

The Processes of Engaging Stakeholders' to the Resolution of Resource Conflict

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Since conflict typically involves many parties, due to its dynamic and multidimensional equations, an effective and efficient approach involves the utilization of contending parties in a dialogue directed towards an outcome that can address the problem as well as being seen as satisfactory to the parties. This involves the use of stakeholders' engagement, which has the capacity to address contending issues because of its embrace of diverse knowledge and values (Aaltonen 2010; IFC, 2007). For this reason, stakeholders' engagement is widely used to tackle these multiple diverse and conflicting issues (Ansell & Gash, 2007; Brody 2003; Reed, 2008).

This Research examines the process of stakeholders' engagement in relation to resolving conflict. The aim of the study is to analyze the design process of Consensus Building Institute (CBI) and Search for Common Ground (SFCG) in their approaches taken towards their respective projects in Niger-Delta and Cabinda through constructive dialogue. The study seeks to understand and diagnose the building of trust, cooperation, and developmental needs of several actors. What is the impact of stakeholders' participation on the resolution of conflict, and how does one conduct effective stakeholders' participation in emergent states characterized by intermittent violent conflict?

This chapter establishes the purpose of the research, the statement of the problem, review of related literature and the methods to be used. Following this chapter, the next chapter will give an elaborated review of related literature dealing with this issue, with a close attention to three processes of stakeholders' engagement essential for a successful outcome. The three processes are nature of the participation, degree of participation and the objective of participation and how these processes interplay with some conflict theories in working with groups. The third chapter provides an overview of the methodology. The fourth and fifth chapter presents the findings for the case study. The sixth presents a comparative analysis of case studies. And the concluding chapter gives a summary of the study and provides opportunities for further study.

Review of Related Literature

The literature on stakeholders' engagement is quite extensive. The study concentrates on literature in the past five decades with focus on more recent literature. The study also reviews literature on both empirical and theoretical publications in parallel discipline as well as regions, although most of the literature is from western-based research. The review of literature provides the context for the study and thus shows where this study fits into existing body of evidence. The hope of the study is that the findings will add to the understanding and knowledge in the field.

Theoretical consideration

The study relies on conflict resolution theories to understand the effects of stakeholder approach to resolving conflict. The study will discuss the theoretical background relevant to the application of stakeholders' engagement in conflict resolution. Both the Large Group Intervention and Group Dynamics theory are discussed to examine the relationship between stakeholders' engagement and conflict resolution.

Research Question/statement

Many states in the global south are characterized by unstable political climate, growing economies and cultural property different from that of western states. The attributes of these states will clearly impact the applicability of processes of stakeholders' participation and the resulting outcome. The central tenet of stakeholders' engagement, however, is that of a well planned and well-implemented process will determine a successful outcome, although success in conflict resolution is difficult to define. This paper will examine if this premise is true for a region plagued in violent conflict over resources. To address this question, this research examines stakeholder participation processes in resource conflicts in Cabinda and Niger-Delta. Consequently, the fundamental questions are: 1) what is the impact of stakeholders' participation on the resolution of conflict and 2) how does one conduct effective stakeholders' participation in emergent states characterized by intermittent violent conflict?

Scope of study

The study focuses on the relational characteristics of the processes of stakeholders' engagement and examines the design process and implementation in developing regions. The study covers two regions as case studies, Cabinda and Niger-Delta. The two regions are conflict prone, where the source can be attributed to resources, in this case crude oil. In this study, however, participants in both case studies were unavailable to the researcher due to lack of funds and time constraints. As a result, the findings are based on reports available for this study from the subject organizations themselves.

Case Studies profiles

The desire for resource control has led to many violent conflicts in Africa; particularly where there is an ethnic or religious divide (Matthew, Brown & Jensen 2009). These conflicts are usually messy and become intractable when not quickly or properly addressed. In the Gulf of Guinea, particularly in Angola and Nigeria, there have been violent clashes between communities and Multinational Corporations and their respective central governments over who has the rights over these resources. These communities feel excluded from the benefits of the resources exploited from their communities, which result in conflict among these actors. Consequently, these conflicts are being financed by the resources that allow contentious parties control over the territories where the resources are located, thereby making the ability to resolve such conflicts difficult (Hubert, 2000). Two organizations in the United States have recently embarked on resolving these conflicts both in Angola and Nigeria. SFCG and CBI are working on resolving the conflict in certain communities in Angola and Nigeria respectively, through

community development. They have utilized stakeholders' participation as a vehicle to find a mutual and committable solution to the problems in the Gulf of Guinea.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

Stakeholders' engagement is increasingly being employed as a means for resolving conflict through constructive dialogue with contending parties. The approach is used to bring stakeholders together to build relationships, address contentious matters and construct sets of proposals and/or recommendations to tackle the conflict. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the field, the research draws from a variety of disciplines, including management, political science, natural resource control, and conflict resolution.

The primary purpose of this literature review is to provide a foundation from the literature to support the elements essential to having an effective stakeholders' engagement. The thesis guiding this literature review is that stakeholders' engagement is effective to resolve conflict if properly planned and executed. However, will that remain true for regions prone with widespread violent conflict? The section will first describe the definition of stakeholders, looking closely at the three processes necessary to a successful outcome, and then it will review the theoretical foundations as they relates to the resolution of conflict. Thirdly, the section will examine the benefits of engagement with a focus on participatory approaches and finally gives an analytical framework for this research.

Conceptual definition of Stakeholders' participation

What is Stakeholders' engagement?

Stakeholder's engagement is the process of engaging parties to identify, deliberate upon, and find a resolution to a problematic issue. The process of bringing parties together to a forum for discussion, built on respect and empathy for parties with conflicting interests, can have a positive impact. Freeman (1984) was the first person to use the term stakeholders' engagement in his book *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*. However, the concept has long been employed before his publication. Stakeholders' participation has taken place both in "parallel geographical and disciplinary context" such as raising awareness in the 1960s, integrating local perspectives in collection of data and planning in the 1970s, as well as rural appraisal in farm systems research in the 1980s (Reed, 2008). Subsequently, the use of the term widened into several fields of practice, for example, natural resource control, sustainable environmental practices and social corporate responsibility. The wide spread use of a stakeholders' approach across multiple disciplines is enriched because of the capacity of stakeholders' engagement to address multiple parties, multiple issues and multi-directional dynamics of conflict (Susskind et al, 2002). For this to be achieved, though, stakeholders' engagement has to be transparent, flexible and embrace differing perspectives of actors (IFC, 2007). Stakeholders' engagement is essential to contemporary conflict resolution, as most conflict more often than not, involve multiple parties. The usually approach to conflict has the potential to create a new dispute for other actors as a result of the resolution to the

conflict. In fact, a permutation of outcome can build new tension that can lead to conflict with several other groups.

When multiple actors to a dispute with interests that seem diverse and conflicting establish a zero-sum environment for the actors, they engage in actions, which are detrimental to other actors' interests, in order to safeguard their own interests (Pruitt, Kim & Rubin, 2004). Engaging these multiple actors to address this dilemma is the essence of stakeholders' engagement. The central objective of stakeholders' engagement is to bring "multiple stakeholders together in a forum of public opinions [in a discussion of public interests] to engage towards a consensus-oriented decision making" (Ansell & Gash, 2007). Aaltonen (2010) defines stakeholders' engagement as a collection of "interest and demands" needed to be considered in making decisions to ensure a successful outcome, while Reed (2008) describes stakeholders' engagement as a "process where individuals or groups choose to collectively take an active role in decisions that affect them." These definitions draw together three major essentials vital to engaging stakeholders. First, there exist a problem or issue that is diverse and conflicting. Second, differing groups of actors are impacted or have interests in the problem or issue, and lastly, these groups have to collectively identify a mutual solution to the problem or issue through dialogue.

Who can participate?

Who can participate in stakeholders' engagement? Who are the stakeholders? Freeman (1984) describes stakeholders as any party that can influence an outcome or any party that is influenced by an event. The problem with this definition is that it basically includes nearly every party since the world is seen as a global village and it is easier to identify the impact of certain behaviors, conduct, or actions on other parties. Brody (2003) asks a similar question, "Who is involved and to what degree will [they] inevitably influence the outcome" (p. 409), however, Susskind et al (2002) clarify the definition of identifying a stakeholder as an individual or group with specific interest and values at stake in a particular issue or problem.

