

# DEVELOPMENT-RELATED CONFLICTS: A POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

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## ABSTRACT

This paper is aimed at proposing a policy framework for the resolution or management of development-related conflicts in Sub-Saharan African countries. In many conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa, development issues are contributory factors. In view of the linkage between conflicts and development issues in Sub-Saharan Africa, the paper asks whether there is any one resource, whether security apparatus or development policy, that is at once necessary and sufficient for the resolution or management of development-related conflicts. In responding to the above question the paper argues for the combination of both security and development resources in dealing with such conflicts. For the purpose of contextualization: the conflicts the paper focuses on are intra-state conflicts; and the development issues the paper focuses on are unemployment and underemployment. Throughout the discussion, the paper relies on theoretical analysis. Admittedly, any sort of work like the subject matter of this paper often requires empirical methods. Nevertheless, the aim of this paper is to do a theoretical analysis which will serve as the foundation for future empirical works. The paper is in three sections. The first section presents a parsimonious and cursory overview of intra-state conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa. The second section discusses the linkage between such conflicts and certain development issues namely unemployment and underemployment. While the final section proposes a policy and proffers a strategy for dealing with conflicts in which unemployment and underemployment are contributory factors.

**Keywords:** Conflict, Development, Policy, Underemployment, Unemployment.

## **INTRODUCTION:**

There are conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa in which development issues are neither the causal factor nor part of the causal factor. Nevertheless, the sub-continent is not short of development-related conflicts. The littering of the sub-continent with development-related conflicts is a well-known phenomenon. The double-tragedy of the relationship between conflicts and development is that: on the one hand conflicts can cause, or contribute to, underdevelopment; and on the other hand, underdevelopment can cause, or contribute to, conflicts. For instance, as Paul Collier (2004) says, “the relationship between civil war and failures in development is strong and goes in both directions: civil war powerfully retards development; and equally, failures in development substantially increase proneness to civil war” (1).

Some countries on the sub-continent have direct or indirect linkages with development issues, and development issues are causally linked or at least have correlation with the conflicts. Examples include resource-conflicts in the Niger-Delta (Nigeria), Cabinda (Angola), Katanga (Democratic Republic of Congo), etc (Abumere, 2014: 137-38, 146, 151). The question is; in view of the linkage between conflicts and development issues in sub-Saharan Africa, is there any resource, whether security apparatus or development policy, that is necessary and sufficient for dealing with such conflicts?

In responding to the above question, the following hypotheses were formulated. First, there is no one resource that is at once necessary and sufficient; while each resource is necessary, none is sufficient. Second, while one of the resources might be sufficient sometimes, generally none of the resources is sufficient. Third, consequently we should neither jettison any one resource nor exclusively rely on any one resource. Fourth, then if both resources were to be combined, dealing with development-related conflicts on the sub-continent will become tractable. In order to narrow down our subject matter and to contextualise the hypotheses: the conflicts focused on are intra-state conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa; and the development issues focused on are unemployment and underemployment in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Throughout the discussion, theoretical analysis is relied on. Admittedly, any sort of work like this one often requires empirical methods. Nevertheless, the aim of this paper is to do a theoretical analysis which will serve as the foundation for future empirical works. This paper is in three sections. The first section presents a parsimonious and cursory overview of conflicts in sub-Saharan African countries. This overview is neither aimed at a detailed description nor a historical analysis of the conflicts. Rather it is aimed at giving the readers insights into the nature of such conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa. Then the second section discusses the linkage between such conflicts and certain issues of development namely unemployment and underemployment in Sub-Saharan Africa. While the third section of the paper proposes a policy and proffers a strategy for resolving or managing such conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa in which unemployment and underemployment are contributory factors.

## **A PARSIMONIOUS AND CURSORY OVERVIEW OF INTRA-STATE CONFLICTS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN COUNTRIES:**

African countries are not just plagued by ordinary conflicts; many of them have actually been plagued by civil wars and are currently being plagued by terrorism. Whether it was civil wars in Libya, Angola, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Ethiopia (Eritrea’s secession), Sudan (South Sudan’s secession), South Sudan, etc or genocide in Rwanda, or Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, Al-Shabaab in Somalia and Kenya, and Boko Haram in Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroun, the continent had reasons and still has reasons to be worried.

