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The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Conflict Management in Nigeria

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Abstract

This study takes a critical look at the roles CSOs in Nigeria can play in conflict management. It holds that the monopolization of conflict management process by the instruments of the State characterized the Nigerian political landscape since the attainment of independence in 1960; due largely to the long years of military rule in the nation and that the return to democratic rule has fueled the clamor by citizens for the inclusion of CSOs in the management of conflicts in Nigeria. The paper argues that the cost implication of overlooking the contributions of CSOs in the management of conflicts is that, there will be an increase in violent confrontations between armed groups and soldiers, economy will suffer given the absence of peace, authoritarianism will thrive, abuse of human rights will be the order of the day. This paper notes the complacency of successive administrations in according the citizens their basic democratic rights in the political system during this period. It concludes that even though progress has been made by current administrations to open up the political system by allowing CSOs in Nigeria to play active roles in the management of conflicts in Nigeria, such efforts have had little or no impact on issues bothering on conflict resolution in Nigeria, this we argue is due largely to the fact that; the State preferred to use the aristocratic model which restricts the involvement of CSOs in the management of conflicts. The paper then presents the roles CSOs can play in the management of conflicts in Nigeria that will usher in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence and sustenance of same in Nigeria.

Key Words: Conflict, Civil Society, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Conflict Management, Democracy.

Introduction

Conflict is a phenomenon in all relationships and groups and thus needs to be accepted as part of our everyday life. As such conflict is natural, inevitable, necessary and normal, and the problem is not the existence of conflict but how to manage it (Mayer, 2010:1). Following the attainment of independence in 1960, Nigeria has experienced various shades of conflicts. These conflicts vary from clusters of

ethno-religious conflicts, protracted civil wars, inter and intra state conflicts. In her observation, Ekiyor (2008:1) submitted that: these conflicts have resulted in millions of death, the displacement of many (countless number of internally displaced persons), proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW), and the stagnation of growth and development.

It is a common knowledge that Nigeria is a country of extraordinary diversity (Human Rights Watch, 2006: 5) and as such, one of extraordinary complexities. This complexity is a reflection of the avalanche of ethno-cultural and religious groups co-habiting the territory and the intricacies of conflicts as a result of interactions among them. Perhaps cognizance of the latent threats of conflicts to the political stability of the emergent nation-state, the Nigerian political actors put measures in place (to address these intricate, multifaceted conflicts) that would neutralize the potential threats and accommodate the divergent interests of the various ethno-cultural groups.

However, government in the early 1970s up until late 1990s through the instruments of the state -the police and the military was busy monopolizing the issue of conflict management with the use of force to crush violent conflicts in Nigeria, with little or no input from civil society organizations (CSOs). Rather than arrest, the situation, there has been an increase in violent confrontations between armed groups and soldiers. As a result, it became impossible for state actors to prevent, manage or resolve conflicts without the assistance and involvement of non-state actors (Ekiyor, 2008:1). Again, research has shown that the role of civil society organizations in development, humanitarian and environmental issues has generally been addressed following the return to civil rule in Africa in the late 1990s; the same cannot be said of their participation in conflict management.

Thus, the relationship between civil society and conflicts in any society cannot be wished away. The two according to Ezirim (2009) are intertwined in the sense that once there is one, there is bound to be the other, and they therefore complement each other's activities in the state. Giving the significance of civil organizations society democracy, in governance and conflict settings is less agreed, the number of agencies that are engaged in developmental policy, humanitarian aid, human rights protection and environmental policy has increased substantially over the last two decades. A similar development is witnessed in the field of conflict prevention, peacemaking and post-conflict regeneration.

However, assessments of the roles and activities of civil society actors in all these areas are contradictory and ambivalent. Controversial debates about their *capacities*, *impacts* and *legitimacy* are on-going among politicians, practitioners and scholars giving the recent spate of conflicts in Nigeria.

To be sure, several studies have been carried out by scholars (Ibeanu, 2006; Ekivor, 2008) identifying the conflict flashpoints and their underlying causes. There are equally ongoing intervention programmes by local, national and international CSOs in the area of conflict. While CSOs participation in the development of Nigeria has been well covered, its role/participation in conflict management has sadly not received greater attention giving that government in Africa and Nigeria in particular consider the issue of peace and security an exclusive preserve of governance. Hence, the need for the study to examine the role (if any) CSOs can play in conflict management. This article examines the various roles civil society organizations (CSOs) can play in conflict management in Nigeria. In this paper, attempt is made to discuss the meaning of the terms civil society. conflict conflict management, functions and significance of civil society organizations as well as the connection between civil society organizations and conflict management with specific reference to Nigeria.