The International Finance Corporation (IFC) has defined stakeholders as "persons or groups who are directly or indirectly affected by a project, as well as those who have interests in the project or/and the ability to influence its outcome, either positively or negatively" (p.10). From the IFC's perspective, stakeholders should include local community members - individual or group - as well as the formal and informal representative of the community, local, regional and national authorities, civil society organizations, interests groups, and others (IFC, 2007). The stakes should define and identify the stakeholders in a particular issue, for example, people or groups who are directly affected by a project are classified as stakeholders as well as other individuals or groups to which a changed outcome could potentially impact their well being. Also other groups such as government authorities, civil society, interest groups, and NGOs are also essential, particularly where their involvement could contribute positively to the outcome.

Yang's definition encompasses these concerns: a stakeholder is a person or group who has a controlling influence on a strategic plan, benefits in some way from the strategic plan, has an interest in the process and/or outcome of the strategic plan, has resources invested in the strategic plan, or has other programs that may depend on the effectiveness of the strategic plan. Stakeholders are typically identified by three major settings that determine their participation. These settings are the urgency of the problem, the power of influence of the stakeholders and the legitimacy of the stakeholders (Yang et al 2011). These three settings determine the extent of the "stake" for participants and the type of participation necessary to achieve a positive outcome.

Conflict Theories Underlying Stakeholder's Engagement

To understand how stakeholders' engagement is able to resolve conflict, one has to look at conflict resolution theories and how engaging stakeholders' fits into the structural framework of conflict resolution. Two theories in the conflict resolution literature particularly support the conceptual foundation of stakeholders' engagement: Large Group Intervention and Group Dynamics theory.

Large Group Intervention

Large Group Interventions (LGIs) have been widely used to tackle diverse, system-wide issues that require collective collaborative processes that are designed to create capacity building (Bunker & Alban, 2006; Griffin & Purser, 2008). The idea made its resurgence as an integral component in an array of organizational development (Bunker & Alban,

1997; Bunker & Alban 2006; Griffin & Purser, 2008). Although there are different varieties of methods of LGIs, they all have a common principle in inclusiveness and participation of actors (Bunker & Alban, 2006). LGIs methods reflect practices, contacts, and dialogues across the interdependence of human relations (Bunker & Alban 2006; Levi, 2007). The underlying assumption of LGIs is based on the complexity of groups, the need to understand independence in a holistic approach, a collective attempt at innovation, and collective collaboration to implement change in an efficient and effective approach (Edgar, 1988; Levi, 2007).

LGIs foster initiatives, responsibilities and cooperation within a group in its attempt to solve problems (Bunker & Alban, 2006; Griffin & purser, 2008). LGIs enables for the transition of ideas during dialogue primarily because of the freedom it asserts on the group allowing the participants some kind of ownership of the process, thus, finding a better outcome, if such a destination can be reached. Consequently, this process allows an easier commitment on the part of the group to any such solutions. However, understanding Group dynamics is essential to large group interactions since LGIs underscore the tenets of Group dynamics theory (Edgar, 1988, Forsyth, 2010; Levi, 2007). Several methods of LGIs are designed to accommodate the dynamic nature of groups for different typologies of conflict (Bunker & Alban, 2006).

Group dynamic theory

Individuals do not exist alone, in fact, everyone belongs to one kind of group or the other (Boyle, 2011). Individuals have since time immemorial depended on group to achieve

personal goals. Clearly, nearly every task a person tries to achieve is performed in synergy with others (Williams, Harkins & Karau, 2003). Consequently, the group provides a social identity for one by fulfilling the personal needs of members through intimacy, support, capacity, and belonging, and as such play a critical role in a construct for the individual (Aronson, 2004; Boyle, 2011). Conversely, the group also exerts some form of pressure on individuals to conform (Boyle, 2011; Moscovici, 1976; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pruitt, Kim & Rubin, 2004; Riach, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Aronson (2004) defines conformity “as a change in a person’s behavior or opinions as a result of real or imagined pressure from a person or group of people” (16). The need to conform involves a number of social complexities such as social influence, attitudes, beliefs, perception as well as stereotypes and prejudice (Moscovici, 1976; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). All these attributes will in turn determine for an individual who belongs and who doesn’t, thereby building an environment for conflict. However, social instruments exist within a group that tends to address most disputes within the group, while these tend to be non-existent when a dispute arises with an out-group.

Group dynamics is thus the study of changes that occur or may occur in a group (Lewin, 1945). The system of attitude and behaviors within a group and among groups is essential to understand relations for intergroup as well as intragroup dimensions (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The theory explains how collections of persons act and react to stimuli from the environment. The stimuli, over time, construct a perception of in-group as well as out-group and determine the extent or manner of relations with both groups (Sheriff, 1936). A group is characterized by a set of common values and beliefs that establish a

common goal for the group (Aronson, 2004; Tindale, Kameda & Hinsz 2003). However, several external factors such as interactions with out-groups impact the manner in which the in-group construct their perceptions, and thus encourage the in-group to act in a certain way to meet their interests (Ostrom, 1990; Pruitt, Kim & Rubin, 2004; Rioch, 1979). The interaction constructs a stereotypical view of others based on experience with an out-group that could be real or imagined. These sets of experience over time construct a shared understanding and perception of an out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), which ultimately, determines the relations between in-group and out-group (Pruitt, Kim & Rubin, 2004).

The process of stakeholders' participation

Nature of the participation

Communication is an essential element for engaging stakeholders. Rows and Frewer (2000) identify three levels in which information is exchanged in a forum. According to them, information is transferred among actors through a one-way flow of communication usually a top-down approach where the experts inform the other actors about new policy and the benefit of such policy. Another level discussed by the authors is the consultation approach, which is a two-way communication. The purpose of this approach is to gather information for the participants. A third level, which is the preferred method, is a two-way communication flow, which involves dialogue as well as negotiation among actors. The third level is considered the highest level of participation while is first is the lowest level of participation. The difference between the second and third approach is that the second is directional while the third is transactional.

Degree of participation

The degree to which stakeholders are engaged is another essential element to a desirable outcome. Arnstein (1969) describes this as the extent to which participants are involved in the process. Arnstein (1969) suggests several stages of involvement whether it is non-participation, tokenism and citizen power to delineate the involvement of stakeholders'. The non-participation stage involves the manipulation or therapeutic teachings of participants. This type of participation, she claims, is a shady means of collaboration and its objective is to educate the stakeholders. At the tokenism stage stakeholders participate in the exchange of ideas, but the considerations of the dialogue are not truly considered. The last stage is characterized by partnership, delegated power and citizen control, where there is equal balance of power among actors in the degree of decision-making, negotiation and trade offs in the process.

However, other typologies have been identified in the literature. These typologies are distinguished in the manner of relationship among actors with terms like contractual, consultative, collaborative, functional, collegiate and transformative (Briggs, 1989; Farrington, 1998; Lawrence, 2006). These terminologies depict the type of relationship among actors when engaged, with each level of interaction involving more participation and thus preferred for engaging actors. However, Reed (2008) asserts that these levels of interaction are equally important. The objective of the dialogue will determine what is appropriate for the engagement.

Objective of the participation

The purpose of the engagement can be defined as developmental needs, research driven or people centered. It could also be a mixture of two or more of these purposes. All these objective typologies aim to involve stakeholders through the exchange of information, co-planning and co-management. It also requires the monitoring of the agreement among multiple actors that engaged in the participatory process (Michener, 1998; Okali, Sumberg & Farrington, 1994; Tippet, Handley & Ravetz, 2007). However, Warner (1997) insists that building consensus is the most efficient method that can provide an adequate sustainable resolution.

Benefits of stakeholders' engagement**The normative and pragmatic views of Stakeholders**

Is stakeholders' participation relevant to the resolution of environmental conflict? Many studies have shown a robust relationship between the processes of dialogue among multiple parties and the resulting outcome (Poitras & Bowen, 2002; Reed, 2008). The likelihood of cooperation is increased through dialogue as multiple actors come to terms with their interests, which can determine the stakeholders' willingness to cooperate since the dialogue shows a connection between the stakeholders' collective interests as a whole. In addition, a mutual agreement ensures a cooperative behavior and a renewed commitment among actors (Bouas & Komorita, 1996; Mendelberg, 2005). Besides, as Moscovici (1980) points out, cooperation is greatly influenced among the actors if there exist a great disparity in the process. According to Moscovici (1980) large majorities

have an advantage in in-group dynamics to influence minorities to accept their interests as theirs. However, there are other studies that have shown the opposite impact of minorities on group dynamics, such that they influence majorities (Wood, Lundgren, Ouellette, Busceme & Blackstone, 1994). Participation is defined by the goal of the dialogue, whether it is for consultations, decision-making, finding commitments, or capacity building (Armah, Yawson and Johanna 2009).

