencer and Spencer (1995)

Conflict transformation theory by Spencer and Spencer because peace processes and conflict transformation normally are viewed in the context of confidence-building measures, reconstruction of civil society and re -building of communities. How this actually is to be done is an issue that has triggered considerable debate Spencer and Spencer (1995: 163). After reviewing means of dealing with conflict in multi-ethnic societies for example partition, succession, power sharing, for power-sharing as the only choice for creating enduring peace and that the reason power sharing works is because of certain cultural differences, including acculturated attitudes towards compromise.

Conflict transformation theory assumes that conflict is caused by real problems of inequality and injustice expressed by competing social, cultural and economic frameworks. The goals of work based on conflict formation theory are to change structure and frameworks that cause inequality and injustice, including economic redistribution, to improve longer-term relationships and

attitudes among the conflicting parties and to develop processes and systems that promote empowerment, justice, peace, forgiveness, reconciliation, recognition and so on (Spencer and Spencer, 1995: 163-164).

Conflict transformation can take the following forms; International changes in major conflict parties, or the emergence and recognition of new actors. A change in the political agenda of the conflict, downplaying the importance of original conflict issues and emphasizing shared concern for new issues. Conflict transformation is therefore an integrative approach to conflict resolution, it involves a re-definition of the relationship between the conflict parties through which opportunities are opened and new compensation arrangements are introduced. This can create a framework based on a positive-Sum, rather than a Zero -sum agreement Spencer and Spencer (1995: 164). New cooperative arrangements are initiated in which the previously disputed issues become less or no longer have relevant and other issues or values become more relevant to all parties to the conflict.

Spencer and Spencer (1995:164) recommend that for conflict management to be attained, international players must be allowed to come to the fore and mediate between the belligerent parties in order to achieve conflict resolution. In spite of all the urgency concerning the conflict in Burundi, the focus has hitherto been mainly on diplomatic interventions by several agencies and actors thus the need for this theoretical premise for this study.

2.3 The Methods used by International Organizations to promote Conflict Management

According to Amoo (1992: 4), conflict management is the creation of propitious atmosphere for the eventual resolution of conflict or the diffusion of tension. Considering Amoo's definition, it

can be deduced that conflict management should be considered as a process of ensuring containment of hostilities so as to avoid escalation. Wallensteen (2007: 4-5) concurs with the notion that conflict management is an essential phenomenon of ensuring that the situation does not get out of hand without necessarily settling the perceived fundamental issues in dispute. He further notes that "conflict management can help reduce the dangers of crisis, creating some confidence and lessening (potential or actual) suffering. In other words, it is an ongoing course of action that may not necessarily lead to resolution. In this respect, the conflict has already started the issue of what caused it is less important than the fact that the conflict now has to be dealt with by means of effective management (Wallensteen, 2007: 5).

According to William (2011:94), within the framework of conflict management there is need to consider the following approaches, that is integrating, obliging, dominating, avoiding, and compromising. Integration involves openness, exchange of information, looking for alternatives, and examining differences so solve the problem in a manner that is acceptable to both parties. Obliging is associated with attempting to minimize the differences and highlight the commonalities to satisfy the concern of the other party. When using the dominating style one party goes all out to win his or her objective and, as a result, often ignores the needs and expectations of the other party. When avoiding a party fails to satisfy his or her own concern as well as the concern of the other party. Lastly, compromising involves give-and-take whereby both parties give up something to make a mutually acceptable decision.

The competitive or "fighting" conflict style maximizes individual assertiveness that is concern for self and minimizes empathy that is concern for others. Groups consisting of competitive members generally enjoy seeking domination over others, and typically see conflict as a "win or lose" predicament. Fighters tend to force others to accept their personal views by employing

competitive power tactics arguments, insults, accusations, violence and so on that foster feelings of intimidation (Murithi, 2005:109).

Collier et al., (2003:316) asserts that during conflict, co-operators collaborate with others in an effort to find an amicable solution that satisfies all parties involved in the conflict. Individuals using this type of conflict style tend to be both highly assertive and highly empathetic.

2.4 The challenges faced by International Organizations in Conflicts management

Non-democratic regimes, according to Woodhouse (1998: 53), are more likely to see disagreements as zero-sum games with regards to winning and losing. Autocrats may be more amenable to a winner-take-all approach or more likely to try to conduct and resolve differences through coercion and violence. The lack of transparency in non-democratic governments increases uncertainty and impedes the development of trust. This can lead to an environment of suspicion and fear, making it more difficult to work through serious issues Rodt (2011: 51). In these instances, third party involvement can help level the playing field by encouraging conditions favourable to both sides, by decreasing the costs of attaining information, and by raising the costs of defection. Consequently, non-democratic dyads may see third party assistance as desirable when both sides really want a settlement. In these environments, third parties may be acceptable to disputants, especially if they can effectively provide guarantees that the terms of the agreements will be carried out Woodhouse (1998: 75).

Figure 2: Challenges to conflict and human rights

Item	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
Existing problem	Gross human rights violations as consequence of destructive conflict	Conflict as a consequence of sustained denial of human rights
Problem to be resolved	Protecting people from human rights violations	Reducing levels of structural conflict by promoting and protecting human rights
Time frame	Short to medium term	Long term
Activities to be Undertaken	Dispute resolution • Peace making and peacekeeping • Peace-enforcement • Human rights monitoring and investigation	• Peace-building • Development • Institution-building • Reconciliation
Desired outcomes	Cessation of hostilities • End/prevention of abuses • Negotiated settlement NEGATIVE PEACE	Socio-economic and political justice Constructive conflict management POSITIVE PEACE

Figure 2 derived from Kilmann and Thomas (1975), "Interpersonal conflict-handling behaviour as reflections of Jungian personality dimensions." Psychological Reports, 37; 681

Two dimensions of the relationship pose different challenges to human rights and conflict resolution and management practitioners and policy makers because the problems they seek to address differ from one dimension to the other. This also applies to the time frame for intervention, the primary activities called for and the desired outcomes, as the figure above show. The two dimensions are interrelated and influence one another. The two dimensions of the relationship between human rights and conflict are connected to each other in a number of ways:

i. Violent confrontations (dimension 1) are largely symptoms of structural conflict (dimension 2). As structural conflict is left unaddressed, the frustration, anger and dissatisfaction may rise to such an extent that groups may mobilise to confront perceived injustice.

ii. Activities undertaken as part of conflict regulation and resolution during potentially violent confrontations (dimension 1) can impact on the prospects for longer term reconciliation and conflict management efforts. If mechanisms are used to constructively address destructive conflict in the short term, they can lay a foundation of trust and help the parties better manage future conflict.

iii. The desired outcomes for each dimension influence the other. While creating negative peace is the focus of dimension 1, any agreement negotiated within this dimension needs to include agreements on future processes to address peace and justice, reconciliation and institution-building, in order to make the agreement sustainable.

iv. Efforts towards achieving positive peace are fundamentally tied to the ability of parties to end the hostilities and to prevent violations of human rights so that longer-term peace making and peace building processes have sufficient time to meet their objectives.

Thus, considering this cause-and-effect relationship between human rights and conflict, it follows that the protection and promotion of human rights is essential to the management of conflict as it lessens the potential for conflict. This can further be clarified by considering how human rights and human needs are linked together (Cornelius and Faire, 1989: 44-45).

Many of these interstate and intrastate conflicts are protracted, deep rooted and intractable. They are intense, inescapable strivings over issues such as critical resources, identity, meaning, justice, and power. They are complicated, traumatic, and often resist even the most serious negotiation or mediation initiatives towards resolution. The protracted, deep rooted and intractable conflicts contain some characteristics distinguishing them from more tractable, resolvable conflicts. They are extraordinary because of their high degree of intransigence, complexity, persistence, and malignancy. They are complex, nonlinear, self-sustaining systems of individual nature Collier et al (2003: 4). The five general characteristics of the protracted, deep rooted or intractable conflicts are remarkable:

i. They have many different sources of conflict located at multiple levels such as individual, group, communal and their interaction with each other often feed or

sustain hostilities.

ii. They are often situated in places where other community problems (unemployment, housing, nutrition problems etc.) exist and cause 'conflict traps' by resulting in long term patterns of misery and trauma.

iii. The sources of hostilities in these settings (issues, leaders, policies etc.) often change constantly and at any given time might be more or less determining of the conflict.

iv. Each case is different and has its own set of factors. Generalizations from one case to another are frequently problematic.

v. They tend to be resistant to traditional or familiar methods of peace-making and they often continue to exist.

Because of these features, the protracted, deep rooted and intractable conflicts differ from other types of conflict, and the resolution of them asks the negotiators and mediators to have more skills and to make more efforts than the others. Ripeness theory and readiness theory provide two important frameworks in order to deal with these types of international conflicts.

Since local and international conflict bleeds war if not mitigated, after experiencing its devastating effects in recent history, countries such as Burundi are at the centre stage of conflict management and resolution mechanisms created by international organizations and institutions to solve the conflict in the country in peaceful ways through a series of international negotiation/mediation efforts from third parties which has become significant for the good of the country and for humanitarian reasons. In our case study, the AU authorized the deployment of

5,000 troops which was mandated for six months with the option to renew but the government of Burundi has never approved that decision which still hampers efforts to end the conflict in the country.