Focusing on Sub-Saharan Africa, we have litany of cases. For instance, in West Africa, Cote D’Ivoire is just re-emerging from the rubbles of its second civil war (2010 – 2011). Mali has just barely survived a civil war (2012 – 2013). Central African Republic is ridden with conflicts even as recent as 2013 to 2015. Chad has just returned from a brutal civil war which ended in 2010. Sierra Leone fought a civil war that brought the country to its knees (1991 – 2001). Sierra Leone is now infamous for its ‘blood diamonds.’ Liberia with monstrous Charles Taylor is another story altogether. Liberia was only salvaged twelve years ago - 2003. Chad, Mali and Niger are hubs of Al Qaeda. While Nigeria is the home of Boko Haram which has spread to parts of Cameroun, Chad and Niger.

In East and Central Africa, with Joseph Kony and his Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) shuttling between East and Central Africa, moving around Uganda, DRC and Rwanda, peace is still far from the people of that axis. Even now, September 2015, no country, coalition or supranational organisation has succeeded in capturing Kony. The never-ending civil war in DRC is still claiming lives as at the time of writing this paper in September 2015. Sudan was split into two countries by its civil war and South Sudan was turned into a theatre of conflicts until late 2015. Even now, September 2015, Somalia is still a failed state and is still ravaged by Al-Shabaab. Rwanda is infamous for genocide, and Burundi has just been plunged into another conflict in 2015. In Southern Africa, Angola was another poster child of such conflicts. The fact that Angola, having already fought a thirteen-year liberation war, fought a twenty-five year civil war from 1977 to 2002 tells us a lot about the gravity of the Angolan case.

But these conflicts are complex and multifaceted. The different reasons behind these conflicts are: economic factor; sheer coercive, military or militant factors; political factor; ethnic factor; religious factor, etc. Some of the conflicts are due to one factor while other conflicts are due to a combination of two or more factors. As an example of a complex and multifaceted conflict, the Boko Haram terrorism is mainly based on religion and politics. Nevertheless, economic deprivation and lack of education play crucial part in aiding it. Another example is the Nigerian Civil War which was largely based on ethnic and geo-political differences. But oil had a part to play in the strategic execution of the war.

The above two examples are Nigerian cases. Using a case from another country as an example, in the case of the DRC one can easily focus on how natural resources have caused conflicts in the DRC. But the conflicts are not as simple as such description seems to portray them. The conflicts are some of the most complicated or complex conflicts on the sub-continent. While the economic factor is very prominent, the military or sheer coercive and militant factors are also prominent. The ethnic factor too is prominent; for instance the Hutu and Tutsi conflict in Rwanda spilled over into the DRC.

Even the battle between capitalism and socialism was prominent in DRC shortly post-independence. The DRC was one of the places where the so-called 'Cold War' was not so cold but hot. One wonders if Patrice Lumumba were not socialist inclined and was not tending towards the Soviet Union, if he were rather capitalist inclined and tending towards the United States, whether he was not going to live longer than thirty-five years and govern for more than a few months. The DRC, unfortunately, is an ideal place to look at if we want to see how multifaceted factors interplay in complex conflicts.

In the foregoing discussion, we mentioned Nigeria and DRC as examples that conflicts on the sub-continent are usually or generally due to different factors or a combination of different factors. Nigeria and DRC are not exceptions. The complexity of conflicts described in Nigeria and DRC is not peculiar to the two countries; other sub-Saharan African countries are not immune to these sorts of conflicts.

The conflicts mentioned above are representative of the conflicts that have bedevilled the sub-continent. It is pertinent to realise that the conflicts on the sub-continent can be due to principally one factor alone just as they can be due to two or multiple factors; but they are largely due to a combination of different factors. While one factor may play a prominent role in a conflict, the presence of another factor or other factors helps aggravate such conflict. So, in dealing with such conflict, it is important to consider all the factors involved. The sooner it is realised, the easier it is to formulate strategies that will not only reduce instances of conflicts, but will also engender development.

Nevertheless, as earlier stated, the combination of different factors such as ethnicity, religion, politics, economics, etc, makes conflicts complex on the sub-continent; so, except each factor involved in a conflict is well dealt with, the management of such conflict will remain a project in futility. Among the various factors responsible for conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa, the economic factor is very prominent and complex. For instance, conflicts can be due to the endowment of abundant natural resources, they might be due to the struggle to have control over land, water, natural resources or other resources, etc, and they might be due to sheer massive corruption, and so on. But sometimes unemployment and underemployment might be the key factors or contributory factors in conflicts.