Conceptual Framework

Civil Society

Attempts to define civil society have been very difficult and confusing and there is the problem of agreement as to whether the concept itself can be applied in Africa. Recent years has seen a proliferation of the literature about the concept of civil society and its contribution to peace. To borrow from Ekiyor (2008:1) defining civil society and identifying which organizations fall within the framework of civil society continue to be a challenge. According to her. the difficulty conceptualizing civil society in West Africa is that there is a tendency to focus on nonorganizations governmental excluding groups and associations that reflect West Africa's associational culture, e.g. traditional governance structures.

To be sure, the concept of civil society is not new. It has been contested within political philosophy, sociology and social theory for hundreds of years. What is new is the increasing emphasis on the concept over the last decade and it has become a buzzword within international and national development.

The Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC, 2010) of the African Union defines civil society as comprising social professional groups; NGOs. community-based organizations (CBOs). voluntary organizations; and cultural organizations, among other segments in which women, youth, children, national diasporas and elements of the private sector such as market women's associations and the media are listed. UNDP defines civil society "as all associations or organizations that are private, voluntary, not-for-profit, at least partly independent or autonomous of the state and are pursuing a common interest, protecting a common value or advocating a common cause" (Nasr, 2005:9).

According to Anheier and List (2005:54) civil society can be described as "the sum of institutions, organizations and individuals located between family, the state and the market in which people associate voluntarily to advance common interests". In their view, the end of the Cold War saw the increase in intra-state conflicts thus making civil society organizations to start engaging in conflict prevention, management and resolution. Edward (2004:6) sees civil society as a political association governing social conflict through the imposition of rules that restrain citizens from harming one another. In his book Civil Society and the State in Africa, John Harbeson (cited in Fajonyomi, 2001: 2) offered what has been as a process or functionalist definition of the concept of civil society. According to him "individuals, groups, and associations are part of civil society to the extent that they seek to define, generate support for, or promote changes in the basic working rules of the political game".

Some authors also view the civil society as an elongation of the state.

In the context of this paper, civil society refers to the arena of un-coerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power.

Civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trades unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy group. It is safe to assert that civil society organizations are "organizations that work in an arena between the household, the private sector and the state to negotiate matters of public concern.

CSOs operate at many different levels: global, regional, national, local etc. (Pollard and Court, 2005:13). Again, they are often considered in terms of activities that are undertaken for the public good by groups or individuals in the space between the family, the state and the market (Naidu, 2005). More so, they are considered to be any organizations that work between the household, the private sector and the state to negotiate matters of public concern.

Conflict and Conflict Management

It is paramount to state that, it is not quite explicit for scholars, authors and political actors to define conflict. This is, because, there are extensive views and literatures about conflicts. This frequency of the concept in the discourse among this group of people has in fact made it more ambiguous and confusing. It remains an ambiguous concept that has transformed over time.

To borrow from Coleman Raider International (1997), conflict can be understood the same way: both as a danger and an opportunity. Thus, conflict itself is not bad; it is what one does with it that makes a difference. According to Swanstrom and Weissmann (2005:9) conflict is the result of opposing interests involving scarce resources, goal divergence and frustration. It happens when two or more people or groups have, or think they have, incompatible goals. Conflict is a fact of life. God made each of us in his own image, but he also made us unique. Therefore some of our views and opinions will differ from those of others. Conflict often occurs because of a lack of respect for one another's needs and views (Tearfund, 2003:2).

Coser (1995) defines conflict as the struggle over values, claims to status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the opposing parties are not only to gain desired values but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals. Francis (2006) sees conflict as the pursuit of incompatible interests and goals by different groups. Thus, conflict is bound to occur and reoccur as a result of differences arising from human interactions in our daily economic, social and political activities. Conflict can therefore be defined as manifestation of hostile attitude in the face of conflicting interests between individuals, groups or states. These conflicting interests can be over resources, identity, power, status or values. According to Wallesteen (2002), conflict has been generally seen as a situation in which two or more parties strive to acquire the same scarce resources at the same time. A number of especially non-Western scholars. from societies. have argued that conflict management is a successful tool for resolving conflicts in Africa, and that it creates the foundation for effective conflict resolution. What then is conflict management?

