

Danané Blossé Canton in the West of Ivory Coast Test the Inter-Ethnic Alliances Effectiveness in Community Conflicts Solving

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Summary

The article focuses on the effectiveness of inter-ethnic alliances in conflict resolution in the Danané Blossé canton in western Côte d'Ivoire. The problem posed in the article is that of the state of conflict that occurs between allied ethnic communities whose relations should be governed by the peacemaker principle of alliances. The research question addressed is: what are the conflicts emergence factors between the allies and what the alliances mobilized influence their resolution. The literature review, the qualitative method through interviews and focus groups with resource persons from different ethnic groups living in the area studied and direct observation are the means of collecting our data. The study revealed a noticeable tension between the allies in the area with regard to ethnic issues in force. The scientific meaning that we give to this result is that when the stakes in effect or better when prevailing interest are divergent between the allies, the real power of alliances in the resolution of conflicts that arise between them remains mixed. We can already say that the ethnographic approach through the description and interpretation proposed by Cresswell is justified especially since it has identified through the phenomena understanding the interactions between existing allies in the locality. Researchers like Gluckman 1954, Hountoudji 1994, Yede 1981, Faye 2000, and Diallo 2004, all addressed the situation of interethnic alliances in communities' relations regulations. Certain have focused on historical proponents of alliances emergence. Some addressed the alliances mobilization in the African changing context and the constraints they face in their practice. All these analyses have not addressed the alliances real application status. The particularity of this article lies in the contextualization but better in the simulation practice in their confrontation in practical conflicts situations in order to observe their effectiveness.

Keywords: Canton Blossé, interethnic alliances, efficiency, resolution, community conflicts

Introduction

Danané resorts ecological and demographic plural aspects. This town is at 630 km from Abidjan, the economic capital of Cote d'Ivoire. Located in the far west of Côte d'Ivoire, it shares borders with Guinea and Liberia. It is bordered to the north by the department of Biankouman, south by Toulepleu and east by the City of Man. Wide of 4,657 square kilometers; Danané is in a mountainous area and is rocked by the rivers Cavally¹, Ban and Nuon. The numerous tributaries of these rivers is the place to a dense river system that cools significantly and sprinkles significant permanent water points (Intercom Group 2005) that coexist with areas of extensive crops. There are estimated to be at least 5,000 ha area of wetlands potentially be mobilized for rice.

In addition to these agro-climatic opportunities, the town is inhabited by autochthon people called Dan or Dampomenou and Wen (speaking dan) (IGT, 1999). These belong to the ethno-linguistic group in southern Mande or Mande-Fu or wrongly known as Malinke nickname Yacouba. These populations are grouped into five (5) districts: Wa, Lolle, Blossé, Gourousse and Ouineu. Like the other parts of the country located in forest areas, Danané is the recipient of a major migration. Essentially economic, migration has led many people from Guinea, Burkina Faso, Mali in the locality for the practice of trade and economic activity.

¹ Its natural border with Liberia

This essentially native space of the Community of the States of West Africa (ECOWAS)², but more that of the West African Monetary Union (UEMOA)³ because of the common currency shared foreign population, CFA is according to the general census of population and housing (RGPH 1998) 13.02% of the population of Danané. Note, however, that without context, one of the largest flows that contributed to significantly increase the population of Danané remains an influx of refugees from Liberia and Sierra Leone. Fleeing war underway in their country, more than 16,948 found by SAHARA and UNHCR (2000), especially the Ivory Coast shares with them not only borders but also and especially the people. That facilitates their migration there.

The Blossé canton is the largest of Danané and covers the villages of Dangouiné, Sogaleu, Lapleu, Deamangbeupleu, Goualeu and remains one in which it was given to observe a recurrence of communal conflicts in which alliances were mobilized for resolution notably the Dangouiné, capital of this Canton. With the advent of the 2002 crisis, the different situations often contrasted Allied through some of their ethnic members communities. The use of alliances in some of these cases helped to find a happy ending. However, in some cases, conciliatory decisions are challenged as to lead to resurgence. How can we explain this? Who are the actors involved, historical ties that unite the ethnic alliance? What knowledge have - they? How do they explain or justify their position?

Conflictual relations between allies have already been the subject of several works: GLUCKMAN M 1954, HOUNTOUDJI P.J 1994, YEDE J 1981, FAYE C 2000, and DIALLO Y 2004. But the social dimensions of interest here are their capabilities of rescission conflicts between two allies on a crisis context. These confluences realities have undergone resolution often does not definitely lead to a successful outcome. Such situations have led to an impasse often leading to a split of the home village in two separate zones with an area occupied by autochthons Yacouba and another part by migrants including allies. So what are the factors that explain this situation and influence the mobilization of alliances between them in their resolution?