2.5 The Strategies to address the challenges in conflict management

Rold (2011: 109) set the context for the substantive studies by discussing the general problem of making and validating inferences about international conflict resolution and management techniques. They identify the inherent difficulties of this task and show how progress can be made in the face of these obstacles. They conclude that a systematic approach based on social scientific concepts and techniques can produce useful generalizations about which techniques work under which conditions and thus raise the level of understanding available to conflict resolution practitioners.

Hanson (2009, 169) discusses the use of sanctions both for deterrence and for coercing states to reverse past actions sanctions for conflict resolution. His analysis reinforces the findings of previous writers on deterrence and coercive diplomacy, including that the task of deterrence is easier than the task of compellence and that the success of sanctions, either for deterrence or coercive diplomacy, depends on the threat being perceived by the target as sufficiently potent to induce it to accept the demands on it. Again, as in earlier studies, they finds that the stronger the demand, the more credible and more potent the threat must be to achieve compliance.

An analytical framework stresses two main sets of factors, the political economy of relations among the key actors and the design of the strategy by which sanctions are imposed. Hanson (2009: 167) assesses whether and how the post-Cold War environment has affected the efficacy of sanctions. The main pattern he identifies is a paradoxical one of greater target state vulnerability to the potential coercive potency of sanctions on the one hand but more problematic political viability on the other. He traces this "vulnerability-viability paradox" to three major systemic changes the end of Cold War bipolarity, economic globalization, and greater global

democratization. These trends increase vulnerability because of reduced geopolitical incentives for great powers to protect target states against other powers, the greater economic openness of virtually all economies, and increased political openings for target state domestic elites hurt by sanctions to serve as "transmission belts" and pressure their governments for policy change.

At the same time, the "political viability" of sanctions has become more problematic in several respects: international coalitions in support of sanctions are harder to build in some cases than before; the economic impact of sanctions on no target citizens in target states and on nearby countries now can raise tough ethical issues and humanitarian concerns; and domestic politics in the sending state can create deep divisions as regards the state's sanctions policies.

2.6.1 Operational Prevention

This implies an early engagement deliberately designed to create conditions in which responsible leaders can resolve the problem leading to a crisis. According to IPEP Report (2000: 90-91), this involves four key elements: a lead player this would be an international organization, country or even prominent individual around which or whom preventive efforts can mobilize; a coherent political-military approach designed to arrest the violence, address the humanitarian needs of the situation and integrate all political and military aspects of the problem, adequate resources to support the preventive engagement especially inter-State conflict and plan for the restoration of host country's authority. These elements form a framework for operational prevention and within this framework a number of specific measures can be applied. The first critical task in prevention is to determine where and when the most disastrous conflicts and confrontations are likely to occur. The capacity to anticipate and analyze possible conflicts is a pre-requisite both for any prudent decision to act and for effective action itself.

2.6.2 Early warning

The circumstances that give rise to violent conflicts can usually be foreseen or predicted. This was certainly true of the violence in Bosnia in 1992 and Rwanda in 1994. IPEP Report (2000: 91) noted that early warning of the deteriorating circumstances was available in both cases in the open media and through government intelligence information channels. It is not plausible for governments to claim that there was a lack of timely warning of crisis. Major governments operate extensive, sophisticated early warning and intelligence networks world-wide.

These governments as well as the major regional players often do know about incipient catastrophes, and in most cases they have a sense of what should and could be done to reduce the chance of catastrophe. For example, In Rwanda, during the months preceding genocide, as the Arusha Agreement was being negotiated, decision-makers in the major capitals of countries of the region were warned repeatedly in public and private that the Hutu extremists were preparing to unleash a campaign of a massive violence against the Tutsi minority. But countries of the region and wider international community took no action to prevent such preparation.

The IPEP Report (2000: 93) added that because dangerous circumstances rarely degenerate into violence without a warning, what is needed is not simply more information, but rather the right kind of information and a reliable interpretation of its meaning. Every major government maintains an active watch over the world's "hot spots" and many have developed capacities to track and predict developing trends. Yet, even prompt early warning will not ensure successful preventive action unless there is a fundamental change of attitudes by governments and international organizations. A systematic and practical warning system should be combined with consistently up-to-date contingency plans for preventive action.

The combination of civil war and humanitarian crises after the state collapsed in 1991, led to the first UN operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I). It was authorized by Security Council Resolution 751 of April 24, 1992 Dagne (2009: 27). The Mandate originally granted to UNOSOM I was to oversee the ceasefire in Mogadishu, provide security for UN Personnel, and deliver humanitarian assistance. Nonetheless, UNOSOM I could not provide the desired security due to the failed ceasefire and continued looting. As a result, the UN Security Council authorized a US-led unified Task Force (UNITAF). The idea was to provide security along the lines of the UNOSOM

I. Eventually, UNITAF's mandate was expanded under UNOSOM II in May 1993 to include "establishing transitional government institutions and consensus on basic principles and steps leading to the establishment of representative democratic institutions," according to Security Council Resolution 814.

The AU has given some indications that it can do better than the defunct OAU. Where peaceful resolution had failed, the AU had resorted to military intervention. The AU's first military intervention in a member state was the May 2003 deployment of a peacekeeping force of soldiers from South Africa, Ethiopia, and Mozambique to Burundi, to oversee the implementation of the various agreements. AU troops were also deployed in Sudan for peacekeeping in the Dafur conflict, before the mission was handed over to the United Nations on 1 January 2008. The AU has also sent a peacekeeping mission to Somalia Williams (2011:15). Furthermore, one of the objectives of the AU is to promote peace, security, and stability on the continent. Among its principles is "peaceful resolution of conflicts among member states of the Union, through such appropriate means as may be decided upon by the Assembly". The primary body charged with implementing these objectives and principles is the Peace and Security Council. The PSC has the power, among other things, to authorize peace support-missions, to impose sanctions in case of

unconstitutional change of government and to "take initiatives and actions it deems appropriate" in response to potential or actual conflicts. The PSC is a decision-making body in its own right and its decisions are binding on member states (Article 4(e) of the Constitutive Act).

Since it first met in 2004, the PSC has been active in relation to the crises in Darfur, Comoros, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire and other countries. It has adopted resolutions creating the AU peacekeeping operations in Somalia and Darfur, and imposed sanctions against persons undermining peace and security, (such as travel bans and asset freezes against the leaders of the rebellion in Comoros, (Cilliers, 2008:11). The council is in the process of overseeing the establishment of a "standby force" to serve as a permanent African peacekeeping force.

This section of the literature has clearly pointed out the possibilities of conflict resolution and management ranging from the early warning system that should enlighten the peace makers about the need and mechanisms for ending conflicts wherever they have occurred and for Burundi, the efforts such as mediation, negotiations and peace keeping have been spear headed by foreign missions to the country.

This section has wholly and fully embraced negotiations or mediations as the primary ways to achieve lasting conflict management and resolution globally in Burundi. Each party in the conflict ought to be acknowledging that without arriving at an understanding, then peace and stability would be so hard to achieve, but with negotiated and mediated approach to the conflict lasting conflict management and conflict resolution would sound top of the agenda.

2.7 Conclusion

Conflict is an inevitable and necessary feature of domestic and international relations. The challenge facing governments is not the elimination of conflict, but rather, how to effectively address conflict when it arises. While most government officials in Africa are not frequently confronted by large-scale violence or humanitarian crises, they are often involved in lesser but nevertheless serious conflicts over trade, refugees, borders, water, defence and so on. Their government may be party to the conflict or called on to serve as mediator. In either case, they require particular skills and techniques to tackle the issues in a constructive fashion.

Conflict can be managed negatively through avoidance at one extreme and the use or threat of force at the other. Alternatively, conflict can be managed positively through negotiation, joint problem-solving and consensus-building. These options help build and sustain constructive bilateral and multi-lateral relations. One can start to change destructive responses to conflict by learning to assess the total impact of negative responses and acquiring confidence in using the tools and techniques of professional peacemakers.

Constructive conflict management is as much a science as an art. It is based on a substantial body of theory, skills and techniques developed from decades of experience in international peacekeeping, peace-making and peace building. Acquiring a better understanding of the conceptual tools and skills professional conflict manager's use can help us gain confidence in addressing conflict in a manner which resolves the issues and maintains or even strengthens relationships. While we may not all go on to become professional peacemakers, these skills and knowledge can help us in any social setting. These tools can help for example, government

officials, address disputes more quickly and effectively, preventing them from growing into domestic or international crises.

The distinction is sometimes made between ‘negative peace’ and ‘positive peace’ for example Rold (2011: 72) states that negative peace refers to the absence of violence. When, for example, a ceasefire is enacted, a negative peace will ensue. It is negative because something undesirable stopped happening for example the violence stopped, the oppression ended. Positive peace is filled with positive content such as the restoration of relationships, the creation of social systems that serve the needs of the whole population and the constructive resolution of conflict.

Reconciliation becomes necessary when negative conflict has occurred and relationships have been damaged. Reconciliation is especially important in situations of high interdependence where a complete physical or emotional barrier between parties in a conflict cannot be maintained. Reconciliation therefore refers to the restoration of relationships to a level where cooperation and trust become possible again

Peace does not mean the total absence of any conflict. It means the absence of violence in all its forms and the unfolding of conflict in a constructive way. Peace therefore exists where people are interacting non-violently and are managing their conflict positively with respectful attention to the legitimate needs and interests of all concerned.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter explain the methodology used in the study. It comprises of research design, study approaches, study population, sample size, study area, methods of data collection and the research process and data analysis.