Empirical evidence has shown the relationship between a well-implemented process and the expected outcome (Poitras & Bowen, 2002; Poitras & Bowen 2003). This has been the blueprint behind environmental conflict resolution (NOAA, 2007). However, these studies are concentrated in regions that have been stable in terms of the political and socio-economic environment. Increasingly, many practitioners in conflict analysis and resolution (CA&R) have engaged in stakeholders' participation as a means of resolving environmental conflict in the third world, particularly in emergent states, with limited results (Armah, Yawson and Johanna 2009; Kok, Lotze & Van Jaarsveld, 2009; Yosie & Herbst, 1998).

Analytical Framework

This analytical framework provides a practical tool to guide this research. Since the research aims to understand the impact of stakeholders' participation on the resolution of conflict and how a stakeholders' engagement can be effectively conducted in regions characterized by intermittent conflict, the research will concentrate on the interplay of the process of stakeholders' engagement, Large Group Intervention and group dynamics.

How does intervention improve relations among stakeholders so that the perception and behavior that is disruptive to relations is reshaped into a more constructive view among stakeholders? The framework below illustrates the approach this research takes.

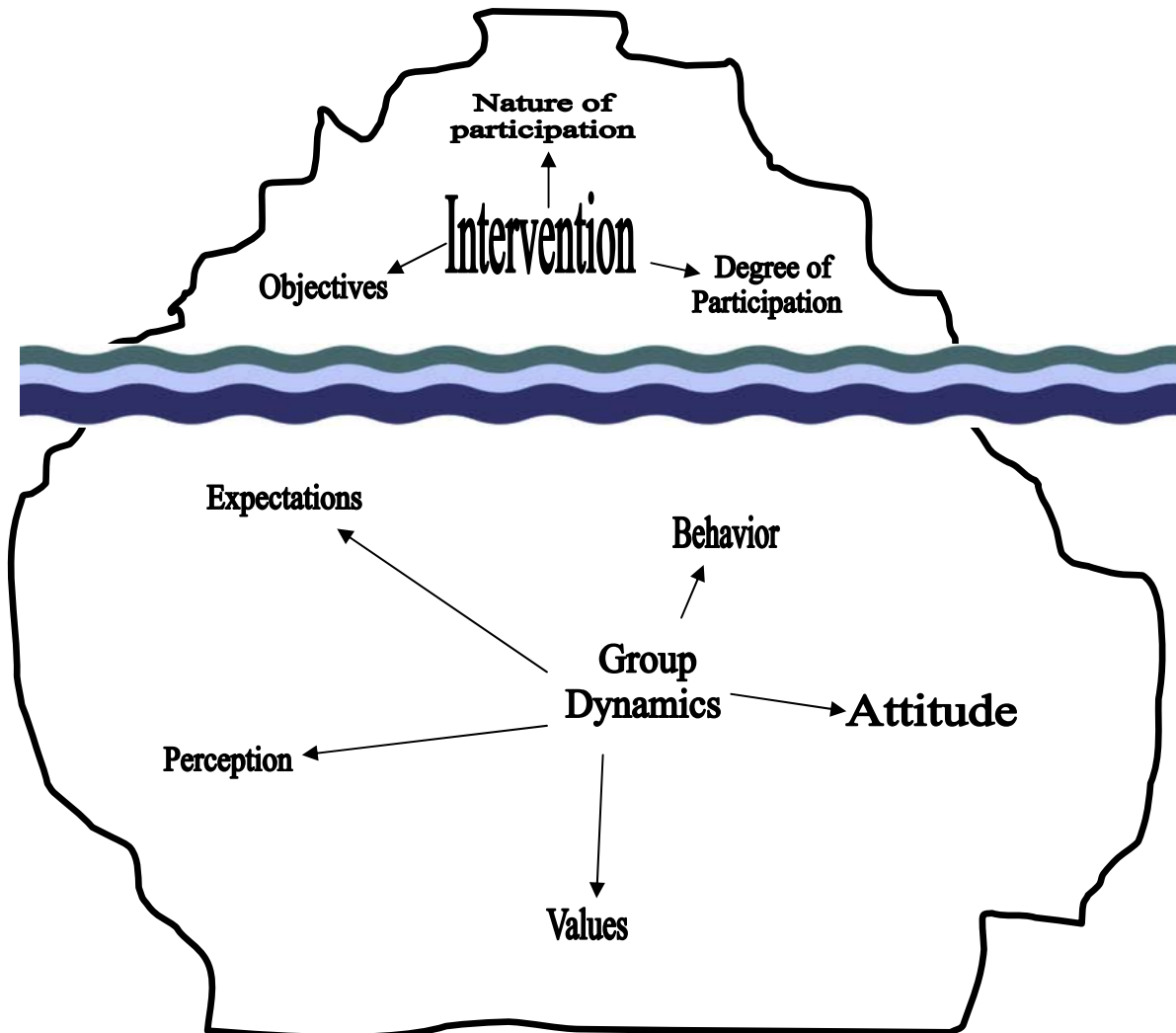


Figure 2.1 showing the Iceberg Model

Figure 2.1 above illustrates the iceberg model for this research. This research is dependent on theories in the field of conflict resolution to analyze the stakeholders' approach and its promise for resolution. The three processes of stakeholders' engagement

for this research are examined as elements of the intervention – a conscious process much like the tip of the iceberg that is above the surface. Subsequently, the impacts of the intervention are explored to determine what influence they exert on the stakeholders. Below the surface of the intervention, group dynamics theory can explain intrinsic changes within a group.

Stakeholders Process/Conflict Theories	LGIs	Group Dynamics
Objectives	Economic Development Capacity Building Peace Building	Roles Expectations
Nature of Participation	Top-Down Bottom-Up Two-way	Directional Transactional
Degree of Participation	Unengaged Engaged	Static Influence Pressure

Table 2.1 shows the analytical relationship between concepts.

This analysis will thus examine how each of the approaches used in the case studies relates to large group intervention (LGI), and how these processes then impact group

dynamics. This will show how these processes impact a group's perceptions, which enable improved behavior and enhance constructive relations among stakeholders.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction

The chapter describes the research design for this study. The study aims to explore the relationship between the process designs of Stakeholder engagement to the resolution of conflict. This is a comparative case study of two projects managed by separate organizations in the Gulf of Guinea. The study is based on literature review and field study. The study examines the Quarterly reports and evaluative reports of the projects in Cabinda and Niger Delta.

The four purposes of this chapter are to describe the research methodology of this study, explain the research rationale, describe the process used in designing the instrument and collecting the data, and provide a justification of the qualitative procedures used to analyze the data.

Research Methodology

A qualitative research methodology was used for this study. The study employs secondary sources of data collection. The secondary data is twofold. The first is the

literature relevant to the study while the second source were reports, such as project proposals, quarterly reports and evaluation reports, collected from the organizations in regard to their respective projects in Africa.

Research Rationale

Qualitative approaches are typically more flexible because they allow greater vitality, instinctive and adaptation of the interaction between the researcher and the study participants. One advantage of qualitative methods in exploratory research is that use of open-ended questions and probing gives participants the opportunity to respond in their own words, rather than forcing them to choose from fixed responses (Druckman, 2005; Miles & Hubberman, 1994; Patton, 1980). The strength of qualitative research is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. As Marshall (1996) notes “Qualitative studies aim to provide illumination and understanding of complex issues and are most useful for answering the 'why?' and 'how?' questions”

Data Collection

As previously mentioned, the collection of secondary data was in two fold. The first, which is related to the collection of literature relevant to this study was collected through database such as Google Scholar, Journal Storage (JSTOR), Science Direct, etc. these database are provided to the student of University of Massachusetts and help with a variety of multi-disciplinary studies. The study used keywords such as “stakeholders’

engagement”, “environmental conflict”, “resource control”, “GMOU”, “Cabinda”, and “Niger-Delta” to gather data for this study (Druckman, 2005). The second fold of data collection was the reports that the organizations involve in this study shared with the researcher. These reports include Quarterly reports as well as evaluation and other reports in regards to these case studies found over the several academic databases.