II - Methodology

II-1 The Field Study

II-1.1 The Village Choice Criteria

The first village identified is where the study was carried out on inter-ethnic alliances is called Dangouiné. It has the characteristic of being a cosmopolite village where live many communities with their specificities. This village is in fact the scene of several conflicts before and since the beginning of the crisis that rocked the country. The last conflict was dated 9 February 2013. In this study, we focused on two major conflicts qualified by the villagers as the impacts and effects were noticeable for communities. The first conflict that caught our attention is a land conflict between the autochthons Yacouba with Guro whom they are in alliance. The second is a criminal conflict resulting from the murder of a young Yacouba by Sénoufo. Yacouba and Sénoufo are allies. This conflict occurred to June 2012. Regarding the intra ethnic alliances, the village that was the target meets the following criteria: the village of Lapleu is the capital of the Canton BLOSSE which for historical reasons is the only place for the management and resolution of all conflicts that occur between the different cantons Yacouba. To this end, there are two specific days chosen in the week for conflict resolution: it is Thursday and Friday except in cases of force majeure such as funerals or any other event that may be exceptionally postpone the day Sunday or another day of the week.

II-1.2 Historic and Geographic Focus

Dangouiné is a village in the sub-prefecture of the Danané Danané axis - Guinea. Dangouiné means "village of Concord." It was founded in the early nineteenth century migration Yacouba in the area and it borders the villages of west Trogleu going to Liberia, and Bianhitoueu Kpkapleu. It is flourishing because of the commercial, agricultural and fishing taking place. All these activities have attracted many migrants are among whom we count Sénoufo few Baule, of Gagou of Guro, Lobi, the Mahouka, Malians, Burkinabe, Guineans and Liberians. All are there for economic reasons. As for Lapleu, attributes center for conflict resolution come from his historical legacy. The founder of the Canton Blossé named Ladoneudeu had indeed seven children to whom he uttered blessings in the form of tasks among their brothers.

² African Regional Organization under, includes fifteen ECOWAS countries are Benin, Burkina Faso on the Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.

³ This includes sub-regional organization for its Francophone states in West Africa such as Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina faso, Togo, Benin and Niger.

And of course the father of Lahon received for his calm temperament mission to be the one who will resolve any dispute that pits the descendants of Ladoneudeu. From these moments, the only place indicated is the village founded by Lahon where his descendants joined later by other subgroups Yacouba with whom they cohabit under the rules of alliances between them also reside. Lapleu borders with Guetouzouen and Gounta.

II-2 The Survey

The survey aimed at understanding the factors explaining recurrence of conflicts between allies in times of crisis, it must gather speeches that lay bare the level of this reality. With this in mind, it was designed interview guides and focus groups. We had also identified in this village ethnic groups involved in the conflict. Characterization of these conflicts has helped understand their nature and the process of their resolution through inter-ethnic alliances. Also, these techniques for gathering information thus revolve around the participatory approach taking into account all the particular ethnic sensitivities in the collection of data and direct observation to the extent we were able to attend the conflict resolution between two clans of the great Yacouba group. The approach has been to take into account as part of the study that individuals or groups of people likely to give reliable information.

These individuals or groups of people are people and knowing people witnessed the resolution of the identified conflicts whose resolution has been by interethnic alliances. As for direct observation, it allowed us to be eyewitnesses of a whole process in place for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict intra ethnic dimension. To do this, resources or target individuals were identified for the purposes of the study and their testimonies were collected. These people are different targets:

- ✓ The administrative authorities as a reference and guarantor of institutional, civil and national unity,
- ✓ traditional authorities as custodians and guardians of traditional values, they ensure their life, their application and their scrupulous and continuous compliance,
- ✓ Youth and women as social components and integral part of the company in question.

For reliability in the information we have diversified the sources by process of interviews, informal exchange meetings with certain people belonging to the target groups of people identified. For example, we triangulated information collection always seeking conflict, a third party not directly involved in the identified conflicts. To do this, we made contact with the various entities listed above to request hearings after explaining the merits of the work. We then presented the indicated days to share with them. In the case of this study, we can not define as such a sample to draw statistical tables. The study is more qualitative than quantitative nature. This is testimony on true stories.