Tanner (2000) defined conflict management as the limitation, mitigation and/or containment of a conflict without necessarily solving it. Wallensteen and Swanström (2002) have added to this definition and argue that conflict management should imply a change, from destructive to constructive, in the mode of interaction. They went on to argue that conflict

management refers to eliminating violent and violence-related actions and leaving the conflict to be dealt with on the political level. This argument has been somewhat criticized as NGOs, academic institutions and half-formal structures have emerged as important actors and now influence the conflict management process (Zartman, 1997).

According to the United State Institute of Peace (2011), conflict management also includes the prevention, limitation, resolution or transformation of conflicts through the use of non-violent techniques. This can involve:

- preventing conflicts from breaking out or escalating
- stopping or reducing the amount of violence by parties engaged in conflict

Conflict management can therefore be described as interventionist's efforts towards preventing the escalation and negative effects, especially violent ones, of ongoing conflicts (Miller and King, 2005). Akpuru-Aja (2007) also sees conflict management as the use of dialogue to assist opponents or parties not only to have agreements against hostile images or actions, but to comply earlier agreed resolutions and strategies.

It is important to state that the handling of conflict in terms of its management is very vital as the process can either make or mar the process, that is to say, conflict could escalate if mishandled.

Functions Of Civil Society Organizations

Now we come to the most difficult and most controversial question: What are the functions of civil society? Different people see different benefits and harms in the roles of civil society. As Rousseau simply put it, civil society engenders both "the best and the worst -both our virtues and vices" (Fine, 1997:16). One major function of civil society is economic. According to Gang (1998:6), there are both pessimistic and optimistic stories about the economic functions of civil society.

One of the pessimist, Olsen, building on his own logic of collective action, argues that

small interest groups have no incentive to work toward the common good of society and every incentive to engage in costly and efficient "rent-seeking" ...lobbying for tax breaks, colluding to restrain competition, and so on (Putman, 1993:176) Rousseau also pointed out that "men are forces to care and destroy one another at the same time" in civil society (cited in Fine, 1997: 17). Worse yet, as Olson holds, in the absence of invasion or revolutionary change, the ticket of special interest groups in any society grows over denser, chocking off innovation and dumping economic growth. More and stronger groups mean less growth (Putnam 1993:176).

Another pessimist is Callaghy, who fears that "wild passions" of civil society may undercut sound economic management and economic reform (Harbason, 1994:294). Other scholars, however, hold that civil society has the function of provoking economic growth. Analyzing Italian regional level data from the nineteenth century to the 1980's Putnam found that levels of economic development even better than did economic variables. Ingleharts (1977:228) tries to reconcile these two diametrically opposed theories about the economic functions of civil society. Analyzing data from 43 societies, he concludes that relatively dense networks of associational membership seem to be conducive to economic growth in the earlier stages of development, just as Putnam has argued. However in Olson's opinion, associations can become hypertrophied and excessively powerful in advanced industrial societies, distorting policy to defend wellorganized interests at the expense of overall economic growth.

Another function of civil society organizations is the stabilizing function. The question is to what extent can civil society stabilize the state? Both Tocqueville and Putnam stress the of network importance of voluntary associations in support of a culture of trust and cooperation, which are essential to the successful functioning of democratic institutions. However, the answer to the question from other empirical test and "not theoretical analysis seems to be necessary". Ingleharts (1997:229) multiple

regression tests, although membership in voluntary associations is strongly correlated with stable democracy, the variable did not show a statistically significance impact when the effects of other variables are controlled for. Schmitter also argues that "civil society... can affect the consolidation and subsequent functioning of democracy in a number of negative ways". Among these he includes: "five most dangerously, it may prove to be not one but several civil societies, all occupying the same territory and polity, but organizing interests and passions into communities that are ethnically, linguistically or culturally even exclusive" distinct.. (Whitehead, 1997:106).

In addition, the democratic functions of civil society seem long recognized. As Almond and (1963:32) conclude from examination of the survey data from five nations: the organizational member, political or not, compared with the nonmember, is likely to consider himself more competence as a citizen, to be more active participant in politics. The member, in contrast with the nonmember, appears to approximate more closely what we have called the democratic citizen. He is pertinent, active, and open with his opinions. The most striking finding is that any membership—passive membership membership in a nonpolitical organization has an impact on political competence, and thus on pluralism, one of the most important foundations of political democracy (Almond and Verba, 1963:321).

Nie, Powell and Prewitt (1969:808) also investigated the democratic functions of civil society in terms of its effects on political participation. As shown in the figure above, as the density and complexity of economic and secondary organizations increases, greater proportions of the population find themselves in life situations that lead to increased political information, political awareness, sense of personal political efficacy, and other relevant attitudes. These attitude changes, in turn, lead to increases in political participation. Civil society has yet another democratic function; that is facilitating democratic transitions. Montesquieu quoted in Harbeson (1994:26) clearly believed from a theoretical perspective that civil society should function as a counterbalance to government in order to inhabit their tyrannical tendencies; he also suggested that civil society actually did perform in this capacity.