Data Analysis

The study focuses on variables such as objectives of the engagement, nature and degree of participation on the project design. These will establish the factors, within the parameter of this study, to examine how the process of stakeholders' engagement in these two conflict regions impact relations among stakeholders. Analysis is done thematically or in themes with focus on the three processes of engagement.

The contents of organization reports are analyzed to determine what is done and how in their interventions, and also what the changes in the relationships among actors in the engagement may be (group dynamics) in the Niger Delta and Cabinda. The qualitative data derives from the reports as analyzed both manually and utilizing Max QDA to describe and explain the relationship between stakeholders' engagement and resolution of conflict.

The coded themes that identify patterns and trends in the reports will be integrated into an explanatory framework. This explanatory framework is used for careful comparison, detecting differences, discover relationships and develop explanations. Building a display

matrix helps with the data analyses that this study employs. Using a conceptually ordered matrix, the coded themes are attributed to each conceptual variable to allow for easy analysis. The matrix provides an initial test of the relationship, which enables for the drawing of conclusions for each case study as well as for comparative analysis (Miles & Hubberman, 1994).

Chapter 4

Case Study Analysis Cabinda

This chapter reviews the case of Cabinda and the attempt by Search for Common Ground (SFCG) to engage stakeholders in the region. The chapter first gives an introduction of the conflict in Cabinda as well as a synopsis of SFCG efforts to engage stakeholders in the region. Then it examines the methods and activities utilized by SFCG to resolve the conflict in the region, and how the methods and activities helped with improved relations in the region.

Introduction

After the end of the civil war in Angola tension still exists in the Cabinda enclave. Civil conflict continues to simmer in the region, though, a low intensity one. The drivers of the conflict are tangled in issues of nationality and the control of revenue from resources. The Cabinda enclave is oil-rich region. The conflict is evident between the four ethnic groups in the province, the provincial government, and the security forces. The unmet expectations of the community regarding cleanups of oil spills have also increased the intensity of the conflict. Since Angolan independence in the 1970s, the Cabinda province

has proclaimed its own sovereignty. However, the Angolan government did not welcome this stance. This disagreement strained relations between the central government and Cabindans. In July 2006, a cease-fire was reached between separatists, represented by the Forum for Cabinda Dialogue (FCD), and the government of Angola. The global community recognized the peace deal. However, violence is still perpetuated by both the separatists and the government security forces.

SFCG launched two complementary projects in the province, intended to “support sustainable peace, reconciliation, and development” for the communities in Cabinda, to transform Cabinda into a region where communities can peacefully co-exist. The project aims to engage actors in dialogues, training and workshops to improve relations and create cohesion within and among community members, government, and civil society. The project involves several actors in the Cabinda province. These actors include community members, which are the indigenous population in different communities in the Cabinda province, and government representatives at the local level, municipal level and provincial level. Other actors include civil society organizations, Chevron, community liaisons, as well as youth, and women in the communities. SFCG facilitates and organizes a participatory collaborative process as the model for interaction among these actors.

Engaging stakeholders

Still, tension exists between the indigenous groups in Cabinda and the Angolan government, even after the signing of the peace deal between the government and the FCD. The agreement also led to a divide within Cabinda itself, as many believe the FCD

is not a representative of the Cabindan populace. This belief eventually led to conflict between the Angola government and Cabinda, and also to conflict among community members in Cabinda. In this context, SFCG engaged stakeholders in the Madarim, Mpuela, Tchiafi, Cacongo, Yabi, Tierro and Luango Grande regions in the Cabinda enclave. The primary objective of the project was to empower the Cabindans to participate in community development, improving social cohesion within and among the community in Cabinda. SFCG engaged in several approaches to reconcile differences among the actors, including dialogues, trainings, workshops and forums. SFCG coordinates workshops with community training in conflict resolution and problem solving workshops (PRA). The project also aims to incorporate the participation of Cabindans in community development into Angola's political, economic, and social development. For SFCG to achieve this, they engaged stakeholders in Cabinda and helped facilitate the civic engagement of the stakeholders.

SFCG conducted 3 corresponding types of workshops aimed at different but harmonizing objectives. These workshops include Community conflict resolution training, Community problem solving workshops (PRA), theatre training and Civil Society workshops. Within a period of two years, SFCG had conducted 28 workshops for community training in conflict resolution with 785 participants, of whom 286 are women; SFCG also conducted 4 workshops for civil society with 87 participants and conducted 9 problem solving workshops which 205 people participated of whom 47 are women. In addition, SFCG conducted 8 theatre trainings with 578 participants having 218 women as participants and conducted 25 community dialogue forums between government officials, Chevron,

community leaders, and community members. The community dialogue forums had participants from several communities in Cabinda and convened at the Cabinda capital. The table below illustrates the number of participants, in attendance, at the dialogues, for the period of July to September 2007.

Location	Number of Dialogues	Women	Men	Number of Participants
Mandarim	3	14	25	39
Mpuela	3	16	22	38
Tchiafi	3	9	13	22
Cacongo Administration	1	3	6	9
Yabi	1	2	12	14
Tierro	2	0	14	14
Avopesca, Landana	2	2	35	37
Tiero, Cabinda	2	1	28	29
Mandarien	2	15	30	45
Tchiafi	1	10	16	26
Mpuela	2	17	30	47
Luango de Baixo	4	35	40	75
Total	25	124	271	395

Source: SFCG Quarterly reports on the Cabinda Project

SFCG, through constructive dialogue and conflict workshops, engaged communities in the Cabinda enclave in a long-term sustainable development effort. The organization has involved the community through large group interventions with community, civil society, government, and fishermen. The interventions were aimed at sustainable peace building, reconciliation and development in the Cabinda enclave where Cabindans can co-exist and the concept of equity, security and participation in community development will become characteristics of the community.

Objectives, Nature, and Degree of Participation

Objectives: The primary purpose of the project in Cabinda is to create sustainable peace in the region. To achieve this, SFCG devised two major approaches. The first approach was to teach conflict mitigation and management to the community members. This intends to encourage reconciliation and prevent future conflict within and among the community. The second approach complements the first approach, and involved providing economic opportunities to members of the Cabinda enclave, particularly the fishing community. The activities revolved around stimulating systemic change that can present the community with a significant growth potential (Bunker & Alban, 2006). The project also aims to identify and tackle a range of constraints that hinder the achievement of potential growth.

SFCG sought to build capacity of government, communities and civil society to engage in peaceful co-existence, by engaging these actors in peace-building programs and activities. Specifically, the project engaged community members, government

representatives, and civil society in dialogue and conflict resolution training workshops (Bunker & Alban, 2006; IFC, 2007). SFCG engaged stakeholders in a series of training workshops about leadership, conflict resolution and participatory development. More than 5,000 people were involved in the workshops, including 150 government officials and employees. Consequently, government actors were becoming more active and accountable in community needs. The CSO trainings have also helped with improved relations among stakeholders. SFCG conducted focus groups and interviews with CSOs to measure the effect of CSO activities in Cabinda. 60 participants attended the focus group discussions. Although previously aggressive and confrontational, the CSOs engaged in collaborative dialogue with Chevron and government actors. This increased the amount of intergroup activities and the number of actors willing to engage with other actors.

SFCG engaged an intervention process among community members, with training and workshops designed not only to improve relations, but also to give community members skillsets in conflict resolution and problem solving. SFCG facilitated several community dialogues while some community dialogues were conducted by local CSOs trained by SFCG.

SFCG conducted conflict resolution training with community members in the process of resolution, cooperation and development. The organization also facilitated meetings between community members and traditional leaders to identify the key challenges for these communities. The workshops were designed to

train participants in negotiation, mediation, facilitation, and consensus building skills, which provide participants with problem identification and solving techniques. This enhanced the capacity building of participants and also raised the prospects for quick economic and social development in the region.