II.3. Data Analysis

The technique chosen to analyze the content of speech is the one developed by Anne Gotman and Alain Blanchet. This method of analysis altogether thematic analysis on the whole theme has cut transversely points interviews that refer to the same theme. The intention was to seek "a thematic coherence inter-interviews" (1992: 98). This analysis resulted in a search for explanatory models of concrete actions between allies in conflict. By thus based on the case of the village of Donguiné for observing a real situation of alliances, this research strategy has enabled us to carry out a fine cross and contextualization of the observed phenomenon (Descombe 2003: 32) therefore. We observed how alliances are mobilized in conflict resolution. To do this, ethnography is descriptive and interpretive approach of the group or social system studied (Creswell, 1998: 58) it is acquired. Ethnography Thick description or thick description (Greertz 1973) is an empirical approach that involves making a fine cross, detailed study, in situ, and contextualized observed phenomena whose goal is a thorough understanding of interactions and systems concrete action (Crozier and Friedberg 1977).

III. Results and Discussion

The presentation of results has been to cross-check information collected to order them according to the plan of study that has been adjusted for the demands of the terrain. The overlap and the scheduling result by counting sections and focus and meaning units.

III-1. Alliances Identification and Methods and Steps Description in Identified Conflicts Management, Prevention and Resolution

III.1.1. Anthropological Framework

Anthropological framework is on the movements and different relationships between ethnic groups that led the covenants they have woven. Similarly, it is important to emphasize relationships and provide an explanation for the existence of alliances between clans Yacouba. Ultimately, these partnerships whether ethnic or intra ethnic based on virtually the same principles. To publicize the event and specifically, we present within groups allied contexts of the emergence of these alliances. Yacouba have many allies. They are: Guro, Fulani, Senufo, Gagou Tagbana and Mahouka or Mahou. But to the extent that conflicts covered include Yacouba allies that are Senufo and Guro, we will talk about alliances between them and in part on the identification of alliances.

The existence of alliances between Yacouba / Sénoufo, between Yacouba / Guro and between different Yacouba clans, addresses the need for harmonization of social relations and peaceful coexistence between them. Indeed, these companies are regulated by the major features. Initially, the principles of self-sufficiency determined their community. Next, as is shown the need to open up to others and to take (phagocytosis) smaller companies. This is the principle of all civilization. At one point, it is guided by a desire to expand and showdowns (Mariko, 1990; Faye, 2000). Therefore, no society can live both folded on itself (the principle of autarky) and conquer other areas by war (the principle of expansion). These two concepts can not go without a network of social relations. Hence the existence of alliances beyond the inner part of the group (intra ethnic alliances) and even the outer frame to encompass larger groups. These principles of self-sufficiency and expansion, it appears that a desire for collaboration between these groups has manifested. These alliances are always born after all conflicts. It's peace treaties contracted to preserve the species and the group. This result of awareness is a state of powerlessness over the opponent or the weariness of the war that led to the signing of the non-aggression pacts and mutual assistance. These alliances engage the whole group and are a coactivity of the collective. On the elderly and adults and children people, these alliances have strength and prohibit all forms of assault, or if necessary, provide technical management and resolution of conflicts that arise. Here, they are all built not on the sacred bond of blood by a human sacrifice such as the case in the alliance (Abbey / Dida) (Yede, 1981) but by the respect of the word.

This stage of the study is to highlight the identified alliances and their role in the management and resolution of conflicts in which they were mobilized. These conflicts are twofold. Two orders by type and results following their management and resolution by the alliances.

There is a case of conflict where twists were found after solving the mentioned (land dispute between Yacouba and Guro) alliance and success (criminal conflict and Yacouba Sénoufo). If successful, suggests the potential of alliances and failure to constitute the limits.

Also, if intra ethnic alliances strengthens the justification for the existence and scope or not alliances in the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts between different and between different sections of the same ethnic group ethnic groups namely the Yacouba who are in this study the target group. We will take a matter of clarity and understanding alliances distinctly identify their origins, process management and resolution of conflict step by step, the various stakeholders and their selection criteria, the question of ritual or cultural compatibility. After this phase, we will develop the similarities and differences between the two conflicts, the provisions of the various communities targeted alliances with respect to which they are not allied issues in relation to social inclusion ethnic or social exclusion and the influence of socio-political change on the different methods as well as the potential and limits.

To a question of balance and logic editorial raised, some aspects are not treated as sections or in full sections, but they are attached to much more homogeneous parts including a methodical reading identifies them.

III-1.2. Presentation of Alliances Mobilized in Conflicts Prevention and Management

This presentation of alliances revolves around their history, their meaning, content or fundamental principles without obscuring the typology (operation by social category), targets the frequency of use. To the extent that, there are three similar entities in mind, it is nonetheless essential to take each case to promote their knowledge.