The international literature offers various taxonomies of a range of CSOs functions in the context of this paper: Establishing alternative media, war and peace reporting, Monitoring of elections and state institutions and activities related to democratization, Youth work (community-based social policy, generation, income education empowerment), Support for education sector reforms and initiatives for peace education, Establishing peace cultures: incentives for overcoming cultures of war via arts, music, films and cultural events, Strengthening local "peace constituencies", Initiatives for interreligious dialogue, Empowerment of women, campaigns for women's rights and against trafficking, human Initiatives disarmament demobilization, and demilitarization, Protection of endangered and providing security individuals, minority groups or refugees and returnees, Reintegration of returnees and community building and Human rights monitoring (Ropers 2002).

In the words of Olojede (cited in Olojede and Fajonyomi, 2000) the functions and activities of civil society organizations also vary. They include the representation of interest of specific groups in relation to government and other sectors of the society. It also includes the mobilization of the social actors to increase their consciousness and impact, the regulation and monitoring of state performance and the behaviour and actions of public officials. Finally, it includes the development or social action role to improve the wellbeing of their constituencies or groups.

Significance Of Civil Society Organizations

Civil society's importance is increasing day by day especially in the developing and developed world. According to Bolme (2008:2) civil society is important *safety nets*. A "safety net" is assistance for extremely vulnerable individuals who are unable to meet

the most basic needs for survival and human dignity. Individuals may be unable to meet these needs due to an external shock - such as natural disasters, conflicts or war - or due to socioeconomic circumstances, such as age, illness, disabilities or discrimination. Such individuals are usually completely dependent upon CSOs that provide resources to meet their basic food and livelihood needs.

It allows people to express themselves directly and resist any form of *economic and political oppression*. Oppression is the excessive use of power by a particular regime over its marginalized populations who are victims of repressive, discriminatory and undemocratic laws. CSOs are important in this regard by effectively contributing to policies, programs and project formulation and implementation (IBON International, 2011:3).

Civil society can advocate the rights of minorities which are too small to count politically. Due to civil society the public discussion is much enriched and the lapse of time from when a problem arises until solutions are asked and offered is greatly reduced. Civil society adds pluralism and flexibility to the society as a whole. By allowing pluralism to flourish through the participation of diverse groups, the government gets more flexible and more responsive to socio-economic change of its citizens.

The final aspect in favor of the importance of an autonomous civil society is that it *works based on ideas*, not on prestige, power or money. CSOs have no power to make, change or abolish laws or to shape the state's policy neither does it have the financial resources of powerful political groups but; it is a valuable source of new policy ideas that encourages information sharing in all directions at all levels (Udsholt, 2010:2).

Civil Society Organizations And Conflict Management

The complex and fluid nature of civil society made tracking its involvement in conflict management a challenging task. Current thinking has essentially moved from models of its influence derived from debates on categorizing CSOs, to models oriented around the activities that CSOs undertake and strategies that they use. According to Debiel and Sticht (2005:133), there are four central explanations for the increasing number and significance of CSOs in conflict management. These include:

The UN World conference of the 1990s offered major incentives for the establishment of new CSOs and the expansion of existing organizations engaged in development and environmental issues at the international level.

The increasing power of mass media and the globalization of communication by electronic information technologies which supports transnational networking activities of non-state actors.

International civil society organizations functions as substitutes for former state-driven welfare services (health, education and social policy). This is a consequence of the neoliberal project of decreasing state activities in the market and sphere field.

In many developing countries, CSOs function as substitute for formerly state-run activities in social provisioning (e.g health and education), especially as international programmes for economic reforms, like IMF programmes, forced states to reduce public services.

Indeed, civil society organizations in Africa have and can play a potentially important role in conflict management. Since Nigeria's attainment of independence on October 1st 1960, she has had to grapple with one continuous issue that has threatened her continuity and survival as a political unit -theissue of conflicts. As we have earlier mentioned, successive governments in Nigeria have attempted to curtail/manage these conflicts by adopting various strategies with little or no role for civil society organizations and yet conflict persist. The question then is what role can civil society organizations in Nigeria play in conflicts management? To answer this question, we put forward the following:

CSOs can help in the area of *conflict analysis*. This entails gathering information, monitor developments and provide early warning of situations that can erupt into crises, violent conflict, or war. Conflict early warning and response has been described as the sine qua non of conflict prevention, useful as it is, also requires an evaluation of when a conflict is likely to explode. The political class as well as state components have limited political knowledge about early warning and have to pick and choose when intervention is necessary (USIP, 2010). Research has shown that accurate information is not often available in areas of tension and conflict. There may be a significant amount of distorted, irrelevant or false information on the side of state actors owing to the reason of national security or secrecy. For example, the West Africa Network for Peace Building (WANEP) has been instrumental in "on the ground" conflict monitoring as part of the ECOWAS Early Warning and Response Network (ECOWARN).