Mentioning unemployment and underemployment immediately echoes the role played by poverty and underdevelopment in conflicts. In Africa, there is a consensus on the dangers and inhumanity of poverty and underdevelopment and the urgent necessity to stay on the path of economic, social and political development. The economy and politics of a state are interdependent; positive development in

one sphere affects the other sphere positively, and negative development in one sphere affects the other sphere negatively. This interdependence is succinctly and accurately captured by the concept of political economy when we understand it as: the way in which the production, distribution and use of goods and services and the creation of wealth are organised by states; and the interaction between politics and economics - how they affect each other. Hence, if African states are to steer away from poverty and underdevelopment, that they must have functional and viable political economies may be one of the least of all the controversies in Africa in general and the development discourse in particular. There are not many political economy cases that typify the problems of poverty and underdevelopment in Africa than unemployment and underemployment. They concretely present to us the interdependence between economy and politics, and the negative consequences of bad policies or lack of good policies on development and human lives. We can go on and on mentioning case after case and country after country in which particularly unemployment and underemployment, and generally poverty and underdevelopment, have been principal factors in conflicts or contributing factors to conflicts; but pointing out the linkage between conflict and unemployment/underemployment is more important, and that is what the next section of this paper will do.

### **CONFLICTS, UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT:**

No matter how favourable the geographical location and geographical conditions, the market integrations, and functional and viable institutions of a country are; without human capital and human resources, development will elude the country. But when human capital and human resources lie idle, they are as good as nonexistent. Alarming, when human capital and human resources lie idle, they can even become dangerous. As the idiom goes, 'the devil finds work for idle hands', or as the biblical saying goes, 'idle hands are the devil's workshop' (Proverbs 16; 27 – 29).

For the above economic and security reasons, employment - which is the means through which human capital and human resources are utilised - is vital to every country whether developed, developing or underdeveloped country, and whether high income, upper-middle income, lower-middle income or low income economy. To a country, at the macro level, employment helps to generate, sustain or engender development. To individuals, at the micro level, employment ensures that they have a source of income. In our contemporary capitalist world, generally there are five sources of income namely wage-income, subsistence activity, petty commodity production and minor services provision, rent, and transfer payments (Wallerstein, 2004: 32 – 33). Nevertheless, having any of the above sources of income does not necessarily guarantee adequate income to meet the needs of an individual or household. While this is less true of many countries especially the developed or high income ones and only true to some reasonable extent for emerging economies and upper-middle income economies, but this is the case with developing countries, lower-middle income economies and low income economies of which many Sub-Saharan African countries are practical examples.

It is not just the case that many people do not have adequate sources of income in sub-Saharan Africa, even more alarming is that many people do not have any source of income. In other words, it is not just the case that people are underemployment (do not have employments that are commensurate to their skill-set) - they do not earn enough from their employment to meet their basic or urgent needs - there are people who are unemployed as well.

Understanding unemployment as "the share of the labour force that is without work, but available for and seeking employment" (World Bank, 2015a), and understanding unemployment rate as "the percentage of the labour force that is unemployed" (McConnell, Brue & Flynn, 2009: 523), that is;

$$\text{Unemployment Rate} = \text{Unemployment/Labour Force} \times 100$$

a look at the unemployment rates in sub-Saharan African countries (World Bank, 2015a) will go a long way to show that employment is a problem for these countries.

Azeng and Yogo (2013) in their African Development Bank report, "Youth Unemployment and Political Instability in Selected Developing Countries," showed the intractable problem of unemployment in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Using statistical analysis... [the] African Development Bank's publication titled 'Youth Unemployment and Political Instability in Selected Developing Countries' shows that in a given context, an exceptionally high youth unemployment rate makes African countries more prone to political instability. The authors studied a sample of 24 developing countries from the period 1980 to 2010. They found that in Africa, youth unemployment is made worse by a large youth population, weak national labour markets and persistent poverty. African countries have some of the highest proportions of young people among its populations: on average 30 per cent are under the age of 30. Although the continent has shown economic growth, it has failed in creating the number of quality jobs needed to absorb the 10-12 million young people entering the labour market each year in Africa. Recent events in North Africa have highlighted the need for inclusive growth in Africa and have exposed some of the challenges countries can face when tackling high unemployment (African Development Bank, 2013).