❖ The alliance between Yacouba / Sénoufo

It is worth recalling here the origin of the alliance between Sénoufo and Yacouba given by our informants. Yacouba and Sénoufo are two from the old Sudan ethnic groups, the current Mali. They were forced to go south that is to say, the Ivory Coast after the decline of that empire and because of fratricidal wars. Sénoufo being first on Ivorian soil are considered by Yacouba as their elders. Moreover, it is the Sénoufo who favored the emigration of Yacouba helping them in the battle they fought against their enemies during their exodus. Also to prevent the ambitions of territorial expansion on both sides that could lead to a clash between them, the rulers, ancestors contracted a non-aggression pact and solidarity between the two peoples. This alliance remained functional until now. This alliance is called "M'srangun" by Sénoufo and means "covenant", while the Yacouba called "N'dégbê," which translates to "the son of my father." It is based on the violation of the sacred covenant of the word given by the ancestors of the two ethnic groups. They promised fidelity and mutual assistance. The alliance aims to strengthen the bonds of solidarity and brotherhood between the two ethnic groups, prevent conflict, and resolve disputes in some orders whatsoever between them. There are no special provisions for the operation.

The whole society regardless of age, sex, social status is involved in the observance of this precept of life. It does not contain a mechanism for special veneration otherwise respect symbolic fines imposed by contractors. It is in this case a white chicken, a needle or market value that is to say, thirty five (35) francs and seven (7) in case of misconduct. The alliance is used whenever a conflict between the two ethnic groups and even in events like happy unfortunate event occurs.

For example the event of death, in order to lighten the mood, an ally (or Yacouba Sénoufo) according struck by misfortune group can use the covenant to prohibit the burial of the remains or alternatively, require compensation to one or the other ethnic groups to have left his brother to die. Similarly, in the case of marriage, plays a form of joke to defuse any situation of tension. Respect for the values and strength that characterizes it still manages to help resolve conflicts that arise. Also to avoid lead to conflicts, and Yacouba Sénoufo through the alliance that unites the "play" to prevent them.

❖ The alliance between Yacouba / Guro

The Guro and Yacouba are bound by a common ancestor. This is a result of an adulterous question the cadet that is to say, the Guro will withdraw from their elders Yacouba originally called Guro Dan and will move more to the center. Indeed, Yacouba and Guro are consanguineous brothers; Yacouba was the ancestor of the elder one of Guro. The younger brother slept with the wife of his older brother who beat him to death. To repair this wrong, a fixed penalty was sought from the senior who paid her. To avoid potential conflicts, an alliance was forged between the brothers and was perpetuated by their descendants. The alliance works on virtually the same principles as the alliance between Yacouba and Sénoufo because in fact the phenomenon of transitivity, all the different ethnic groups that maintain the alliance reports have the same basic principles.

❖ The system of Yacouba intra ethnic alliances

This alliance system is modeled on interethnic alliances. Indeed, the grandfather of Yacouba was inspired by the model of communication and exchange between Yacouba and their allies to organize his descendants. There were seven (7) children to whom he gave each a definite task among his brothers. This is actually a legacy bequeathed to them. So it began to founder Ladoneudeu Township Blossse inheritance resolve any conflicts that may arise between the different clans Yacouba. All children received the recommendation not to send their cases or disputes between them anywhere but Lapleu because it was returned to Ladoneudeu that the right to trial and resolution of conflicts among brothers. This tradition continues today run so we score a network of alliances between different intra ethnic Yacouba clans. There are in fact seven major clans Yacouba based on the number of children that, having the grandfather of Yacouba. The cantons Blossse, Wa, Loleu, Wouienleu, Glousseu, Kaleu and Vanwieu. Of the seven clans, we have the following alliance networks: Loleu / Wa, Wa / Kaleu, Blossse / Wouienleu, Glousseu / Vanwieu so on. Again, the game transitivity, all cantons Yacouba are in alliance with each other. The alliance between the clans is named Yacouba Danga has many meanings.

The phrase means "ally" or "similar" or "the one with whom I share" best "one that I enjoy." This alliance serves as a social regulator within the company Yacouba.

III-1.3. The Alliances Common Features

The common features of alliances are in the communication system that ensures their sustainability, the kind of conflict in which they operate, and the style adopted prevention. These alliances mentioned in this study are transmitted from generation in an almost informal communication. There are no special provisions to make them known by different segments of society including children. It is a natural form of transmission is the cultural practice. One knows the existence and content alliances because he saw and heard to say. Similarly, the daily practice of alliances by different sets of bawdy jokes, and friendly insults, jeers and criticisms sometimes exacerbated effects without retaliation are transmission belts in the style of traditional education in society African. These aspects, when properly understood and assimilated play there a role in preventing conflicts between Yacouba, their allies and Sénoufo Guro, as well as between Yacouba themselves. No conflict according to our sources of information escapes the meshes of these listed events that occur in the alliances. Conflicts of adultery land disputes through criminal conflicts, alliances have citizenship and play their role as "social regulatory". Alliances by the fundamental principles regulating interactions and systems of social actors. In marriage as in death and other forms of commerce, alliances work. Also to understand their scope, their role in the prevention and management of conflicts, we approach conflict in which they were mobilized for management.