Secondly, CSOs can play an active role in combating the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW). In the words of Ekiyor (2008:29), the scale of proliferation of SALW in West Africa is a major security concern. It is estimated that of the 639 million SALW circulating globally, 7 million are in West Africa. CSOs can work at the national and international level to raise awareness of the dangers of arms production, and the ease with which arms are smuggled across porous borders. Recently, civil society organizations and non-civil society organizations like the Academic Associates Peace Works (AAPW) played active role in combating SALW proliferation, circulation and trafficking in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. In view of the wanton destruction of lives and properties occasioned by possession and use of SALW, CSOs were at the forefront of the process of calling for an ECOWAS convention on SALW. On 14 June 2006, the Conference of ECOWAS Heads of State and Government signed the ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, Their Ammunition and Other Related Materials. (This convention was pre-dated by the Declaration on the Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Light Weapons) in ECOWAS member states, which was signed on 31 October 1998 (Ekiyor, 2010:30).

Again CSOs can play crucial role in conflict management in the area of *conflict resolution*. Conflict resolution means going beyond negotiating interests in order to meet all sides' basic needs. Civil society organizations can be instrumental in this respect. CSOs have access to the parties involved in conflict and the ability to bring parties to dialogue. They can as well induce local populations to get involved in long-term reconciliation efforts. By working directly with local populations on the ground, civil society organizations are able to assess the situation more effectively than top levels of governance or external actors (Rupesinghe and Anderlini, 1998:70).

Another area where CSOs can play active role in conflict management is that of conflict negotiation/peace talks. Negotiation is a process to achieve your goals through communication with at least one other party, with the presumed outcome -an agreement (USIP, 2011) Where two parties have grievances, or have differences that may result in conflict, CSOs can serve as a third party with the ability to prevent conflict or negotiate talks through behind-the-scenes peace diplomacy; urging compromise and in many cases building trust between the parties. In the context of Nigeria, a good instance includes the Plateau Peace Summit of 2001 where CEPID acted as the technical member of the committee for the summit instituted by the government, AAPW intervention in the Niger Delta, CEPID intervention in 2001 in the Bassa/Egbira conflict sponsored by USAID (Abdulrahman and Tar, 2008:195).

The civil society organizations also play an important role in the area of information and enlightenment. Akinboye and Ottoh (2007) observes that information is very essential in conflict management and that in the process of peace negotiation in conflict situations, the general practice has been to use the state channels, actors and agencies to negotiate peace. Ezirim (2009) noted that while this is commendable, it may not be sufficient or very effective. He argued further that civil society

groups in Nigeria should be incorporated into peace negotiation processes, the reason being that they can popularize peace deals, put pressure on belligerent, and mobilize popular support for the peace process.

In spite of the foregoing, research has shown that CSOs in Nigeria are still faced with a number of persisting challenges. These include the fact that present and successive governments in Nigeria perceive issues of conflict management as being within the realm of state security agencies. Both the federal and state governments in Nigeria are suspicious of CSOs and see its activities as being tantamount to opposition. In addition, the contribution of CSOs to conflict management remains unknown due to the absence of a documentation culture among CSOs in Nigeria.

Concluding Remarks

The field of conflict management is not only a fast growing one; the role of non-state actors in it has assumed an added urgency in Nigeria. Today, the pathway to sustainable peace in Nigeria is becoming much more complex; giving issues bothering on conflicts resolution are now beyond the realm of the state and its agents alone.

In this paper, we have been able to demonstrate that governments in Nigeria can facilitate the development of civil society organizations CSOs in conflict management by adopting the corporatist model. Instead of using the aristocratic model that restricts the involvement of CSOs in the management of conflicts, states can provide platforms for civil society organizations to perform functions more effectively. Thus it is appropriate to conclude that the civil society is a very crucial partner in the management of conflicts in Nigeria and elsewhere, and so should be properly situated in the scheme of things in a conflict situation like we have in Nigeria.

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