Adequate measures have not been taken to tackle the problem of unemployment in Sub-Saharan Africa. Although a few countries have experienced significant improvement, there is still a lot of work left to be done on the sub-continent in terms of job creation. When people live below the World Bank poverty line of \$1.25 per day (World Bank, 2015b) or live in abject poverty, even if they are employed their employment cannot be said to be 'gainful' or 'decent.' Imagine this category of people is still better-off than those who do not even have any form of employment.

There are different entities that have attempted and are still in the 'business' of helping the unemployed and the underemployed. These entities include governments, businesses and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). But relying on these entities to provide employment can be precarious sometimes. The problem with relying on governments is that due to the limited capacity of governments, the burden of unemployment cannot be left to governments. In view of the high unemployment rates in Sub-Saharan Africa (Azeng and Yogo, 2013), citizens cannot rely on governments. It seems self-help is the ultimate principle of the unemployed or the underemployed person.

The problem with the reliance on businesses to provide employment is that businesses are only concerned with employment when it serves their interest; their concern is not with the unemployed or the underemployed. The employment of workers is a necessity for businesses. But the goal of businesses is not to employ, rather the goal is to seek profit; a person being employed is a positive externality of businesses. Consequently, the unemployed and underemployed cannot rely on profit-seeking firms, companies, corporations, businesses or organisations. Again, the unemployed and underemployed have to resort to their ultimate principle of self-help.

Unlike businesses the problem with relying on NGOs to provide employment is not that NGOs are not concerned with helping the unemployed and the underemployed. The remit of most NGOs is not the provision of employment. Even if the remit of most NGOs is the provision of employment, they lack the capacity to provide any reasonable number of employments that can come close to solving the crisis of high rates of unemployment in sub-Saharan Africa.

NGOs are in the 'business' of helping individuals; there are those providing further education, vocational training, crash-courses, professional training, etc. Usually, many of these organisations tend to view the unemployed and the underemployed as *tabula rasa* or empty vessels and consequently try to fill them with 'education', knowledge, training or skills. Hence they 'educate', professionalise, or train the unemployed or underemployed and send them back to the job market to continue searching for jobs, or in terms of vocational training, to start businesses that may still keep them below the poverty line.

Many unemployed persons are seeking employment and many underemployed persons are seeking better employment, but given that: (a) they cannot rely on governments; (b) they cannot rely on profit-seeking businesses; (c) they can barely rely on the professional or further education they receive from NGOs and; (d) they can only marginally rely on the vocational training they receive from NGOs; (e) consequently they cannot rely on others whether governments, businesses or NGOs but can only rely on themselves; (f) therefore they resort to their ultimate principle which is self-help; (g) then they cling to whatever helps them navigate the deep sea, vast ocean and turbulent waters of self-help.

Relying on self-help does not necessarily make every unemployed or underemployed person prone to

aiding and abetting conflicts. But while some unemployed and underemployed remain law abiding citizens, some resort to various forms of crimes, and the most vulnerable ones - especially young men - are almost always available as recruits for, and agents of, conflicts. As earlier mentioned, alarmingly, when human capital and human resources lie idle, they can even become dangerous.

The lower the number of the unemployed and underemployed, the harder it is for proprietors of conflicts to recruit from them. The harder it is for proprietors of conflicts to recruit from the unemployed and underemployed, the lower the number the proprietors of conflicts are able to recruit. The lower the number of the unemployed and underemployed persons proprietors of conflicts are able to recruit; the lower the number of conflicts, or the less protracted conflicts will be, or the less devastating conflicts will be.

Note that it is not being argued here that unemployment and underemployment cause conflicts; rather the argument here is that the former contributes to the latter. Often, conflicts are not due to one singular factor, although there are usually one or more principal factors involved. Generally, there are different or many factors that are responsible for conflicts, and usually it is a combination of these different or many factors that engenders conflicts. Unemployment and underemployment are only some of the factors. Unemployment and underemployment are not even some of the most important factors; nevertheless they still have a role to play in conflicts. But if isolated as singular factors, unemployment and underemployment are neither necessary nor sufficient conditions for conflicts. Unemployment and underemployment are not 'the cause' of, but are only 'part' of, the contributors to conflicts.

In the context of conflicts, we can see unemployment and underemployment as "an *insufficient* but *necessary* part of a condition which is itself *unnecessary* but *sufficient* for the result" (emphasis is original) (Mackie, 1965: 245) or "an *insufficient* but *non-redundant* part of an *unnecessary* but *sufficient* condition" (emphasis is original) (Mackie, 1974: 62) - an INUS condition. John Leslie Mackie (1988) asserts that our idea of causation implies insufficient but non-redundant parts of a condition which is itself unnecessary but sufficient for the occurrence of the effect.