III-2 The Cases of Conflict where Alliances were Mobilized

These cases are case studies that allow the sound relations that existed both between ethnic and those under the current situation groups, the causes of conflict, actors, stakeholders, their selection criteria, the results by mobilizing alliances. These cases, according to the results produced by the involvement of potential alliances are in the case of success and of failure is the limit. The intra ethnic comes here show the restrictive nature and the local dimension and compressive alliances.

As said before, two cases of conflict have interested us in this village. But before we discuss these two cases, it is first necessary to give a brief overview on the state of relations in the village. Before the crisis facing the country, reports maintained by the different communities were very good. Social integration of immigrants and especially alien in Aboriginal Yacouba suffered no hindrance. Even though it occurred dispute, it does not systematically impeded actually not the reports of harmonious coexistence. Recurring conflicts are land disputes. But what is noteworthy is that the open conflicts are the result of misunderstanding or a wrong way to manage those above.

III 2-1. The Success of Alliances through the Criminal Conflict Resolution with Yacouba and Sénoufo

The success of the alliance in the management and resolution of this conflict is the potentials of alliances.

Origin and Conflict Actors

A party of this conflict is the Yacouba who initiated the resolution process because they know they are guilty of breach of the covenant between them and their allies. They pledged allegiance to Sénoufo by providing beef, rice bags and other gifts that were naturally rejected by the Senufo who held the respect of the traditional links between them.

Also, the weather was looking for different stakeholders to resolve the conflict based on a crime committed by a young Yacouba supported by his father on a young Sénoufo caught for stealing a pack of cigarettes and oil. Therefore revolted young Sénoufo who armed themselves to respond but thanks to the promptness of the elderly and the village elders, the worst was avoided. However, they had recourse to bangladeshites battalion who made the statement and arrested the father of the young Yacouba who fled after his crime. He was handed over to the Republican forces and the police who incarcerated.

III-2-1.1. Conflict Process Management by the Alliance

✓ *The differents stakeholders in the resolution of the conflict and their selection criterias*

In this conflict, the various speakers were selected based on criteria deemed useful, necessary and important for understanding between the conflicting parties by the wise and Yacouba Sénoufo committed to the task. These stakeholders are the relatives of those who are causing the conflict parents ie father, mother, in-laws, uncles, close friends who have a perceived influence on concerned. They also appealed to well-known in the village and Danané opinion leaders Sénoufo and Yacouba. All these choices are made with respect to prestige, respectability, to the right audience, moral probity they all enjoy among their peers.

✓ *The different steps in the management and resolution*

- The first phase was to free the father of the respondent so that he attends and is heard at the meeting on the resolution of conflict.
- The second was to determine a meeting place. This place was found. And for the occasion, it was in the court of the victim's parents. It was decided in this respect for his memory and for his parents to avoid another penalty, that of ending up somewhere other than their home to talk about the death of their offspring.
- The third phase was hearing the parties in conflict. But before they are heard, they brought out the "*Dopo*". It is a set composed of a cow's tail, cola nuts and shells. It's a fetish that is presented to the parties in conflict. They will perjure to tell the whole truth because the consequences in force.

After these formalities, the victim's parents were interviewed about the circumstances of their son's death and feelings that drive them. The parents of the culprit also are called to tell them of truth. All this information allowed the audience to have some assessment and judgment of the situation

- The fourth phase was the intervention of Mayor Danané also community facilitator SFCG. He intervened to invite various parties to exercise restraint, temperance, moderation and respect for tradition and the supporters.
- The fifth phase was the intervention of opinion and Yacouba and sénoufo leaders. Responses have been to limit the scope of the meeting, which is the resolution of the conflict, occurred between two brothers in order to avoid overflow and do not pay into the controversy by equating the political differences and the reasons for such a meeting on their own terms.
- The fifth stage in the management and resolution of this conflict was the intervention of the wise and Yacouba, Sénoufo who spoke one after the other. They deplored the incident that resulted in a loss of life and skirmishes between brothers before retracing the common history of the two ethnic groups. They also reminded the foundations of the alliance that unites its prohibitions and goals.
- The sixth phase is the pronouncement of the verdict which consists of repairing the harm done to victims. After hearing the various interventions, the wise judge and pronounce the verdict. The young Yacouba and his father were convicted and sentenced to pay a fine in the terms, provisions in force in the alliance. The fine was to give one (1) white rooster, seven (7) kola nut and seven (7) pieces of five (5) francs to Sénoufo as repair costs caused twist to his brother.
- The seventh stage was that of reconciliation where the various conflicting parties bowed and kissed. This phase ended with a libation⁴ that he returned to the head of the Senoufo community as a senior to pay to honor the ancestor's baskets and seek their assistance in this ongoing process.