SFCG also employed their pioneering method of theatre and conflict transformation. Participatory theatre showcases peaceful conflict resolution through acting. The theatre performance reproduces the local conflict for the audience as well as an unsatisfactory outcome to the conflict. Participatory theatre is designed to engage audiences with an alternative ending that will be seen as satisfactory to every actor involved. After the initial ending, the audience engages an alternative ending that tends to meet the contending actors' interests in the play. The audiences are also invited to act the alternative ending. This method used by SFCG in Cabinda not only helped communities understand the impact of violent conflict but also to find alternative means to a mutually satisfying outcome to the conflict, which becomes a learning process for the audience and community.

This fostered a durable relationship among key actors and also empowered the communities to access political, social and economic resources within the province as well as the nation, in addition the process enable local development (Bunker & Alban, 2006; Edgar, 1988; Levi, 2007). The dynamics of LGI establish a holistic perspective to the participants, thereby presenting them with several alternatives that are constructive to their needs (Bunker & Alban, 1997; Bunker & Alban 2006; Griffin & Purser, 2008). This enhances a collaborative effort from the participants to engage in a meaningful

relationship (Hackman, 2000). The interaction also removes stereotypical views that exist in-group about the out-group, which enables learning in these interactions (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005).

Nature of Participation: Communication is a fundamental instrument to conflict resolution. The communication structure employed by SFCG encouraged two-way communication flow between parties. Rowe and Frewer (2000) claim that communication flow is the most effective form of exchange in engaging stakeholders, however, for Cabinda, SFCG acts as a mediator between community and government representatives, Multi-National corporations, and civil society. The initiative by SFCG to conduct and facilitate dialogues among key stakeholders fostered relationships between the community and government representatives. The dialogue uses a participatory process, which ensures a two-way communication flow. SFCG also established clear objectives for the dialogue. After the first dialogue facilitated by SFCG, the actors were able to continue the dialogue on their own.

Communication flows both directions in the dialogues; the participants were encouraged to exchange views in the hope of enabling negotiation between parties. This approach not only fosters a dissemination of information, but also enables a building of trust among parties. The Cabinda project utilized dialogues as a tool for improving relations among stakeholders as well as development projects that required the provision of direct labor from the communities. A joint stakeholder committee and community representatives managed the project and prioritized issues, which enhanced relations during dialogue as

well as built mutual objectives for the stakeholders. The collaboration of community members in direct labor also enhanced relations among stakeholders. This was achievable through dialogues and trainings of civil society as well as community members in conflict resolution. The dialogues allow participants to share their experience and expectation designing an environment of collective experience (Bunker & Alban, 2006; Forsyth, 2010; Wood, Lundgren, Ouellette, Busceme & Blackstone, 1994). The process develops the establishment of shared purpose, which in turn ensures the discovery of a common ground (Pruitt, Kim & Rubin, 2004).

Degree of Participation: SFCG included all parties in the dialogue as well as the training sessions, but had difficulty with attendance from government officials who are important elements to engaging stakeholders (IFC, 2007). Government representatives were reluctant to participate in the process and only attend activities when an invitation came from SFCG, but declined to attend when the community invited them. The reluctance by government actors at the national level was based on fears of raising community expectations because the decision-making process gives equal control to all actors, which government actors saw as a loss of their control (Arnstein, 1969). The communities engaged in problem solving techniques to help foster effective ways to address pertinent issues by identifying exigent issues that need immediate attention. SFCG facilitated the initial meeting between community members and government officials and further encouraged the continuation of these meetings between stakeholders to sustain relationships. This process enables the community to have total ownership, which fosters a sense of responsibility to community development. However, the reluctance of government officials greatly impacted the effectiveness of decisions reached at dialogues

(IFC, 2007). The deficiency of participation from the central government left many participants, particularly in rural settlements, with doubts about the government's interests in their development.

Dynamics within the Group: This research reveals that the relations between parties improved significantly among and particularly within groups. The perceptions not only changed regarding how to handle conflict, but in ways to respond to the conflict in a constructive manner as well as the need for co-operation among community members (Hackman, 2000). There already is a desire by the communities in Cabinda for peace. The dialogue among stakeholders demonstrated a crossroad of interests among stakeholders, which created the need to tackle these challenges collectively and at the same time build shared experiences through collaboration. By engaging stakeholders in dialogue and activities, building new relationships is enriched, thereby establishing a common value for the group (Aronson, 2004; Edgar, 1988). As one of the stakeholders indicates:

We are learning to solve our conflicts through cooperation. We are very happy with the work undertaken for the clearing of the roads and we are also thinking about including other communities to generate a collective effect. We have in mind an exchange between traditional leaders from all communities to foster the improvement of our roads, which are a common good.¹

¹ Community Reconciliation: Conflict Mitigation and Management in Cabinda & Community Engagement with Fishing Communities in Cabinda. Combined Quarterly Narrative reports, Search For Common Ground April – June 2007

SFCG engaged stakeholders in Cabinda in road construction. The road project, though funded by Chevron and the local government, still required direct labor from members of the community. Through engagement and collaboration through problem solving, SFCG enhanced interactions and relationships among stakeholders. The road development also represents socio-economic benefits for the stakeholders, as a member of the community indicates:

“The road has been a great success for our farmers. With the regular arrival of vehicles in our community we no longer have a problem of our products going to waste and rotting because we can't get them to the market.”

Community member

The project represents a fundamental step in the sustainable development of our town; it is a testament to the courage and willingness of the local community. It marks the starting shot for the local council in Cacongo. Many people feared failure as SFCG was not always present, and was often working in other communities. Now the government must ensure that the road is well maintained and monitor their state to keep them cleaned and usable.”

André Capita Fuka, Deputy Administrator of Cacongo

The road project emphasizes the impact of a well facilitated process to joint stakeholders. The project gave stakeholders a collective achievement that further improved their relations. The road development also enabled stakeholders to identify their interests and role in their community. This is evident in the changed perception of stakeholders as a result of the road development planning: "Prior to SFCG's intervention, the communities were insisting that it was the government's responsibility to repair the roads, often even mentioning that Chevron should also be held responsible. At the end of March 2007, the newly formed community conflict resolution groups...began to organize road clearing projects among themselves to improve the situation."²

The transformation in the relationships among communities is also evident in their changed perception of each other and the recognition of mutual interests. This recognition has enhanced the need for the communities to collaborate (Bunker & Alban, 2006). Through the process engaged by SFCG, participants in the dialogues and other trainings changed their views about the significance of collaboration and the prospect of realizing their goals through collective efforts (Fisher, Ury & Patton, 1991; Pruitt, Kim & Rubin, 2004; Rioch, 1979). This is evident in the different communities identifying road maintenance as a mutual interest, which enables the communities to identify the need to collaborate to work on the roads to their communities.

² Community Reconciliation: Conflict Mitigation and Management in Cabinda & Community Engagement with Fishing Communities in Cabinda. Combined Quarterly Narrative reports, Search For Common Ground July - September 2007

This systemic change can be attributed to the large group intervention in the Cabinda enclave that harnessed a constructive approach to societal relations (Bunker & Alban, 2006; Forsyth, 2010; Griffin & Purser, 2008). The perception and behavior of the community has improved in the way the community interacts with each other. This applies, however, among relationships in the Cabinda communities only, but not with government representatives, who the community still have distrust towards, particularly the security agents (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Government officials, particularly at the central level, did not participate in the dialogue and workshops. In addition, security agents, who are controlled by the central government, have disrupted some meeting held by the stakeholders.

Chapter 5

Case Study Analysis of Niger Delta

This chapter discusses the case of CBI engaging stakeholders in the Niger Delta in the evaluation phase of the GMoU process. It first delves, though, on a summary of the conflict in the region and introduces the reader to several parties involved in the conflict. And then, the chapter examines GMoU's design to tackle the issue and how these methods and its application has impacted the relationships of stakeholders in the region in the context of the conflict.

Introduction

The Niger Delta has been prone to violent conflict (Rowell, Marriott & Stockman, 2005). This conflict involves several ethnic groups who are in conflict with each other, but also includes government representatives and multi-national oil companies, one of which is Chevron (Akin-Ojo, 2010; Okonta & Douglas, 2001). The conflict revolves around the issues of resource control and the benefits from the resources in the region. The Niger Delta produces almost 90% of the revenue for the Nigerian government yet is among the least developed areas in Nigeria. The Niger delta is primarily a subsistence society where the majority of the people depend on the environment for their survival to meet their

daily needs. However, the oil production in the region has resulted in many oil spills making it difficult for the people in Niger Delta to meet their basic needs. The cause of a number of these oil spills, however, have been attributed to community members and militants in the Niger Delta, through their bunkering activities, as well as the lack of inspection and maintenance on the part of the oil firms (Akin-Ojo, 2010; Okonta & Douglas, 2001).