In his explication of the INUS condition, Mackie (1965: 245) uses the following illustration. A house was on fire but fire fighters put out the fire before the house could be totally consumed by the fire. After their investigation of the fire incidence, the fire fighters reached the conclusion that the cause of the fire was a particular short circuit in the house. Nevertheless, this conclusion does not mean that the fire fighters are saying the particular short circuit that caused the fire was a *necessary condition* for the fire. The fire fighters know that another short circuit or other factors, *if they had happened*, could have caused the fire.

Furthermore, the fire fighters do not mean that the particular short circuit that caused the fire was a *sufficient condition* for the fire. The fire fighters know that *if* there were no inflammable materials nearby to fuel the fire caused by the short circuit the house would not have caught fire. And even if there were inflammable materials near the short circuit *but* there were some automatic fire extinguisher or water sprinkler at the right place and it worked efficiently, the fire would not have occurred. Although the short circuit was not at once a necessary and sufficient condition, and was neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the fire, the fire fighters have concluded that it caused the fire (Mackie, 1965: 245).

As contributory factors to conflicts, unemployment and underemployment are like Mackie's INUS condition. They are neither necessary nor sufficient for conflicts; nevertheless, they still have some responsibility for conflicts. But unlike the short circuit's responsibility in the fire, unemployment's and underemployment's responsibility in conflicts is not 'causal responsibility' but that of 'contributory responsibility.'

Similarly, it can be observed that the factors responsible for conflicts are systemic and then see unemployment and underemployment as being part of the system. However, it is not inferred that unemployment and underemployment cause conflicts, since the role of unemployment and underemployment in conflicts is only contributory. George Lakoff's (2012) explanation of systemic causation will help shed light on how unemployment and underemployment can contribute to conflicts. According to Lakoff (2012):

Systemic causation, because it is less obvious, is more important to understand. A systemic cause may be one of a number of multiple causes. It may require some special conditions. It may be indirect, working through a network of more direct causes. It may be probabilistic, occurring with a significantly high probability. It may require a feedback mechanism. In general, causation in ecosystems, biological systems, economic systems, and social systems tends not to be direct, but is no less causal. And because it is not direct causation, it requires all the greater attention if it is to be understood and its negative effects controlled. Above all, it requires a name: systemic causation.

The direct and indirect roles played by unemployment and underemployment in conflicts are less obvious and unnoticed compared to other factors such as ethnicity, religion, politics, etc. It is for this reason that Lakoff's (2012) notion of systemic causation is helpful in understanding the contributory role of unemployment and underemployment in engendering conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa.

### **A POLICY FRAMEWORK:**

In the sort of conflicts this paper has been discussing, since the focus is on the role of unemployment and underemployment, assume that other factors such as ethnicity, religion, politics, etc that are involved in such conflicts have been dealt with. But even when other factors have been dealt with, since unemployment and underemployment have a role in the conflicts, the conflicts will persist – will not be totally over in the case of conflicts that have occurred or totally prevented in the case of conflicts that might occur - as long as the problem of high rates of unemployment and underemployment persists on the sub-continent.

In order for Sub-Saharan African countries to deal with such conflicts whose persistence is due to unemployment or underemployment, and in order to prevent or avoid the occurrence of similar conflicts, the sub-continent needs policies that are at once balanced and flexible. On the one hand, balanced policy means policy that neither gives precedence to security nor to job creation, rather it contains adequate security resources and job creation resources to deal with such conflicts. The three merits of a balanced policy are: it has security resources to deal with conflicts that require security resources; it has job creation resources to deal with conflicts that require job creation resources; and it can combine both security and job creation resources to deal with conflicts that require both security and job creation resources. On the other hand, flexible policy means policy that is not only suitable for security or job creation, but can be adapted to suit security concerns, job creation concerns, and a combination of both security and job creation concerns.

In order to have a balanced and flexible policy, Sub-Saharan African countries need to adopt a strategy which equilibrates security and job creation resources on one level, and adapts the resources to suit particular conflicts on another level. A strategy ought to be flexible enough to be adaptable to various contexts. Any strategy should serve as the nexus between means and ends. For this reason, the focus is how to use available resources (means) to achieve desired goals (ends). "A strategy relates means to ends, and that requires clarity about goals (preferred outcomes), resources, and tactics for their use" (Nye, 2011: 208).