So if successful interethnic alliances in the management and resolution of conflicts, it is necessary to add the intra ethnic dimension to illustration to reinforce the existence of alliances between clans of the same ethnic group and not involved in undoubtedly in the management and resolution of conflicts. As illustration, we take a case of intra ethnic conflict that pitted two people from two different clans who contracted an alliance.

This conflict we have witnessed the resolution is an adulterer who affixes a clan member Gloneu is an entity of Wouienleu named Toikeuseu and another clan named Blosse Kouin Maurice conflict. Admittedly, by transitivity, these two clans are allies. Mr. Kouin Clan Blosse seeks reparation from Mr. Toikeuseu Wouienleu of embezzling his wife that he spent the dowry sum seventy-five thousand francs (75000) and given a sheep and a boubou Yacouba. As for Mr. Kouin, he says he retrieved the woman in dispute because it was abused by her husband. She had indeed left for these reasons and received by his parents from whom Mr. took steps to take the woman to turn. Perduring this conflict resulted in the two clans' invective. So to avoid any act of confrontation between the two parties that they seized the head of canton Blosse only competent to deal with these facts.

The resolution of this conflict intra ethnic as any other also followed the usual procedure. The various stakeholders are naturally conflicting parties, their close relatives (father, mother or their representatives, and any other person having an influence on the conflicting parties).

Process of conflict resolution

⁴ Drink (water or alcohol) paid by a patriarch at the end of a session of conflict resolution to implore the protection and blessings of the ancestors bonanzas

- The first step in solving the announcement is playing by the griot. These rules are: silence of the meeting, the proscription of French at risk of paying a fine of three hundred (300) francs. The talk by signs of left hand otherwise, you pay two hundred fifty (250) francs. And the last rule is how to speak and talk. One can not talk if permission is given to him by the griot as moderator and we can give proverbs that do not relate the topic or that does not go in the direction of appeasement. And finally to a matter of trust, the griot is perjuring each party to the conflict about *Dopo*⁵. And whoever says in his testimony against truths court the risk of all his decimated starting with the youngest family. Cases rematches cause fear in people and leads them to tell the truth.
- The second phase is hearing the parties in conflict. Each party of conflict gives his version of the dispute with each other.
- The third step is the hearing of witnesses in the case. All persons named in the case, whether or not Yacouba agreed to diversify the sources of evidence.
- Finally, the last is the analysis and performance of the verdict so that the respondent guilty or undergo the rigor of the law of the alliance.

As part of this conflict, no compensation was paid. For between the allies, quarrels adultery should not exist. The principle of the alliance is the sharing; my brother's wife is also mine. And protest against the decision of the wise or group exposes his entire family to the curse and marginalization of the community.

Beyond this case, several cases of murder were also resolved through alliances between clans.

III-2-1.2. The Results and Reasons for Success

Management and resolution of this conflict by the alliance have restored calm. According to the opinions youth, they accept the verdict because the truth sought has been called both sides. However, they expressed the wish not to see such acts happen again, because this act is the result of vengeance. Taking advantage indeed hot hours of the crisis in the area, several atrocities were committed by those on indigenous Dioula they call they also assimilate Sénoufo. They also alluded to the respect for elders which forces them to respect the verdict. All in all, no further reaction was observed even less noted after the resolution of this conflict. Anyone who dares challenge the judgment would suffer all the consequences of his act. Question the alliance they say this is to risk death or forfeiture of his descendants. There is a strong belief of the two communities in the alliance that unites

The first advantage of alliances is its coactivity force on society. She borrows the sacred. But the African in general and in particular the Ivorian attaches great importance to the sacred and those who represent them. The second potential is taken into account the dimension history, origin of ethnic groups. Most Ivorian companies share common histories or even common ancestry. Which gives them kinship and even inbreeding. By the simple recall of these links, alliances often manage to touch sensitive and humanistic coast of the conflicting parties and force them to seek solutions for understanding and social cohesion. The alliance is currently a member of assembly, unification and social cohesion (Hountoundji 1994).

The alliance between Yacouba and Sénoufo has a high content of sacredness. Similarly, the approach to the conflict found there captures its causes and determine responsibility actors or parties to the conflict, which provides insight into the problem and find solutions for alliance. This way of attributing responsibility on the basis of the so-called truth about the circumstances and causes of a conflict between two parties is a factor of appeasement, consolidating links and unification.