3.1 Research design

The study used explanatory research design. Shields and Rangarjan (2013:34) define explanatory research as an attempt to connect ideas to understand cause and effect, meaning researchers want to explain what is going on. Explanatory research looked at how things come together and interact. This study used this research design because there are prior-indications that conflict management and conflict resolution are central in all the dialogue on ending conflicts and restore peace and stability.

3.2 Study approach

The study used a Qualitative approaches. The main characteristic of qualitative research was that it is mostly appropriate for small samples, while its outcomes are not measurable and quantifiable. Qualitative research offers a complete description and analysis of a research subject, without limiting the scope of the research and the nature of participant's responses Collis & Hussey (2003, 55). So it was used in this research study.

3.3 Study area and population

The study took place in Burundi particularly in Bujumbura, which is the capital city of Burundi. Bujumbura is also the political center of Burundi, which is considered a Republic, and home to its Executive head of state. The current population of Burundi is 10,952,565 as of Monday, October 2, 2017, based on the latest United Nations estimates from whom there is a total population of 152 political leaders were 30 political leaders are targeted involved in the political system of Burundi and a population of 64 staff of African Union Mission from whom 25 staff are targeted . The study population will therefore comprise 55 potential respondents targeted as they were in position to provide valuable information.

3.4 Sample size

A sample is “a smaller collection of units from a population used to determine truths about that population” Field (2005:52). According to the table below, when the population of study is 55 potential respondents, the sample size is 48.

Figure 3: for determining sample size from a given population

N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S
10	**10**	**100**	**80**	**280**	**162**	**800**	**260**	**2800**	**338**
15	**14**	**110**	**86**	**290**	**165**	**850**	**265**	**3000**	**341**
20	**19**	**120**	**92**	**300**	**169**	**900**	**269**	**3500**	**246**
25	**24**	**130**	**97**	**320**	**175**	**950**	**274**	**4000**	**351**
30	**28**	**140**	**103**	**340**	**181**	**1000**	**278**	**4500**	**351**
35	**32**	**150**	**108**	**360**	**186**	**1100**	**285**	**5000**	**357**
40	**36**	**160**	**113**	**380**	**181**	**1200**	**291**	**6000**	**361**
45	**40**	**180**	**118**	**400**	**196**	**1300**	**297**	**7000**	**364**
50	**44**	**190**	**123**	**420**	**201**	**1400**	**302**	**8000**	**367**
55	**48**	**200**	**127**	**440**	**205**	**1500**	**306**	**9000**	**368**
60	**52**	**210**	**132**	**460**	**210**	**1600**	**310**	**10000**	**373**
65	**56**	**220**	**136**	**480**	**214**	**1700**	**313**	**15000**	**375**
70	**59**	**230**	**140**	**500**	**217**	**1800**	**317**	**20000**	**377**
75	**63**	**240**	**144**	**550**	**225**	**1900**	**320**	**30000**	**379**
80	**66**	**250**	**148**	**600**	**234**	**2000**	**322**	**40000**	**380**
85	**70**	**260**	**152**	**650**	**242**	**2200**	**327**	**50000**	**381**
90	**73**	**270**	**155**	**700**	**248**	**2400**	**331**	**75000**	**382**
95	**76**	**270**	**159**	**750**	**256**	**2600**	**335**	**100000**	**384**

Note: “N” is population size “S” is sample size.

Krejcie, Robert V., Morgan, Daryle W., “Determining Sample Size for Research Activities”, Educational and Psychological Measurement, 1970.

3.5 Sampling techniques and procedures

3.5.1. Non- probability sampling

Non- probability sampling method according to Berinsky (2008, 52), non-probability sampling is any sampling method where some elements of the population have no chance of selection or where the probability of selection can't be accurately determined. It involves the selection of elements based on assumptions regarding the population of interest, which forms the criteria for selection. With non-probability sampling, the researcher will determine only those elements she deems important for the study to be included in the sample. This method gave the researcher the mandate to select out only those members that will be important for consideration in the sample. Non-probability sampling procedures include; purposive sampling, convenience sampling, quota sampling and snowball sampling techniques and others from which the researcher will select the suitable sampling techniques for this study.

3.5.1.1. Purposive sampling techniques

The study used purposive sampling techniques to select the individual respondents who would constitute the sample to eliminate bias. This sampling technique was used because it enabled the assortment of only those respondents considered as key informants and convenience sampling which involves selecting whichever units of the population are easily accessible.

3.6 Data collection methods

Field (2005, 57) defined data collection as the systematic approach to gathering and measuring information from a variety of sources to get a complete and accurate picture of an area of interest. Data collection enables a person or organization to answer relevant questions, evaluate outcomes

and make predictions about future probabilities and trends. The research study applied the following data collection methods.

3.6.1. In depth Interviews

An interview is an interactive forum involving two or more people engaged in a conversation initiated and coordinated by the interviewer so as to get information specific to a certain area of aspect. Interviews were carried out in Burundi with key respondents in Bujumbura because the outlying areas are not secure for the researcher's life, yet also Bujumbura may not be perfectly secure due to the volatile political happenings. All interviews were carried out prior to setting of appointments with the concerned respondents. The interviews had specified time limits of approximately 20 - 25 minutes. All interviews were carried out with the help of already prepared interview guide question papers. This method of data collection was used to collect from African Union Staff and Political leaders in Burundi.

3.6.1.2 Observation

This is a method that requires physical involvement or presence of the researcher to obtain first hand impression of events. The researcher acts as a spectator, or participant in all the activities as the observation goes on and relevant points are noted. Therefore, there are two types of observation, which are participant observation and non-participant observation. In this study the researcher will use a non-participant observation. The researcher must have an observation guide that helps her to improve on the quality of the findings. The researcher used non/participant observation on peace and stability in the country.

3.7 Data presentation and analysis

After data has been collected, it needs to be presented in a way that communicates the information and enables conclusions to be drawn Jewell (2001: 52). Data was collected from primary data for this particular research was collected using in depth interviews and observations, processed, analyzed and presented.

3.7.1 Data analysis

The researcher used content analysis to analyse qualitative data from the field. According to Moore & McCabe (2005:48), this is the type of research whereby data gathered was categorized in themes and sub-themes, so as to be able to be comparable. A main advantage of content analysis was that it helped in data collected being reduced and simplified. Moreover, content analysis gives the ability to researchers to structure the qualitative data collected in a way that satisfies the accomplishment of research objectives.

3.7.2 Data collection and processing

Oso and Onen (2009 ,37) argued that in order to shift the power of the researcher/participant relationship to the study participants, the researcher was undertaken in environments that was selected by and comfortable for study respondents. Interviews was conducted in comfortable places for respondents. Key informants have been interviewed at their convenience and the researcher was able to direct, select and structure the story. Data editing coding the data and cleaning was done after data has been collected to ensure that all mistakes made by respondents will be cleared then entering the data into the computer for analysis and summarizing the data.

3.8 Data Quality Control

Mugenda and Mugenda (1999, 39) noted that data quality control focuses on using tools which enable the researcher to obtain the best quality data in the field. To this qualitative study in order to make the research credible, the following criteria have been applied that is reliability and validity.

3.8.1 Validity

Validity can be defined as the degree to which a test measures what it is supposed to measure. There are three basic approaches to the validity of tests and measures as shown by Mason and Bramble (1989: 51).

To enhance confidence in the findings data was collected using interview guides and observation guides. The key informant interviews served to validate the findings. Thereafter all the data collection instruments were applied to collect data.

3.8.2 Reliability

Blaxter & Tight (1998:65) define reliability as the extent to which measures are free from errors, thus the greater the reliability of an instrument, the less likely the errors of measurement to occur. The data was collected by the researcher thereby avoiding the potential of bias. Transcriptions were checked against verbatim notes. The researcher attempted to be as reflexive as possible throughout the data collection and analysis exercise.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The researcher informed the respondents the purpose of the study, the researcher went ahead to seek for informed consent of each respondent both orally and in writing.

The researcher told the respondents of the long-term and short-term benefits of the study. And in case a respondent refuses to participate in the study, their opinions were respected.

The researcher tried as much as possible to minimize embarrassing questions especially during interview. Confidentiality was observed and kept by the researcher for all information given by the respondents anonymously.

The researcher was honest in her work by avoiding any form of falsification, misrepresentation, plagiarism and any other form of academic malpractice that could hinder the dependability of the data collected. In addition, the researcher reported the actual findings without omission and adding personal information to distort the information. Participation in the research was voluntary, based on consent to avoid collection of wrong data and other inconveniences to the researcher. The researcher was non-discriminative in nature when selecting samples. This was implemented by avoiding bias in selecting respondents according to their sex, tribes and even culture. Thus the researcher gave all the potential respondents equal chances of being chosen.