To address these strained relations between the stakeholders in the Niger Delta, Chevron introduced the Global Memorandum of Understanding (GMOU). The GMOU's primary objective is to transform the relations of stakeholders in the communities where Chevron is engaged in exploration and production. The GMOU intends to create improved relations, enhance sustainable development and establish a peaceful environment where Chevron's operation will not be disrupted by communities' protests or clashes.

Prior to the GMOU agreements between community members and Chevron Nigeria Ltd, Chevron dealt separately with individual communities by providing direct assistance and contracting developmental projects to prominent persons, which built tensions among these communities as well as with Chevron. To prevent the intermittent clashes and protests over control of the benefits from these projects, Chevron implemented the GMOU project that divides communities into clusters, each with a Regional Development Council (RDC) that oversees the "design, planning and execution of community development" (Faletti, n.d). The RDC, on behalf of the communities, chooses and manages community projects.

Chevron signed an agreement with 8 community clusters that covers a range of 200 communities in the Niger Delta (Faleti, n.d). The agreement allows for more community participation in the design, development, and implementation of the community's needs. Regional Development Councils (RDCs) were established for each cluster. RDCs are the governance structure of the GMoU, through which the communities prioritize, chose and manage their needs (Faleti, n.d). The new arrangement is designed to foster development and include the community in societal benefits as a whole. The RDCs are set up by the community and intended to represent the community's interests.

The GMoU process has a governing structure that expresses the relations between Chevron and its host community. The RDCs execute decisions reached by the communities in the cluster. The GMoU also builds a management committee to supervise the work of each RDC. The management committee set a check and balance within the process. The committee consists of an Account Audit Committee (ACC), Conflict Resolution Committee (CRC), and a Community Engagement Management Board (CEMB) that approves decisions. The CEMB is made up of representatives from communities, Chevron, government representative at the local, state and national level, as well as NGOs.

Engaging Stakeholders in Niger Delta

Consensus Building Institute led a participatory process involving eight communities and Chevron in the Niger Delta. The objective of this process was to allow members of the

participating communities and Chevron to find innovative ways that the parties can interact in peaceful co-existence. The goal was intended for the parties involved in the process to find acceptable manners of interaction among parties. To evaluate the GMoU process, CBI conducted interviews, focus group discussions and dialogues. This evaluation was participatory in design by stakeholders' participating in the GMoU process. These stakeholders' include community members, Chevron representatives, government representatives, youth and women from the community clusters involved in the GMoU. This includes the mode of communication, decision making as well as the transparency and benefits that would be derived by parties in the engagement. The overall evaluation process of the GMoU was carried out and conducted by stakeholders, while CBI helped facilitate the process. The participatory process of the evaluation invited representatives from communities involved in the GMoU, representatives from Chevron, RDC members, local NGOs as well as local, state, and national government officials.

Objectives, Nature, and Degree of Participation

Objectives: CBI involved a diverse group of stakeholders in participatory evaluation, which included representatives from the communities, the Nigeria government (local, state, and federal), NGOs, and CSOs. Due to the participatory approach CBI coordinated, stakeholders' directly involved in the GMoU Process were encouraged to participate in the planning, design and implementation of the evaluation. The evaluation by CBI was conducted in five stages: planning workshop I & II, Data collection, and Analysis workshop I & II. The finding of the evaluation narrates the process of the GMoU and the perception of the stakeholders about the GMoU process.

The objective of the participatory led evaluation was to allow stakeholders to recognize the relationship among parties (Okali, Sumberg & Farrington, 1994). This enables the party to see the other parties' perception of the relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In a way, it seems like a multi-party mediation that engages the parties not only in dialogues and interviews but in focus groups as well. The focus group enables the interests of groups to be identified and at the same time ensure the cooperative negotiation of parties where interests contend. The secondary objectives address the contentious issues among parties, which concerns the development and exclusion of community members from resource benefits. The participatory evaluation process enables each of the party to recognize the concern and fear of others. It also enables innovative methods to help address these concerns. The CBI approach seeks to bring parties for the first time to congregate. This approach ensures the sharing of information and has the potential to reduce stereotypical views of other parties (Bunker & Alban, 2006; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005).

Nature of Participation: The nature of participation is quite ambiguous in the GMoU process in the Niger Delta. Several parties within the participatory process have diverse views about the flow of communication among parties. This research finds that beforehand there was little communication between communities and government officials. The communication flow between Chevron and the community was questionable as well. While several members of the community accept the RDC model within the GMoU as a better means of communication when compared to prior models,

which were perceived as non-existent, other community members still do not see any difference between the prior methods of relations to the GMoU. Although the RDC communication flow is better than the prior means of communication, the communication flow is not sufficient enough to have input of community efforts in meeting community needs. For instance, most secretariats for RDC's are located in the cities far from the communities and this hinders the flow of communication between parties. As a result of this "many stakeholders receive little or no information about the GMoU process". The void in information sharing creates deep frustrations among community members. As noted by participants,

We have not been happy with the GMoU, so this year March, the community came together and agreed to pull out...we cannot place our hands on what they have done since the past four years.

Keffes Youth

Improvement in communication in Kula community depends on the leadership. Those functioning (previously as RDC leaders) were not accessible...the RDC is supposed to be meeting 3 or 4 times every year but that has not been effective in Kula, this kind of town hall meeting has never been held at all.

Focus Group, Kula traditional leaders

"There is no form of communication whatsoever between the community members and our RDC members."

Community Forum, Itsekiri RDC

Degree of Participation: The extent of stakeholders' engagement is not inclusive (Arnstein, 1969) as generally, women and youth are excluded from the process due to the cultural practices of excluding women from community politics in the region. However, several women community leaders expressed their frustration as well as anger over this exclusion from the process, particularly when their struggle and protest had contributed to the agreement (Faleti, n.d). The RDC political structure has no women executives and few to no female members across all the RDC for each community. The absence of women and youth in the RDC had significant impact on their opportunities in community development. The women from the Dodo river focus group shared this concern during the evaluation:

“When it was time to board the boat, the men refused to allow us to enter. We independently paid our fare to Warri. On arrival at the venue, [the men disowned us.] We still persisted and attended the (RDC) meeting. After that meeting, nothing has happened for the women.”

Group Dynamics: This Study finds that the relations between community stakeholders, Chevron, and government representatives in the local, states, and national levels remain ambiguous. The ambiguity exists in the polarization of perception among community stakeholders. While some stakeholders are confident about the GMoU, others still doubt

the effectiveness of the process (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). This is evident in stakeholders' responses to the participatory evaluation process, shown below.

Community development and impact on livelihood	
Strength	Weakness
Focus on community development	Minimal coordination with gov't officials
Designed to give communities ownership of process	Slow at inception
Starting to produce tangible outcomes	Employments, contracts and scholarships still remain contentious issues
Inclusiveness, Participation and representation	
RDCs have potential to represent the full range of the community	Women are largely excluded
Youth and traditional leaders are playing an active role in some RDCs	Some youth feel they are inadequately represented
	Traditional leaders express anger and frustration over the new process
Transparency, Communication and Information Sharing	
Is significantly more transparent than the prior model	Many do not believe the process to be transparent, leading to conflict and even violence
Utilize town hall meetings for communication and information sharing	Communication between the RDCs and the communities they represent has been in deficient
Governance and leadership	

Governance structure reduced the misuse of funds	Selection of the RDC members is unclear and a cause for concern
RDCs are designed to represent the full range of the community needs	Many feel the RDC leadership put personal interests ahead of community interest

Source: Consensus Building Institute evaluation report Niger Delta

However, a focus group representing Dodo river youth views the GMoU as follows:

The GMoU has a positive impact on the livelihood of the people of the community because there are some job opportunities and there is equitable distribution of scholarship opportunities.

The ambiguity among stakeholders indicates that while there exists some form of transformation, some actors still have misgivings about the process. The GMoU presents an opportunity for a collective gain for the community, but this also implicates several actors who benefitted from the previous process and will not find these new developments satisfactory.