Notable major potential and are at the level of the immediate effects of the invocation of alliances when a conflict occurs between two individuals or ethnic groups between whom alliance. Pressing the common history and recall of solidarity that should prevail on any difference as well as the mobilization technique parental affinities and influential people as resources in the management and resolution of conflicts are real assets. The purpose and objectives of the alliance are not overlooked. They seek social cohesion, good neighborliness, unity, reconciliation and the constant and ongoing search for solution of understanding.

⁵ Fetish is in the form of a cow's tail attached tissue on which we perjury before any testimony at meetings of conflict resolution.

III-2.2. Failure or Limitations of Alliances through the Management and Resolution of the Land Dispute between Yacouba and Guro

Origin and Conflict Actors

The dispute arose as a result of disputes over a *bafond* between Guro accused unlawfully exploiting lockers *bafond* of which it has not been transferred by the land owner and would like Yacouba appropriate. These disagreements will quickly escalate into open conflict between the two sides and on fire thereafter the two communities (Guro and Yacouba) in solidarity with their peers. Then it was an opportunity for some Yacouba retrieve land allotted and even sold in Guro. This provoked clashes between the two communities in the village and especially in the fields.

III - 2-2.1. Conflict Management Process

This section covers stages, stakeholders, their selection criteria that the issue of ritual compatibility. As part of the management of this conflict, the village head Mr. Joseph DANHO who, seeing the extent that taking the conflict and the deterioration of relations between the allies and Yacouba Guro took the initiative in its resolution particularly through the alliance between them. The meeting was scheduled with the village chief.

- The first phase of the process was to make haste with the two conflicting parties to get them a lull and a seat to find common ground. He gets out of respect to his status as the leader clarified him.
- The second phase was to meet with the representative of the Guro community to establish the basics of the game. This second step was to identify the various stakeholders who had a good hearing from the parties in conflict.

The choice of stakeholders, sources of information, made from a number of criteria. These criteria are respectability relational affinity to the parties in conflict, moral probity and better knowledge of the history of the warring parties otherwise ethnic groups. Also, are concerned that only those involved in the covenant that binds Yacouba and Guro. It's the same procedure in all interethnic alliances.

- The third phase is the initial contact with stakeholders. As part of the management of this conflict, the selected stakeholders on analysis of the village chief who is representing Yacouba and Guro are the sages of the two communities, relatives of the two individuals who were at the root of the conflict namely their in-laws, aunts and uncles, close friends, their parents if they are still alive, with the sole condition that they are Guro or Yacouba. During this phase, the head and representative are attached with different people raised to give them the contours of conflict even if they already know. This is the rule as claimed by our informers. Finally one day is set for the consultation.

- The fourth phase is the foundation for resolution itself. Different stakeholders can not all talk, then a spokesman is made of them by the speakers themselves. As part of this conflict, it is the old Wohi Peter who was appointed to his qualities as a patriarch, moral probity, and especially wise conciliator. His speech on this day was to recall the history of the two ethnic groups (Guro and Yacouba). He referred to the sacred ties which unite for the ancestors and proscribing confrontations of any kind whatsoever. He then recalled the alliance between the two peoples. This alliance is called *Namrê* and means *union*. Violation of this alliance once it is invoked according to our informants results in serious consequences even to death. This is what characterizes his fear and respect.

The parties in conflict after carefully listening to the wise were also heard. They gave them some truth. However, the issue of ownership of the source of the conflict space remains unanswered. They regretted their actions and were reconciled. No special ceremony in this case was not otherwise made a libation poured by the patriarch to ask ancestors to seal this reconciliation.

III-2-2.2. The Results Obtained and the Reasons for Failure

After this session of involvement of the alliance in the management and resolution of conflict followed by reconciliation, the conflicting parties silent quarrels and life had returned to normal. You could say at the outset that it was a success, however, a few weeks again later, clashes between the same parties in conflict appeared again so the Republican Forces of Côte d'Ivoire (FRCI) intervened for bringing calm and order.

The management and the resolution of this conflict by the alliance was a failure according to informants themselves considering the rebound he had some time after the meeting.

This should not logically happen after this form of purification before the sages and invocations of ancestors' baskets to seal the sacred covenant relationship. This fact constitutes a limit to the alliance. But let's first talk of potential.

The example of this conflict shows the limits of alliances that fall at the approach to the management and resolution. The conflict occurred between Yacouba and Guro has the background the issue of land ownership. Land is the real cause of the conflict, however, it failed to award to one or other of the parties the title to the area in question. In fact, the alliance was discussed only the effects, consequences and not the cause itself. Thus, the effects, the consequences of the conflict were raised, not the foundation which in the case, the Gordian knot

There has also been no responsibilities located to achieve a twist or repair any concession was also symbolic. But in a conflict, as the node, the problem remains, the risks and the likelihood of renewed fighting remain very large.