3.10 Limitations and delimitations of the study

a) There was a problem of unavailability of target respondents because they deliberately forfeited the interviews.
b) The available respondents hesitated to give information thinking they were being tricked to see if they could release information on such a volatile situation despite the fact that there was an

introductory letter from the University which was addressed to the responsible authorities. The researcher probed those she could and also gave those who refused first to organize and some later responded positively to the study.

c) Some respondents did not return the questionnaires in time and some were not willing to take part in the study which denied the researcher the opportunity to get information from a bigger sample. The researcher addressed this challenge by using secondary data sources as well.

d) Resources in terms of money were not enough, but the researcher used the available finances sparingly.

3.11. Conclusion

This chapter looked at the research methodologies used in this research. Justifications on why the researcher chose to use those methodologies are given. Interviews and in depth observations are the main methods of data collection used to gather relevant data to achieve the research objectives. In data presentation, qualitative method was used.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the presentation, analysis and interpretation of findings on the effectiveness of international organizations in conflict management in Burundi. The researcher tried to contact 48 respondents, but because of the volatile political situation in the country (also Bujumbura), at least was able to obtain data from 43 respondents through interviews. The study obtained data on the methods used by AU Mission to promote conflict management, the challenges faced AU Mission in conflicts management and the strategies to address the challenges in conflict management.

4.1. The nature of tasks you do to promote peace, security and stability in Burundi

The African Union Mission have since the outbreak of the conflict involved in negotiation between the government of Burundi and those in opposition with the aim of ceasing hostilities for peace to re-emerge in the country.

In an interview with one respondent said:

> *" the current conflict which is no longer news in the country and beyond stems from the fact that the incumbent president-Pierre Nkurunziza has abrogated the 2000 Arusha accord and the Constitutional Provisions which sanctioned the term limit to not more than two terms. Therefore the current impasse seems to be beyond the capacity of Burundi and requires the intervention of the African Union which we as Burundians are*

willing to better accept if as they state want peace to bring peace through negotiations between the opposition and government".

The findings revealed that there is mediation by African Union Mission personnel between the government of Burundi and the opposition. The researcher discovered that, mediation efforts have been vital in ensuring that the two opposing sides can come to appreciate the value of peace and for the president of Burundi to realize that the country needs peace and stability to prevail in as one respondent noted:

"mediation would ensure that the country can allow peace keeping operations to end the bloodshed, provide improved security conditions in Burundi, give advice in local conflicts and to propose judgments, advance the implementation of Arusha Peace and

Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi was signed in August 2000 and support disarmament and demobilization and reintegration of combatants into the national security forces".

This is one sure way to promote peace and security in the country. So the African Union has enabled its member states to interact and provided them with a space for a clash of their ideas and principles.

"*This role was performed especially by the Peace and Security Council (PSC), a key organ of the AU for making decisions in the field of conflict management, in which member states discuss the regional security issues and how multinational and global norms interact with African conditions. Thanks to this function, the PSC fulfilled the mediation role between the Union's approach towards conflict management and external anticipations about the form of this*

approach for example on the part of foreign governments, international organizations such as the European Union (EU) or UN, media or NGOs)".

"Among the important political factors affecting the capacity of AU conflict management, there is the actual setting of Union's goals related to negotiation in this area, unity of the PSC in their support which is crucial for conducting peacekeeping operations, viable peace processes, just as the development of exit strategies, permanent political engagement of special AU ambassadors, commissions and panels, just as peacekeepers in the field and real cooperation with the authorities of the host state and other member states, which is important above all for the crucial planning and initial stages of each operation when generating the required forces. In all these points, the AU has a lot to catch up on".

The major causes of conflicts in Burundi

The researcher discovered that conflicts are common because of the nature of governance, the desire for power and political rivalries have formed the recipe for power struggles in the country.

The research study revealed that Burundi conflicts are not new. In the interview with one political activist,

"The genesis of the current conflict is attributed to the attrition between the leader Pierre Nkurunziza who is now the president of the country and has almost abrogated the 2000 Arusha Accord by trying filthy and in a crafty manner to extend his hegemony over our country which is abuse of the fragile constitutional establishment".

Another respondent revealed that,

"The political rivalry between Nkurunziza (CNDD-FDD) and the opposition CNARED who have opposed his act of seeking the third term of office at the detriment of peace. His governance is relatively poor because it has not aided the country development but those cohorts of the president plunder and swindle the country at will. This has created animosity against the current government, and the situation seems not to be nearing the end because the African Union Mission to Burundi is not decisive in ending the conflicts in the country".

In the verbatim, Nkurunziza's political opponents and civil society immediately contested the third term, seeing it as a direct violation of the 2000 Arusha Agreement and the Burundian constitution. Their protests went unheard in the presidential palace. Elections were held in July 2015 and Nkurunziza received close to 70 per cent of the vote. Since then, the crisis has only grown more acute. Hundreds of opposition politicians, civil society activists and journalists have left for exile. An internal political dispute has become a regional crisis.

In another interview, the respondents noted that:" *the greed for dominance and power on the side of Nkurunziza and his henchmen is plunging the country further into war. This has led to the simmering of conflicts which since 2015 have been characterised by assassinations of government officials and those in opposition which threatens peace and stability in the country. There are militias such as Imbonererakure (the youth from CNDD-FDD) party which is power whose actions are similar to those of the Interahamwe in Rwanda carrying out a slow and systematic genocide. They are involved in battering people who are opposed to their bosses in government (government officials), and in return those who are opposed to their actions attempt*

to fight back thus causing further conflicts. This mob justice supported by government because of desire for power has created greater animosity in the country, and fuelled political rivalries thus further plunging the country into the new wave of conflicts".

4.3. The methods used by African Union Mission to Burundi to promote conflict management

The research study noted that the African Union through it Mission to Burundi has attempted several efforts to diffuse the conflicts that emerged again in 2015 in a number of ways which are detailed in this section.

"*The continental mission has been involved greatly in identifying the root causes of the conflict in the country. This has agreed by one of the mission personnel has enabled them to identify the historical rivalries which are ethnic and political, and as such in the course of their efforts, have been able to bring the two sides to around table for negotiations."*

The African Union Mission in Burundi (2016) reported that: "*as the crisis in Burundi deepened, the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) tried to stop its escalation. On 17 December 2015, the PSC authorized the deployment of a force of 5,000 troops. The Mission Africaine de Prévention et de Protection au Burundi (MAPROBU) was mandated for six months with the option to renew. It was tasked 'to prevent any deterioration of the security situation, to monitor its evolution and report developments on the ground and to contribute, within its capacity and in its areas of deployment, to the protection of civilian populations under imminent threat'. This was a groundbreaking move for the AU, as it was the first time the organization authorized the*

deployment of a force against the wishes of a host country. The hesitant UN Security Council, unsure of what it should do, welcomed the action by AU in Security Council Resolution".

How effective the African Union methods were?

In an interview with one political leader he noted: "*Conflict management tends to focus more on mitigating or controlling the destructive consequences that emanates from a given conflict than on finding solution to the underlying issues causing the conflict. It typically involves the use of military force for deterrence or peacekeeping. In Burundi, the conflicts that broke out in 2015 need attention and this has called for efforts towards managing the conflicts in the measures they come and provide a lasting solution to the situation as presented, analyzed and interpreted in this section".*

Another respodent noted that : "*The African Union has not been very effective in resolving the conflicts in Burundi largely because of the lack of corporation from the president, Pierre Nkurunziza, the sluggishness of the United Nations (Security Council), inability of the East African Community to handle the impasse, double dealings with the African leaders in the conflict and failure by the African Union Peace and Security Council to ensure the government of Burundi adheres to the demands for peace and security".*

The research study found out that the African Mission to Burundi has played a very instrumental role in create an atmosphere for negotiation and mediation in the country. The researcher found out that *:"the basis for undertaking mediation and negotiation under the auspice of the African union mission in the country stems from the fact that, the African Union Charter which states*

that; the African Union would promote peace, security and stability in Africa, in order to guarantee the protection and preservation of life and property, the well-being of the African people and their environment, as well as the creation of conditions conducive to sustainable development, anticipate and prevent conflicts". In circumstances where conflicts have occurred, the Peace and Security Council shall have the responsibility to undertake peace making and peace building functions for the resolution of these conflicts.

From one of the respondents, it was discovered that,

> *"the African union mission aims at promoting and implementing peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction activities to consolidate peace and prevent the resurgence of violence, coordinate and harmonize continental efforts in the prevention and combating of international terrorism in all its aspects and develop a common defence policy for the Union, in accordance with Article 4(d) of the Constitutive Act which would be useful in the case of Burundi under the framework of the east African tripartite Commission, and further promote and encourage democratic practices, good governance and the rule of law, protect human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the sanctity of human life and international humanitarian law, as part of efforts for preventing conflicts'.*

From one political leader he assert that: *"The Union has undertaken military interventions to help regulate conflicts in Burundi, the research study revealed that once the African Mission in Burundi was fully deployed, they immediately started achieving their goals by establishing and maintaining liaison between local parties. It monitored the implementation of the peace and ceasefire agreements and facilitated the activities of the Joint Ceasefire Commission and the*

technical committees for the establishment of national security forces as per the terms of the 2000 Arusha Peace Accords".