The role of the above strategy in development-related conflicts is similar to the role of market equilibrium in microeconomics. In microeconomics, market equilibrium helps balance the forces of supply and demand. The two main advantages of market equilibrium are that it helps eliminate surpluses and shortages, or at least it helps to reduce the level, duration and frequency of surpluses and shortages in a competitive market. Similarly, Sub-Saharan African countries will deal with security and job creation as if they were supply and demand and then employ the above strategy to balance them so that: there will neither be surplus-concentration on security to the detriment of job creation and consequently shortage-concentration on job creation; nor surplus-concentration on job creation to the detriment of security and consequently shortage-concentration on security.

Some conflicts might simply be security concerns, some might simply be job creation concerns, some might be equal security and job creation concerns, or more security and less job creation concerns or less security and more job creation concerns. Therefore, while on the one hand the strategy says there must be adequate security and job creation resources or means to deal with development-related

conflicts; on the other hand the strategy says the particular resources or means that is used, and the amount of it that is used, depends on what the conflict requires. For “contextual intelligence, the ability to understand an evolving environment and capitalise on trends, will become a crucial skill in enabling leaders to convert power resources into successful strategies” (Nye, 2011: xvii).

In a nutshell, firstly, the strategy allows room for adequate security and job creation resources without shortage-concentration or surplus-concentration on one or the other. Secondly, it allows room for the effective utilisation of available resources in various contexts. The guiding questions are: will security resources be more successful than job creation resources; or will job creation resources be more successful than security resources; or will a combination of the two resources be more successful? The answers to the three questions determine which resources should be relied on: security resources alone, job creation resources alone, security resources and job creation resources of equal amount, more security resources and less job creation resources or less security resources and more job creation resources.

## **CONCLUSION:**

In view of the security and job creation complexity in the conflicts that were discussed in this paper, one might say that security should be given precedence at the expense of job creation or vice versa. In other words, one resource should be given absolute consideration while the other resource should be totally discounted. Accepting the security resource and rejecting the job creation resource or accepting the job creation resource and rejecting the security resource is a simple way of dealing with the problem. But this simple way is not helpful because development-related conflicts are complex. Complex problems need complex solutions. There is a need to recognise that although there are simple cases of conflicts that can be dealt with by using only security or job creation resources, there are complex cases that need both security and job creation resources.

For the above reason, the strategy in the final section of this paper was proposed. The strategy says the proper way to deal with the problem is to create a balance: between the absolute consideration of security concerns and totally discounting job creation concerns; and between totally discounting security concerns and absolute consideration of job creation concerns. In other words, countries affected by such conflicts should adopt a strategy which will create equilibrium: between the absolute consideration of security concerns and totally discounting job creation concerns; and between totally discounting security concerns and absolute consideration of job creation concerns.

Furthermore, the strategy says the absolute consideration of security concerns and the total discounting of job creation concerns on the one side, and the total discounting of security concerns and the absolute consideration of job creation concerns on the other side can be dealt with properly on two levels. On the first level, they can be dealt with as if they were supply and demand and then they will be equilibrated or balanced. Therefore, situations of ‘surpluses’ and ‘shortages’, that is situations of the security and job creation complexity in conflicts, will be eliminated or at least reduced.

On the second level, there should be flexibility that will allow resources to be adapted to different conflicts. In other words, security resources should be used when and where they are required, job creation resources should be used when and where they are required and a combination of security and job creation resources should be used when and where they are required. Importantly, when dealing with conflicts, the amount of any resource that is used and how the resource is used will depend on the nature of the conflicts and the availability of resources.

Finally, since “power always depends on context” (Nye, 2011: xiv): using security resources in a context that requires job creation resources will be counterproductive or at least will lead to failure; so also using job creation resources in a context that requires security resources will be counterproductive or at least lead to failure. Security resources are useless in a context that requires job creation resources, so also job creation resources are useless in a context that requires security resources. In a context that requires both security and job creation resources, using only security resources or job creation resources will not yield us the success we need. It will be tantamount to using one drug to cure an illness that needs a combination of drugs. While we may have a temporary respite or relief, we will not have the cure we want. For the treatment is an incomplete one. So also the cure will be an incomplete one. In the relationship between policy and conflicts, the nature of conflicts should determine the

nature of policies that are formulated and implemented to deal with the conflicts.

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