This alliance is based on the sacred. But today's society has suffered enough at the point include religious or values mismatch with the scriptures mutations are sometimes rejected. These values are not able to transcend this social dimension. Individualistic and selfish feelings tend to surpass any form of socialization and solidarity. Increasingly, alliances are seen by individuals as loss of social values. One asks willful and hide behind the alliances to go unpunished and will not be held accountable. Alliances are a means to promote impunity and encourage the recurrence of wrongdoing.

The limits are even more at situations or moments of intervention alliances. In the past, they were practiced by our informants routinely as sets of jokes, sometimes even insults in all areas of daily life without impact yet today they intervene as a last resort. This is the last resort after all other forms of intervention in the management and resolution of conflict between the allies. Political divisions seem hold sway over this social cement. Here the dimension of prevention is imperceptible under current requirements. They are involved in the mediation. Another piece of the difficulty of integrating force of these alliances is the lack of provisions for the management and resolution of conflicts between unaffected by ethnic alliances. This raises the thorny issue of ethnic discrimination and even exclusion. This sense of social outsider⁶ among the different ethnic groups that live can be a source of discord and conflict with the insiders⁷ (Akindès 2007).

III-3. The Similarities and Differences between the Two Types of Conflicts and Their Resolution

After treating separately the two conflicts, management and resolution of inter-ethnic alliances among parties in conflict, we establish the similarities and differences between the two types of conflict.

III-3.1. Similarities

Both conflicts are ethnic and pitted two ethnic groups who have contracted an alliance. They take place in the same locality to allow a kind of comparative study and appreciation of the value of inter-ethnic alliances. Moreover, the two conflicts started by disagreements between individuals before spreading to communities from which they come by identity recognition or community or ethnic solidarity. This reflects the strong sense of ethnic belonging and solidarity to the African where all members of the ethnic group membership are concerned with the problem of others. In these alliances between the various ethnic groups, there is no categorical distinction between young and old, adults and women. The alliance involves all social strata in a reciprocal relationship in action. They are mechanisms of interaction between two distinct ethnic groups share the culture, customs and traditions but the alliance maintain relations of consanguinity no biological but moral, religious, symbolic brief based on rules, regulations in alliances. All the different layers have a moral obligation to the allies. By cons, they do not contain specific provisions for none affected by ethnic alliances.

III.3.2. Differences

The first difference lies in the types of conflicts. The first conflict is a land treaty and the second conflict, social conflict. Although the land is a social phenomenon, there is a notable difference between the events and issues.

In the first case, the struggle is over the control and operation of farm land. It's an economic issue. In the second case, it is a crime no real challenge even if it seems to be the preservation of property.

⁶ Here, people are not concerned by the covenants and therefore see themselves limited in their actions at the risk of being banned.

⁷ Those concerned and involved in alliances and thus allow themselves certain liberties in their actions.

The second difference lies in the approaches to the management and resolution of conflicts. In the land dispute, the cause of the conflict was not discussed and resolved in order to decide between the conflicting parties. Only the effects, the consequences have been riding. There has also been no accountability placed for a symbolic as it is repaired. The nub of the conflict remains and continues to fuel resentment and animosity. But in social conflict, there has been a liability located and the culprit has been recognized as such. This responsibility is the result of the search for truth through existing mechanisms. This contributed to the purification of anger and revenge on the part of the offended.

Conclusion

Towards a collaborative approach between traditional techniques of prevention, management and conflict resolution Interethnic alliances as traditional mechanisms of conflict prevention, management and resolution of conflicts remain in the current context of the situation in Côte d'Ivoire one of explorable for conflict transformation keys. Upon analysis of this material through the study in one of the localities in the most affected by the crisis situation which prevailed in the country west zone area, several observations can be made that require an evolutionary approach in time. Alliances exist, conflicts too. But their approach to management and resolution by ethnic alliances or even intra ethnic conflict depends on the type, complexity and issues involved. The sensitivity of the issue of land remains the backbone of efficient mobilization of ethnic alliances in the management and resolution of conflicts. At a local level, strengthening methods approaches to conflicts in these mechanisms work with the ins contribute to lifting the point of issue of conflict resolution in Côte d'Ivoire. Moreover, time is no longer on the resolution by the path of confrontation but to that collaboration. This collaboration, in order to be properly understood and controlled not to seem an inquisition requires training to the change in attitudes in identifying, understanding, approach to conflict management and resolution.

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