Some stakeholders feel differently about the process and its positive impact on community development. As another focus group representing the Egbema Gbaramatu Central Development Council (EGCDC) youth states:

The youth, we are jobless, and what joblessness causes is poverty and...poverty breeds anger. We are angry...when we were operating directly with CNL [Chevron Nigeria Limited], we were having jobs.

This research shows that several factors are responsible for the mixed perception of the engagement. The salient ones being the means of communication that is not clear to many of the community members. Since the information flow enhances an exchange of information but is void of negotiation, which Rowes and Frewer (2000) identifies as the consultation approach. The new engagement of stakeholders creates some sort of incentives for the community because of the benefit that some communities have derived from participating, however, it still lacks effective strategies that can create an efficient cohesion between and among stakeholders, taking advantage of the opportunity. Some responses from interviews CBI conducted for the participatory evaluation in the Niger Delta are shown below:

The GMOU is the best thing that has happened to the oil bearing communities...the number of projects the community has been able to embark on in the past few years and the number of development projects prior to the GMOU, you cannot compare.”

Interview, Rivers State Government

(The GMOU) has a positive impact on the livelihood of the people of the

community because there are some job opportunities and there is equitable distribution of scholarship opportunities.”

Focus Group, Dodo River

The LGA was brought in so we can harmonize, so that there will be no duplication of projects, so we can effectively use the scarce resources we have. We observed that the local governments have no development plans. So they see our meeting as the usual CNL/community meetings where (CNL) gives hand•outs. They still have not changed their attitude problem.”

Interview EGCDC leader

Some RDCs don't understand the funding formula...we don't understand the criteria either.

Focus Group, CNL GMOU Team Leads

How did Chevron arrive at the formula of 35 million Naira to Idama and 100 million□Naira for Kula? We want to understand the modalities.

Focus Group, Idama youth

Improvement in communication in Kula community depends on the leadership. Those functioning (previously as RDC leaders) were not accessible...the RDC is supposed to be meeting 3 or 4 times every year but that has not been effective in Kula, this kind of town hall meeting has never been held at all.

Focus Group, Kula traditional leader

(The RDC consists of) representatives from every group in the community and adopts an all-inclusive approach with tolerance and accommodation which have enhanced awareness

Focus Group, Idama Youth

Since GMOUs were created, we don't see community sponsored action to disrupt our operations. Now there are very few disruptions. Most of them are criminal actions.

Interview, Chevron manager

The GMOU is good. At least it has reduced youth restiveness and our

conflict with them.

Interview, Jisike traditional leader

Chapter 6

Comparative Case Analysis

This chapter compares the case studies examined in the two previous chapters. It compares the conflict as well as the intervention in the case studies, and then compares several attributes of engaging stakeholders as executed by CBI and SFCG in their respective projects. The Chapter examines the dynamics of these interactions in relation to behavioral change within the communities as well as the overall outlook on conflict in the region.

Comparing Conflict

The conflicts in the Gulf of Guinea, both in the Cabinda and Niger Delta have similar drivers, but their philosophy has a differing etiology. The conflict in Cabinda is due to the difference between Cabinda and Angola about national identity, while the Niger Delta is forged into the mismanagement of oil revenues in the country. Indeed, resources, particularly oil, drive both conflicts. This demonstrates the rationale for the central governments to tackle the conflict, viewing it from a national security perspective.

Comparing Conflict		
	Cabinda	Niger Delta
Cause	Autonomy	Mismanagement
Drive	Oil	Oil
Violence	Yes	Yes

Table 6.1 Matrix Illustrating Conflict in the Case Studies

The chart above depicts a comparison of the conflict in the Gulf of Guinea. While both conflicts were, and continue to be, expressed violently, the driving force for the conflict is oil. However, the causes of conflict diverge for the case studies. In the case of Cabinda, autonomy of Cabinda is the issue that led to conflict between the Angolan government and the separatists. In Niger Delta, the mismanagement of resource revenue led to the conflict in the region. The unmet expectation of the indigenous population in the Niger Delta steered the region to violent conflict.

Comparing Interventions

Both interventions involve the use of civil society and Non-Governmental Organizations to help with the intervention. SFCG engaged the utilization of dialogue and workshops, whereas the GMoUs in the Niger Delta used Town hall meetings as a means of exchange of information. The strategies used by SFCG enable an environment where negotiation is possible and enhances a combination of tactics, design and set-up to identify long-term solutions to a dispute. On the other hand, the town hall meeting encourages the sharing of information but limits the capability of stakeholders to engage in negotiation that will improve relations (Bunker & Alban, 1997).

Comparing Interventions

	Cabinda	Niger Delta
Strategies	Dialogue	Town Hall
Negotiations	Transformational	Facilitative
Collaborative	Innovative	Static

Table 6.2 Matrix Illustrating the Case Study Interventions

The chart above illustrates the impact of the interventions in the case studies. While dialogue was employed in Cabinda with an average of 50 participants in the large group intervention, Niger Delta utilized the Town Hall meeting where the whole community could attend at once with an average of 300 participants. These strategies enabled, in Cabinda, for negotiations to be transformative because it allows for inclusiveness. In the Niger Delta, however, the intervention enabled a facilitative approach where information was exchanged, but very little negotiation took place (Griffin & Purser, 2008). In Cabinda the number of participants as well as the methods utilized enhanced the effectiveness of the intervention. Dialogue enhanced mutual understanding and reduced polarization, as the case turned out in Cabinda. The method also allowed for negotiations, which in turn established the possibility of finding mutual grounds that parties could engage in. On the other hand, CBI in the Niger Delta utilized the town hall meeting with many participants, which required strong facilitation and shared information but did not reach a consensus. The town hall approach enhanced learning and understanding, but did not encourage the generation of ideas for collective gains.

Comparing the Nature of Participation

The manner in which communication is expressed determines how effectively it will be constructed. Communication impacts relationships and has the capacity to transform a group belief into one advocated by opposing groups as in the case of Cabinda. Several members of the community are now willing to work together to achieve a collective goal. There are more attempts at collective efforts in Cabinda, which is a product of the nature of participation in the SFCG process. The communication has transformed the perceptions, attitudes, and behavior of community members in the enclave. In the second quarterly report, SFCG accounts how the structural processes established to resolve conflict peacefully in Cabinda were functioning. Examples cited the work of the conflict resolution group in Tchiafi:

“During Easter weekend in early April (2007), several members of the community of Tchiafi who had been drinking heavily got into a heated conflict that turned dangerous when several members grabbed machetes and began threatening to use violence. The Secretary of Tchiafi, Alberto Leia Tembo, along with several other community members intervened to calm the situation and prevent any violence. Mr. Tembo told SFCG’s Community Assistant that their participation in the March 13 SFCG-led training gave them the tools and skills to mediate the conflict”

January-March, 2007 Report.

An example of community groups involved in development planning can also be found from the same period near the start of the project:

“Prior to SFCG’s intervention, the communities were insisting that it was the government’s responsibility to repair the roads, often even mentioning that Chevron should also be held responsible. At the end of March 2007, the newly formed community conflict resolution groups began to organize road-clearing projects among themselves to improve the situation.

January-March, 2007 Report.

During a dialogue session between community leaders from the two communities, including youth representatives, the two communities came to an agreement that Mpuela would be granted road access on a regular basis if they contributed to monthly road-clearing efforts in the area. In the month of November 2007, Mpuela’s agricultural association made its first free passage to market through the community of Luango Pequeno. They sold the majority of their produce to Chevron’s Malongo compound for earnings of more than 500,000 kwanzas, all of which were deposited into the communities fund for ongoing expansion of production.

October-December, 2007

This is a circumstance where one can measure the effectiveness of communication based on the discrepancy of the communities' original opinions compared to their new opinions of each other (Rowe & Frewer, 2000). The perception within the community transformed from the old pattern of delegating responsibility for their societal needs to a new one of community engagement as well as collaboration with other communities, government officials, and Chevron. It reduced the incidents of conflict between the communities and Chevron, and with government officials, and also increased community participation in development and strengthened civil society. The SFCG intervention also developed participatory, deep-rooted solutions to problems arising between stakeholders. The process also enhanced the creation of a participatory, integrative process for development projects that has maximized positive impacts. Several stakeholders noted these changes:

We are pleased with SFCG's intervention in these communities and rely on the organization to continue the work of education in the area, allowing us to focus on other pressing issues.