In another interview respondent assert that: "*before the re-emergence of conflicts in 2015, the African Union Mission to Burundi had started to secure the identified assembly and disengagement areas and provided safe passage for the relevant parties to these areas and provided Very Important People protection for designated leaders returning to Burundi. It also helped with the delivery of humanitarian assistance and coordinated its activities with those of the United Nations and other international actors involved in the peace process. In other words, the mission did what it set out to do in the way that it had planned to do this. The mission achievements outlined above suggest that this was an effective manner in which to use the very limited resources at the mission's disposal to achieve as much as possible".*

This was a building block for the later peace operations which have emerged since 2015 when the need arose as a result of the resurgence of the conflicts in the country, thus the positive interventions of neighbouring states and regional powers to support the African Union Mission in the country has helped facilitate the cooperation at the state and sub-state levels, which have been and continue to be necessary for the mission to succeed. Regional powers were involved in the Regional Peace Initiative for Burundi and through the personal involvement of regional leaders like Museveni (though disputed by many in opposition in the country as being one of those fuelling the conflicts for his political domination of the region), Magufuli (Tanzania), African Union Panel of the Wise (AUPoTW) and others who have attempted with some success to bring peace back into the country.

4.7 The Major Challenges faced by African Union Mission in Burundi.

One of the AU staff affirms:" *that the government of Burundi has always been very unlikely to accept the deployment of troops for military operations and for the African Mission in Burundi they have put very strict conditions on the deployment and with limited leverage of the mission as a whole. According to Article 4(h), in addition, it is always going to be a challenge to find the troops to deploy. There has been some confusion over whether this is a task for the African Standby Force (ASF), which is nearing readiness, or whether it should be based on member state contributions. The PSC communiqué of 17 December 2016 indicates that MAPROBU has not been functioning well".*

Another staff said that:"*one reason stems from the question of under what authority the AU could launch MAPROBU, and whether it would conform to existing international law. Because the mission's mandate envisions the potential use of force beyond self-defense and in defense of the mission's mandate, there would be a need for a Security Council Resolution under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, even if the Burundian government did consent which has delayed the work of African Union Mission in Burundi. The AU's use of article 4(h) would only be permitted if cases of crimes against humanity could be proven. Given the contention over the status of the situation on the ground, this is more challenging to show".*

"The United Nations Security Council visited Burundi in 2015 before the African leaders met, they left the country stressing the urgency of addressing the situation in Burundi before it deteriorated further and possibly took on ethnic dimensions. The government in Bujumbura countered that their concern was misplaced which has hampered the efforts of the African Union

Mission in Burundi. The Council members were worried by President Nkurinziza's lack of willingness to compromise on either the deployment of any AU troops or on the inclusiveness of the dialogue with the opposition".

In addition, one political leader added that:" *it was always going to be a challenge to find the troops to deploy. There has been some confusion over whether this is a task for the African Standby Force (ASF), which is nearing readiness, or whether it should be based on member state contributions. The PSC communiqué of 17 December indicates that MAPROBU will be placed under the command of the special representative of the AU Commission Chairperson, but the PSC also urges consultations with countries in the region within the framework of the East African component of the ASF. It is unknown, however, if the East African Standby Force (EASF) would have troops available for this mission."*

If not deployed under the ASF, options for troops are limited. Tanzania is against the deployment in Burundi and is pushing for peace talks to end the conflict. The next option would be South Africa, especially considering their involvement in negotiations in the late 1990s and early 2000s. But South Africa does not have the spare capacity, as its forces are already overstretched with deployments to Darfur and the Congo. Rwanda, the biggest troop contributor to the AU, would be unlikely to contribute to MAPROBU due to the political tensions between the two countries. Uganda is similarly constrained because of its current involvement in South Sudan.

There are still key issues regarding agreement over what level of force might be employed by MAPROBU. This is a challenge for all such missions, and the latest debate facing the UN is the question of how much force should be used in an intervention.

If the mission is or was ultimately to be sent in against the wishes of the Burundi government, the environment would be hostile. It would not be a classic peacekeeping mission, but rather more of a peace enforcement operation. A balance would need to be struck between using force in self-defense, or using force to carry out the mandate. Every peace operation needs robust leadership and political strategy. Since many countries do have reservations over troop deployment, there are few troops on ground especially if the mission has a mandate under Article 4 (h) to protect civilians, which, Raplph Mamiya argues, is a central tenet of peacekeeping missions after the Rwanda and Balkans disasters. It is unclear how long it would take for troop contributors to come to a common understanding about this.

Even if the troops could be found and deployed, questions arise over how the force would be paid for. Further, from the secondary data, it is seen that the Peace and Security Committee's inability to carry through on its resolution is a setback. When the decision reached the level of the Assembly of Heads of States, it showed that in the absence of consent there is no political willingness of African leaders to act against their own (fellow dictator). Moreover, even if there was, the logistical and financial support does not exist to support such interventions. Ultimately, the action on Burundi gives the strong sentiment that the key institution of peace and security on the continent is more words than action.

4.9 The Strategies to address major challenges faced by African Union

One staff of AU said that: "*The UN has been actively involved. There have been two Security Council visits and another from the Secretary-General (February 2016), plus Council meetings resulting in three resolutions, two presidential statements and a series of press releases. However, these have borne little fruit. Two reasons stand out. First, disagreements over how to*

mitigate and resolve the crisis stymied decisive response. Secondly, the Council tried to follow the African lead, but the continent has rarely spoken with a single voice. The Council's slow response, despite warnings by the Secretariat, also illustrates its declining influence in Burundi. This was particularly evident in the withdrawal, under pressure, of the UN's special political mission and its replacement in January 2015 by an electoral observation mission, with a significantly narrower mandate, for example, in January 2015, the Secretariat warned that the elections could "either consolidate or unravel the peace consolidation efforts undertaken since the Arusha accords" and pointed to the eroding spirit of the accords, shrinking of political space, intimidation of opposition supporters and limitations on free assembly and expression".

Some Western permanent members initially wanted an armed international presence to protect civilians in the event of widespread violence following increasingly sharp anti-Tutsi rhetoric *(Crisis Group interviews, UN and member state officials, New York, February 2016).* Subsequently, as the Council perceived an immediate genocide threat subsiding, proponents argued police could increase monitoring and so deter continuing human rights abuse by

authorities.

Two key leverage points have not yet been fully utilized: targeted sanctions and denying Burundi's financially advantageous participation in UN peacekeeping operations.

"Implementation of limited sanctions has been haphazard and half-hearted, for example, in October 2015, the EU sanctioned four government members; two months later the U.S. sanctioned a slightly different group. But with government revenue falling and further GDP decline forecast, the government is vulnerable to economic pressure. Despite the difficulty of

ensuring full adherence in a region generally supportive of Nkurunziza, that would send an important signal and add further pressure on the government. The EU and the U.S., whose special Great Lakes region envoy has already condemned the use of inflammatory rhetoric, should expand their existing sanctions to include that propagating hate speech. Removal of sanctions should be clearly benchmarked to reducing violence, ending impunity and starting dialogue. Burundi braces for more "

Among the other strategies as data obtained from the field regarding the swift return to peace is the re-establishing of the authority of the state. From one respondent,

> *"Considering the situation prevailing at the moment in the country, the first emergency will be the restoration of the authority of the state. The different structures of the state should start functioning again to ensure that its traditional prerogatives to protect the citizens and their properties are maintained. In practice the local administration should be reactivated and authority given to them to seek cohesion and solidarity among the communities which have a high sense of conciliation and management of social peace and public order. At the same time an effort should be made to rehabilitate the judicial authority be it modern or traditional as it has been manipulated through the crisis.*

Impunity, "barbaric justice", abuse of authority, banditism, looting of national wealth, anarchy, arbitrary rule, the confusion between might and right are the evils that should be fought with all the necessary strength. To give justice once again its irreplaceable role as the pillar of public order seems to be the second urgent measure to be carried out if the authority of the state is to be really reestablished".

The other respondent contacted stated that,

"The other best practice that should be planned is the dismantling of ghettos which were built along ethnic considerations since the beginning of the crisis in 1993. In order to achieve this objective political voluntarism should be initiated with open mindedness for social groups that are ready to mutually accept each other in order to foster peaceful coexistence, organizing meetings of all kinds be it sports events and cultural gathering to share what brings them together as peoples of the same country, should be organized so that the young people will grow up together in a climate of natural confidence and spontaneity".

As long as there is war and violence raging in the country, the process of reconstruction and reconciliation would be difficult to achieve. All the Burundi communities should work together for a collective rejection of violence. Clearly this signifies that all the protagonists should speak the same language and condemn all violence with the same force no matter the pretext and the authors. As the issues of law enforcement as well as defense and security officers continue to divide Burundi political leaders, it should be given the required attention to avoid the continuation of violence. It is hoped that the recruitment into the corp of officers will be as transparent as possible, with decentralization based on willingness and executed by a neutral commission.

The other strategy raised was on how to make the military more friendly to the people, and in the case of building good civil-military relations, there should be demystifying of the gun to people through military training for self defense. Thus according to the study, one respondent noted that, *"in order to make the issue of the army less taboo and to ensure the maximum contact among*

young people of both sexes in fraternity and in the circles of the army as a profession, compulsory national service should be encouraged… and further, it would be necessary to integrate former rebels within the army who have now joined the peace process to attain their social rehabilitation".

This would enable the reconstruction of a Burundi Nation. We have observed earlier on that Burundi was a nation-state since the seventeenth century. Unfortunately the violence and the civil wars of the last 30 years have brought about a crisis of identity which has been reflected by the weakening of the historic conscience of belonging to the same people and the break-up of confidence between the Hutu and Tutsi communities. Burundian at least at the political level have preached and given privilege to ethnicity at the detriment of the Burundi citizenship. Despite all this Burundian share the same culture. Developing this culture could be one of the strategies to build reconstruction and social cohesion.

In order to attain this goal, it is important to establish a mechanism for the prevention of genocide, which as one political leaders noted, would involve,

> *"promotion of the rule of law an institutional tool, and the government of the Republic of Burundi in a bid to make human rights an issue of major concern, make laws which strengthen and promote the rights of people by educating them on the culture of human rights, and the coordination and development of their structures and make those laws work. Establish mechanisms for protecting and defending the rights of individuals by*

monitoring their situation in the country and ensuring the respect and implementation of the International Convention on Human Rights".

This would ensure that no genocide can occur again in the country of peaceful and brotherly persons. So, in order to achieve these objectives, it uses the media (radio and television) posters and other teaching materials to inform the communities about human rights. In order to reach local communities it has constituted ministerial teams in all regions of the country. Periodically officials visit areas of potential violation of human rights prisons, refugee camps and other establishments. These efforts should be aimed at fostering,

'Internal negotiations involving the representatives of all socio-professional and economic groups to search for ways and means to resolve the crisis, and external negotiations open to all parties including the armed bands. The mobilization of women in the peace and reconciliation process; it is generally acknowledged that in ancient Burundi women played an important role in the prevention and peaceful resolution of conflicts. Women are considered as the pillar in the family because they take care not only of the education of children and preparing the future of the entire community but they are also at the heart of the solidarity activities and mutual assistance with the neighbourhood. Women in Burundi through marriage were a real link between two families, two clans and even two ethnic groups. Society generally recognized several qualities in women that made them accomplish their mission namely qualities of compassion, patience, reserve, tenderness, modesty and others'.

The study revealed that efforts should be aimed at contributing to the favorable progress of the talks among Burundians; working for adoption of new attitudes and a change behavior by

Burundians with the aim of fostering a spirit of tolerance and mutual confidence among all the social elements in the country; promoting greater awareness among the various leaders in Burundian society to remove the obstacles to the peace process, in particular by the immediate cessation of hostilities; influencing and pressurize those involved in politics in Burundi to ensure that the peace process is brought to a conclusion as rapidly as possible in view of the distressing conditions in which

CHAPTER FIVE:

DISCUSSION, SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

The study was about the effectiveness of international organizations in conflict management and resolution in Burundi. The study was accomplished in line with the study objectives namely;

a. To establish the methods used by AU Mission to promote conflict management in Burundi.
b. To identify the challenges faced AU Mission in conflicts management in Burundi
c. To explore the strategies to address the challenges in conflict management.

5.1 Discussion of the findings

Conflict management can best be achieved through mediation and negotiation efforts have been vital in ensuring that the two opposing sides in the Burundi conflict can come to appreciate the value of peace and for the president of Burundi to realize that the country needs peace and stability to prevail.

5.1.1 The methods used by AU Mission to promote conflict management in Burundi

Burundi slumbered into a crisis in 2015 when the current President Pierre Nkurunziza's 2015 decided against the will of the nation to seek a third term. This triggered mass protests, an

attempted coup, armed opposition attacks and a brutal crackdown by his government on opposition which has since fuelled a cycle of violence in the country. The African union which had been observing the situation delicately has come up with several initiatives to end the conflict through conflict prevention, mediation and crisis management are currently receiving increased attention today. They are particularly relevant Burundi today, when security threats often extend beyond the Burundian boarders and challenge regional security, the continental and regional intergovernmental organizations such as the African Union (AU) and their member states and civil society have come with the view of ensuring that this fragile nation state is saved the burden of conflicts, thus establishing the African Union Mission in Burundi.

The African Union has enabled its member states to interact and provided them with a space for a clash of their ideas and principles. This role was performed especially by the Peace and Security Council (PSC), a key organ of the AU for making decisions in the field of conflict management, in which member states discuss the regional security issues and how multinational and global norms interact with African conditions. In line with Amoo (1992), conflict management involves the creation of propitious atmosphere for the eventual resolution of conflict or the diffusion of tension. So conflict management should be considered as a process of ensuring containment of hostilities so as to avoid escalation.

Wallensteen (2007: 4-5) concurs with the notion that conflict management is an essential phenomenon of ensuring that the situation does not get out of hand without necessarily settling the perceived fundamental issues in dispute. He further notes that "conflict management can help reduce the dangers of crisis, creating some confidence and lessening (potential or actual) suffering. In other words, it is an ongoing course of action that may not necessarily lead to resolution. In this respect, the conflict has already started the issue of what caused it is less

important than the fact that the conflict now has to be dealt with by means of effective management.

The study revealed that the African Union has not been very effective in resolving the conflicts in Burundi largely because of the lack of corporation from the president, Pierre Nkurunziza, the sluggishness of the United Nations (Security Council), inability of the East African Community to handle the impasse, double dealings with the African leaders in the conflict and failure by the African Union Peace and Security Council to ensure the government of Burundi adheres to the demands for peace and security.

The research study revealed that is using several means to ensure that peace and normalcy returns to Burundi as soon as they can end the conflict which broke out in the country in 2015. The research study found out that the African Mission to Burundi has played a very instrumental role in create an atmosphere for negotiation and mediation in the country. The researcher found out that the basis for undertaking mediation and negotiation under the auspice of the African union mission in the country stems from the fact that, the African Union Charter which states that; the African Union would promote peace, security and stability in Africa, in order to guarantee the protection and preservation of life and property, the well-being of the African people and their environment, as well as the creation of conditions conducive to sustainable development, anticipate and prevent conflicts. In circumstances where conflicts have occurred, the Peace and Security Council shall have the responsibility to undertake peacemaking and peace building functions for the resolution of these conflicts.

The Union wanted to undertake military interventions to help regulate conflicts in Burundi, and also helped with the delivery of humanitarian assistance and coordinated its activities with those

of the United Nations and other international actors involved in the peace process. In other words, the mission did what it set out to do in the way that it had planned to do this.

In line with Murithi (2005), conflict resolution and peace building approaches must be coherent, comprehensive, integrated and aimed at addressing the root causes of the conflict. The close cooperation of all policy instruments such as diplomacy, military, trade and development cooperation based on their respective comparative advantages, is required to ensure coherence and coordination. Regional powers were involved in the Regional Peace Initiative for Burundi and through the personal involvement of regional leaders like Museveni (though disputed by many in opposition in the country as being one of those fuelling the conflicts for his political domination of the region), Magufuli (Tanzania), African Union Panel of the Wise (AUPoTW) and others who have attempted with some success to bring peace back into the country. This can be vital in building peace in Burundi.

5.1.2 The challenges faced AU Mission in conflicts management in Burundi

The conflicts in Burundi is far from stable because the failed coup d'état in 2015 has exacerbated the situation. The study revealed that the government of Burundi has always been very unlikely to accept the deployment of troops for military operations and for the African Mission in Burundi they have put very strict conditions on the deployment and with limited leverage of the mission as a whole. The government in Bujumbura countered that their concern was misplaced which has hampered the efforts of the African Union Mission in Burundi. The Council members were worried by President Nkurinziza's lack of willingness to compromise on either the deployment of any AU troops or on the inclusiveness of the dialogue with the opposition.

Since the conflict in Burundi is a manifestation that local and international conflict bleeds war if not mitigated, after experiencing its devastating effects in recent history, countries such as Burundi are at the centre stage of conflict management and resolution mechanisms created by international organizations and institutions to solve the conflict in the country in peaceful ways through a series of international negotiation/mediation efforts from third parties which has become significant for the good of the country and for humanitarian reasons. However, the rejection of peace initiatives by the government of Burundi still makes it hard for lasting conflict resolution and management to be achieved.

5.1.3 The strategies to address the challenges in conflict management

Until the African Union Mission in Burundi deployed in collaboration with the East African Community and the Burundi government are promoting negotiating efforts for peaceful end to the conflicts in the country. The AU exert pressure on the government to allow for negotiation through the mediation of the regional and continental African union body in order to promote the image of the country and its human rights records so that it continue to fit into the global family of states which are palatable for human livelihoods.

The Burundi crisis has since 2015 had a broad range of actors attempting to play an intervening role; these actors as data obtained from the interviews revealed include the United Nations, which initially took a central role in trying to facilitate dialogue among all parties, building on its longstanding involvement in Burundi through its various missions and envoys. The African Union has taken over explicit and strong positions on both the government and the opposition to try to have them come to the negotiating table for peace and stability.

5.2 Summary of findings

The following section gives the summary of the findings in a thematic order;

5.2.1 The methods used by AU Mission to promote conflict management in Burundi

When the conflict broke out in 2015 after the incumbent president-Pierre Nkurunziza had abrogated the 2000 Arusha accord and the Constitutional Provisions to force his way through for another terms of office, the opposition in the country openly came out to raise their displeasure at this act which touched off the new wave of conflicts that have engulfed the country. This has since drawn the intervention of the African Union which Burundians are willing to better accept except for their leaders who continue to deprive the country of the desired peace. The Burundi peace initiative, the regional leaders, east African community and going by the terms of the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi was signed in August 2000 as well as deployment of the African union forces in the country to reinforce the mediation and negotiation efforts are the key methods to the effect.

The intention of the African mission in the country is to reinforce peace through mediation and negotiation. The various mechanisms such as post-conflict reconstruction activities to consolidate peace and prevent the resurgence of violence have all come in handy to ensure that the conflicts are resolved amicably for restorations of better democratic leadership in the country.

By invoking a common defense policy for the Union, and in accordance with Article 4(d) of the Constitutive Act which would be useful in the case of Burundi which supports the framework of

the East African Tripartite Commission to restore peace in the Great lakes region without exception, focus on Burundi. Though the African Union legal framework, Article 4 of the

Constitutive Act constitutes the basic principles of operation for the organization which include: sovereign equality and interdependence among Member States of the Union therefore no state should undermine the independence of the other, and respect of borders existing on achievement of independence so that every state protects it borders, establishment of a common defence policy for the African Continent to ensure that civil wars, strife and turmoil, are not allowed to escalate in the country, region or continent; peaceful resolution of conflicts among Member States of the Union through such appropriate means as may be decided upon by the Assembly; prohibition of the use of force or threat to use force among Member States of the Union; noninterference by any Member State in the internal affairs of another; the right of the Union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity; the right of Member States to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security through concerted efforts to facilitate the ground for better resolution of the conflicts in Burundi under the auspice of the African Union Mission in the country.

5.2.2 The challenges facing AU Mission in their attempt to resolve conflicts in Burundi

The findings revealed that the government in Burundi, there is still grave opposition to the full intervention of the African Union Mission to Burundi, and the opposition is still skeptical the government will support an end to the conflict by following the resolutions of the African Union. There is no word to lose, the conflict in Burundi is a manifestation that local and international conflict bleeds war if not mitigated, after experiencing its devastating effects in recent history,

countries such as Burundi are at the centre stage of conflict management and resolution mechanisms created by international organizations and institutions to solve the conflict in the country in peaceful ways through a series of international negotiation/mediation efforts from third parties which has become hard because the government is less willing to accept to lose part of its pie in the process. The current wave of assassination in the country coupled with the massacres by government militias and the unwillingness by those in power to foment peace at this stage and the intervention of the African Union fully have made peace to be elusive for the meantime.

5.2.3 The strategies which have been explored to address the above challenges

According to the study, there are various strategies which are being implemented to enhance conflict management and resolution as showed in this section,

a) The African Union set out to deploy a standby force known as MAPROBU; African Prevention and Protection Mission in Burundi with the aim of ensuring that fighting stops and peace negotiations take place.
b) Efforts by regional East African Community leaders in collaboration with the Burundi government are promoting negotiating efforts for peaceful end to the conflicts in the country under the Burundi Peace Initiative in which negotiations have taken place to try to stabilize the country.
c) The deployment of the deployment of an African force in the country has brought hope of restoration of peace and stability in and around Bujumbura where clashes are majorly taking place. However, this needs further beefing up by regional leaders.

d) The African Union has for long advocated for the respect for the dignity of the citizens against human rights abuses have also deployed human rights observers in order to document the various human rights abuses and devise means to address the situation. e)

f) The regional political and economic power blockers such as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa have on several occasions sent delegates to Burundi, in conjunction with the Eastern African Community (EAC) Panel of Eminent Persons with the aim of negotiating peace and stability to return to the country.

5.3 Conclusions

The fighting between government and opposition in Burundi stems from the attrition between the leaders Pierre Nkurunziza who is now the president of the country with the opposition. The current conflict which is no longer news in the country and beyond stems from the fact that the incumbent president-Pierre Nkurunziza has abrogated the 2000 Arusha accord and the Constitutional Provisions which sanctioned the term limit to not more than two terms. Therefore the current impasse seems to be beyond the capacity of Burundi and requires the intervention of the African Union which we as Burundians are willing to better accept if as they state want peace to bring peace through negotiations between the opposition and government.

The following is the conclusion of the study in line with the study objectives;

a. The study discovered that, the African union mission aims at promoting and implementing peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction activities to consolidate peace and prevent the resurgence of violence. The aim of the African union is to ensure that peace returns to the

country such peace negotiations, ensure that there is prohibition of the use of force or threat to use force on the local peoples in the country.

b. The study discovered that the government of Burundi is still adamant to calm down and accept full-fledged peace talks in order to restore unconditional peace in the country. Since the conflict in Burundi is a manifestation that local and international conflict bleeds war if not mitigated, after experiencing its devastating effects in recent history. The conflicts in Burundi are at the centre stage of conflict management and resolution mechanisms which seem not to be working well currently, but in future peace is a foreseeable reality.

c. There are various strategies which have been adopted by AU Mission for enhancing conflict management and resolution activities in Burundi, which include,

   a) Deployment of an African Union standby force: The African Union set out to deploy a standby force known as MAPROBU; African Prevention and Protection Mission in Burundi with the aim of ensuring that fighting stops and peace negotiations take place, however, the success of such a force is yet to be registered in the country.

   b) Promoting the role of regional political players: Efforts by regional East African Community leaders in collaboration with the Burundi government are promoting negotiating efforts for peaceful end to the conflicts in the country under the Burundi Peace Initiative in which negotiations have taken place to try to stabilize the country, but success is yet to be achieved.

   c) Upholding human rights: The African Union has for long advocated for the respect for the dignity of the citizens against human rights abuses have also deployed human rights observers in order to document the various human rights abuses and devise means to

address the situation. The human rights actors are not yet fully on the ground though but the paper work is well done.

d) The role of regional economic blocks is being considered in the case of Burundi: The regional political and economic power blockers such as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa have on several occasions sent delegates to Burundi with the aim of negotiating peace and stability to return to the country, but tangible success is yet to be realized.

5.4 Recommendations

Since the study has been able to examine the role of international organizations in conflict management and resolution in Burundi, the following recommendations are thus provided;

a) Regional organizations such the East African Community must play adequate attention to longer-term inclusive processes. The Burundi crisis has highlighted the need for continued engagement by the international and regional community, and key member states to adhere to and expand on political settlements.

b) Local actors such as civil society, women and youth groups need to be engaged alongside political and government actors, to achieve progress on signed agreements. Only through sustained engagement with all actors combining technical and political assistance can, for example, an institution such as the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission, agreed upon in the Arusha Agreement for Burundi, become a useful and timely tool for the aims originally envisaged. There should be re-invigoration of local administration and authority given to them to seek cohesion and solidarity among the communities which have a high sense of conciliation and management of social peace and public order to

harmonize Hutu-Tutsi ethnic issues for better coexistence as peoples of the same national state. The dismantling of ghettos which were built along ethnic considerations since the beginning of the crisis in 1993. In order to achieve this objective political voluntarism should be initiated with open mindedness for social groups that are ready to mutually accept each other in order to foster peaceful co-existence, organizing meetings of all kinds be it sports events and cultural gathering to share what brings them together as peoples of the same country, should be organized so that the young people will grow up together in a climate of natural confidence and spontaneity.

c) The rapid restoration of the authority of the state. The different structures of the state should start functioning again to ensure that its traditional prerogatives to protect the citizens and their properties are maintained by a non-partisan police and national army (l'armee Nationale). Further, there should be promotion of efforts aimed at rehabilitating the judicial authority be it modern or traditional as it has been manipulated through the crisis to become partisan, so it should be made non-partisan in nature in order to serve for the sake of national healing. This should go along with immediate cessation of hostilities in order to end impunity, barbaric actions of mob justice, abuse of authority, banditism, looting of national wealth, anarchy, arbitrary rule, the confusion between might and right in order to create social order and end fighting.

d) The army should be recruited along non-ethnic lines and should be strictly for the protection of the citizens of the country. Both male and female, Hutu and Tutsi should have equal treatment in the army in order to make the issue of the army less taboo and to ensure the maximum contact among young people of both sexes and ethnic groups for better harmony.

5.5 Areas for further study

a) The value of regional bodies in renewing dialogue, rebuilding trust, restoring security for peace building.
b) The regional economic communities and the coordinating mechanisms of the regional standby force for peace building.
c) Regional conflict management responses for conflict management.
d) Challenges to peace and the role of regional states in conflict resolution in the Great Lakes Region of Africa.

REFERENCES

Afizalur, Rahim. (2002). *Toward a Theory of Managing Organisational Conflict*. International Journal of Conflict Management, Vol. 13 Issue.

Amoo, S. G. (1992). *The OAU and African Conflicts: past successes, present paralysis and future perspectives.* Working Paper. Virginia: George Mason University, Institute of Conflict Analysis and Resolution.

Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi. (2000). Available at: http://www.hdcentre.org/files/Arusah%20peace%20agreement.pdf.

BBC News. (2015).*Burundi Country Profile* [online]. Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/1068873.stm

Berinsky, A. J. (2008).*Survey non-response. The SAGE handbook of public opinion research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Blaxter Loraine, Christina Hughes and Malcolm Tight. (1998).*How to Research*: Second Edition

Boshoff, Henri, Vrey, Waldemar and Rautenbach, George. (2010).*The Burundi Peace Process: from Civil War to Conditional Peace.* Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.

Bramble, W.J and Mason (1989).*Understanding and conducting research: Applications in education and the behavioral sciences.* New York: McGraw-Hill

Carnegie Commission. (1997).*Preventing Deadly Conflict*: Final Report.

Cilliers, J. (2008).*"The African Standby Force: An Update on Progress*". Institute for Security Studies (ISS).

Collier, P.et al. (2003). *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil war and development policy*. Washington D.C.: World Bank and Oxford University Press.

Collis, J. and Hussey, R. (2003). *Business Research: A Practical Guide for Undergraduate and Postgraduate Students*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire.

Cornelius, H. & Faire, S. (1989).*Everyone can win: How to Resolve Conflict*. Australia: Simon & Schuster.

Dagne, Ted. (2009). *Somalia Current Conditions and Prospects for a Lasting Peace*.

Fetherston, A.B., O. Ramsbotham, and T. Woodhouse. (2004), *"UNPROfOR: Some Observations from a Conflict Resolution Perspective"*, International Peacekeeping.

Field, A. (2005).*Discovering statistics using SPSS* (2nd ed.). London: Sage

Fonkem Achankeng. (2013).*Conflict and conflict resolution in Africa*: Engaging the colonial factor.

Hamad, A. A.(2005). "*The Re-Conceptualisation of Conflict Management". Peace Conflict and Development*: an interdisciplinary journal 7.

Hanson, S. (2009). *'The African Union',* Council on Foreign Relations.

Holsti, K. J. (2000). *International Politics*: a framework for analysis. London: Prentice Hall International.

Human Security Report Project. (2008).*Human Security Brief 2007*. School for International Studies, Simon Frasier University Canada.

IPEP/OAU.(2000). *Rwanda: The preventable Genocide*. Addis Ababa: OAU.

Jewell N. P.,. (2001).*The NPMLE in the doubly censored current status data model,* Scandinavian Journal of Statistics.

Kilmann and Thomas. (1975). *"Interpersonal conflict-handling behaviour as reflections of Jungian personality dimensions."* Psychological Reports.

Krejcie, R.V. and D.W. Morgan (1970).*Determining sample size for research activities*. Educ.

Miall, Ramsbotham, and Woodhouse. (2011).*Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Moore, D. S., & McCabe, G. P. (2005).*Introduction to the Practice of Statistics.* (5th ed.). New York, NY: W.H. Freeman & Company.

Mugenda O.M & Mugenda A.G (1999). *Research Methods.Quantitative and qualitative Approaches*. Nairobi. Acts press

Murithi, T. (2005). *The African Union: Pan-Africanism, peacebuilding and development*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Murithi, T. (2009).*'The African Union's transition from non-intervention to non-indifference: An ad hoc approach to the Responsibility to Protect?*.

Ndiho, P. (2010): "*African Union Plays a Significant Role in Conflict Resolution*.

Rangarajan Nandhini and Shields M. Patricia. (2013.) *A Playbook for Research Methods*: Integrating Conceptual Frameworks and Project Management, Paperback.

Report on the United Nations Office in Burundi, UNSC S/2015/36, 19 January 2015*: Burundi briefing and consultation.*

Oso, Willis Yuko and Onen, David. (2009). *A General Guide to Writing Research and Report. A Hand Book for Beginning Researchers,* Second Edition, Makerere University, Kampala

Riox, J. (2003). *Peace studies and third party intervention as conflict management: the case of Africa.* Paper presented at the 16th Nordic and 4th Baltic Peace Research Conference, St.

Petersburg.

Rodt, A.P. (2011).*"The African Mission in Burundi: The successful management of violent ethno-political conflict?"*,Ethnopolitics.

Sandole, D.J.D. & van de Merwe, H. (1993).*Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice: Integration and Application.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Saunders, Harold (1999) *A Public Peace Process: Sustained Dialogue to Transform Racial and Ethnic Conflicts*. New York: St. Martin's Press

Smith J. A. (2001).*Evaluating the contribution of interpretative phenomenological analysis; Health Psychology Review.*

Spencer, Dale and William Spencer (1995). *Third-Party Mediation and Conflict Transformation: Experiences in Ethiopia, Sudan, and Liberia*: In Kumar Rupesinghe, ed., *Conflict Transformation*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Sriram, C.L., and Wermester, K. (eds.). (2003).*From Promise to Practice: Strengthening the UN Capabilities for the Prevention of Violent Conflict*. Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder, London.

Svensson, Emma. (2008).*The African Mission in Burundi: Lessons Learned from the African*

Union's first Peace Operation. Stockholm: FOI Swedish Defence Research Agency.

The OAU: *Declaration on a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution.*http://www.dipublico.com.ar/english/treaties/oau-declaration-on-amechanismfor-conflict-prevention-management-and-resolution-cairodeclaration/

Wallensteen, P. (2007). *Understanding Conflict Resolution: war, peace and the global system,* (second edition.). London: SAGE Publications.

Williams, P. (2011): "*The African Union*"*s Conflict Management Capabilities*"

Woodhouse, T. (1998).*"Peacekeeping and the Psychology of Conflict Resolution",*Westport, CT.

Zartman, I. William.(2000). *Traditional cures for modern conflicts: African conflict 'medicine'.* Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Zikmund, W.G., Babin, J.C. Carr and M. Griffin (2012).*Business Research Methods*. 9th Edn., Cengage Learning, Mason.

Peter F. Drucker (2006). *The Effective Executive: The Definitive Guide to Getting the Right Things Done*. New York: Collins

APPENDIX 1

Dear respondent,

I am Irambona Ornella a Master's Degree candidate in Nkumba University and I am currently carrying out research on the effectiveness of international organizations in conflict management with particular focus on African Union Mission in Burundi.

I kindly request you to enable me obtain relevant data and appreciate your contribution to my research study.

Note: the information you avail in this context shall be treated with uttermost confidentiality and will be used for academic purposes only.

Hoping for your support in this endavour,

Yours,

…….

Irambona Ornella

(Candidate)

Acceptance

I …… (initials) do agree to participate in this study.

Signature…….. Date ……

Interview Guide for the staff of African Union Mission to Burundi

1. What do you think are the major causes of conflicts in Burundi in the recent three years?
2. What are the methods used by African Union Mission to Burundi to promote conflict management in Burundi?
3. How effective are the African Union methods of conflict management in ending the conflict in Burundi?
4. How has African Mission to Burundi helped in mediating and negotiating peace between government and the opposition?
5. In your view, what do you think constituted major hindrances to African Union Mission in Burundi and how can they be alleviated in future AU missions?
6. What would you regard in the promotion of peace and stability in Burundi considering African Union Peace and Security Council approach to future conflict management missions?

Thank you.

APPENDIX 2

Interview Guide for the selected Political Leaders in Burundi

1. What have you found out to be the major causes of conflicts in Burundi in the recent three years?
2. What are the methods used by African Union Mission to Burundi to promote conflict management in Burundi?
3. How effective are the African Union methods of conflict management in ending the conflict in Burundi?
4. How has African Mission to Burundi helped in mediating and negotiating peace between government and the opposition?
5. How effective are the African Union methods of conflict resolution in resolving Burundian conflicts?
6. In your view, what do you think constituted major hindrances to African Union Mission in Burundi and how can they be alleviated in future AU missions?
7. What would you regard in the promotion of peace and stability in Burundi considering African Union Peace and Security Council approach to future conflict management missions?

Thank you.

APPENDIX 3

MAP OF BURUNDI

Nkumba University

CHARTERED SINCE 2006 BY THE GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

The mission of the University is to provide an environment that enables the cultivation of Competence, Confidence, Creativity, and Character, in the academic, professional and social interactions.

19th June 2017

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: IRAMBONA ORNELLA

This is to introduce **MS. IRAMBONA ORNELLA** who is a student at Nkumba University pursuing a Master of Arts in International Relations and Diplomacy.

As part of the requirements for the fulfilment of the award of a Masters Degree, she is required to undertake a research project in an area of interest and submit a report.

Her area of research is: **ASSESSING THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION. THE CASE OF AFRICAN UNION MISSION IN BURUNDI.**

The purpose of this letter is to kindly request you to accord her the necessary assistance.

Yours Sincerely

Asiimwe Solomon Muchwa (PhD)
Head of Department
Public Administration and Political Studies

NKUMBA UNIVERSITY
20 JUN 2017
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION & POLITICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Entebbe Highway • P. O. Box 237, Entebbe, Uganda • Tel: +256 (0)41 432 0268 • Fax: +256 (0)41 432 0134 • E-mail: dean_soss@nkumbauni.ac.ug

Vice-Chancellor: +256 (0)41 437 4996 • University Secretary: +256 (0)41 432 0134 • Academic Registrar: +256 (0)41 432 0283 • University Bursar: +256 (0)41 437 4991 • Dean of Students: +256 (0)41 437 4998
School of Postgraduate Studies & Research: +256 (0)41 432 0283 • School of Business Administration: +256 (0)77 259 4457 • School of Education, Humanities & Sciences: +256 (0)41 437 0999
School of Social Sciences: +256 (0)41 432 0268 • School of Sciences: +256 (0)41 437 4989 • School of Commercial, Industrial Art & Design: +256 (0)41 432 0269 • School of Law: +256 (0)41 437 0997
University Library: +256 (0)41 437 6113 • Directorate of Quality Assurance: +256 (0)41 469 0120 • General Inquiry: +256 (0)41 432 1448