Administrator of Cacongo municipality, October 2007

We appreciate how we were all given a chance to participate in the process between the communities; the government; Chevron; and SFCG.

António Sambo, Coordinator from Tchiafi

Communication is perceived differently in both case studies. The communication process in Cabinda is a two-way approach that enhances transactional relationships between stakeholders (Rowe & Frewer, 2000). However, in the case of Niger Delta, communication is directional and seemingly one-way. There seems to be confusion about the sharing of information among stakeholders (Rowe & Frewer, 2000). The evaluation report on the GMoU process in Niger Delta by CBI gave an account of the participants' perception about the GMoU process. Several of these viewpoints are listed below:

“Many community members said they do not feel the process is transparent enough and representative of their interests.”

“Conflict resolution mechanisms intended to address disputes are not functioning or functioning poorly.”

“However, many community stakeholders noted that they do not feel ownership of the development process under the GMOU and do not feel it is participatory.”

“Many stakeholders said they perceive that the GMOU was imposed by CNL.”

“Many expressed frustration and anger about the criteria by which benefits, such as contracts, employment, and scholarships, are allocated

within the community.”

“Others stated that projects have not reflected their priorities. These stakeholders said that they do not understand the process for selecting projects by the RDC.”

“The GMOU has been a vehicle for improved employment and scholarship opportunities from CNL. However, many stakeholders said they think the overall level of employment and scholarships is still insufficient and not “fair” considering the benefit CNL is obtaining from operating in the communities.”

“Some community members said employment by CNL and CNL contractors has not improved under the GMOU or has diminished. These community members thought they obtained more job slots when they had direct access to CNL and CNL contractors.”

“Some communities perceive that RDCs are shortchanging them around the number of employment slots needed by CNL contractors; others said they believe RDC leaders are selling scholarships and job slots.”

“RDC leaders attributed this perception to bad communication between all parties.”

“Some RDC leaders said CNL does not give them enough control over employment issues to respond to community demands.”

Comparing Nature of Participation		
	Cabinda	Niger Delta
Transparency	Yes	No
Mode of Communication	Clear	Unclear
Coordination	Good	Poor

Table 6.3 Matrix Illustrating the Nature of participation in the Case Studies

The chart above describes the communication flow of both engagements. Dealing with large groups requires a platform that enhances communication (Bunker & Alban, 2006). Consequently, the case of Niger Delta had poor coordination and communication flow between and among stakeholders. This creates the perception that the process was not inclusive and transparent, while Cabinda had good coordination as well as a very clear means of communication. The communication process in Cabinda encourages stakeholders to participate in the process.

Comparing Degree of Participation

Participation of stakeholders delineates the degree of transparency, inclusiveness, representation, and governance of an engagement. This to a certain extent illustrates the capacity of the engagement to be transformative, improving relations among stakeholders. The degree of the participation impacts the attitude of stakeholders to the whole process, where stakeholders are very inclusive and their expectations are being met (Arnstein, 1969; Edgar, 1988). This is implied in the diverging perception of stakeholders in Cabinda and Niger Delta. While the stakeholders in Cabinda are quite happy with the approach to interaction of the process, stakeholders in the Niger Delta have quite a different view as to transparency, which impacted their outlook on the process.

Both engagements have challenges in the inclusion of stakeholders to get proper representatives of the communities. In both case studies, women are largely excluded from the process, even in the Niger Delta where women engage in public protests (Faleti, n.d).

Comparing Degree of Participation		
	Cabinda	Niger Delta

Inclusiveness	Inclusive	Exclusive
Governance	Good	Poor
Participation	High	Medium

Table 6.4 Matrix Illustrating the Degree of Participation in the Case Studies

The chart illustrates the extent of participation of stakeholders in both case studies. This participation builds on the objectives and nature of participation. By enhancing a good communication flow and an intervention that should distinguish group dynamics, the potential for increased participation by stakeholders is high (Arnstein, 1969; Bunker & Alban, 2006; Griffin & Purser, 2008; Rowe & Frewer, 2000; Reed, 2008). An open and transparent process created a more effective and efficient outcome. This is evident in the two case studies where stakeholders in Cabinda contribute more to the process when compared to the case of Niger Delta.

Comparing Group Dynamics

In order to understand the effects of individual actions and dispositions on attitudes and behaviors of groups, group dynamics explains the characteristics of a group (Aronson, 2004; Forsyth, 2010; Hackman & Wagemen, 2000; Levi, 2007; Lewin, 1945). This premise identifies certain factors that influence or pressure individuals within a group to act in the group's interests. Within these dynamics exist the internal and external forces that act on a group's behavior. This is the primary effect of large group interventions (Bunker & Alban, 2006). However, gearing this transformation to a constructive exchange of behaviors among groups is challenging, since groups differ in characteristics from one another. The transformation above is more obvious in the case of Cabinda than in the Niger Delta. The Niger Delta still has some mixed reactions to the process among stakeholders. In the case of Cabinda, the intervention process ensured a change in the perceptions of actors associated with the conflict. These changed perceptions further improved relationships among the stakeholders, thus, positively impacting their expectations and their behavior. In addition, the structure of the intervention - community development, conflict training and theatre performance – ensured a supportive outcome of the project to its objectives. While in the case of Niger Delta, these perceptions and expectations among stakeholders have not been influenced by the intervention. Although some of the stakeholders changed perceptions, many of the participants still are frustrated and angry about the GMoU process.

Comparing Group Dynamics		
	Cabinda	Niger Delta

Cohesion	Yes	No
Perception	Unchanged	Mixed
Learning	Strong	Intermediate

Table 6.5 Matrix Showing Group Dynamics in the Case Studies

Group dynamics is essential to social relations (Edgar, 1988; Forsyth, 2010; Hackman & Wageman, 2000). The capacity for interventions to recognize this is paramount to the effectiveness of the intervention. In both case studies, changes occurred in the relations among stakeholders as a consequence of the process (Levi, 2007; Lewin, 1945). However, in the case of Cabinda, there was more collaboration towards collective gains among groups than in the Niger Delta.

Summary

This study shows that while stakeholders in these case studies are engaged in the process, the outcomes are different. The Interventions used different strategies to engage stakeholders, in the case of Cabinda, SFCG utilized dialogues, workshops, and training to engage stakeholders to interact with each other. While in the case of the Niger Delta, town hall meetings were used by the GMoU to engage stakeholders. Nonetheless, the

interviews and focus group results suggest the need for a more effective means of communication overall.

Relations among stakeholders, by comparison, have improved more in the case of Cabinda, where there is more cohesion between and among stakeholders than in the Niger Delta. This study finds a transformative environment for Cabinda whereas the environment in the Niger Delta is static, although the violence in both case studies has reduced significantly. Many of the Cabinda participants are more ready to collaborate for mutual gains compared to the case of Niger Delta, where participants are not only suspicious of the process but of other participants as well. Since both conflict climates are similar, the intervention explains the difference in the outcome of the two regions.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This research intends to understand how engaging stakeholders impacts the resolution of a resource conflict. In addition, it seeks to identify approaches that will be effective for resolution, particularly in environments where violent conflict persists. From the findings, one can see how certain factors are important for stakeholders' engagement to effectively transform and improve relations between stakeholders. These factors include a clear objective, an effective means of communication to articulate the objective and an explicitly participatory process. These variables ensure the methods of intervention that will tackle the conflict. These three factors enhance improved relations through building trust, accountability, and innovations. Stakeholders' engagement can be efficient to the resolution of conflict. Although much work still needs to be done for the engagement of stakeholders to flourish, the potential for resolution can be identified.

The role of communication in engaging stakeholders is informative. Communication ensures learning; it also reduces stereotypical views that may be detrimental to relations. However, there is the need to have an exchange of information that enhances the building of trust, improves relations and consequently, establishes new sets of shared beliefs among actors. Thus, communication is an essential element to building relations between and among groups. These relations are still negotiated and re-created through communication, which makes communication a constant process. This indicates the importance of a constructive dialogue among contending groups, and supports the buildup of a new improved relationship. It should also be noted that relations are contextual, transactional and recurring. The dynamics of improving relations underscores

the need for a communication structure that enables the building of trust, expectations, and confidence in the process.

Ownership, on the other hand, ensures a definitive role and duty for the stakeholders, as long as it is well defined, and mutually agreed upon, which in turn enables the cohesion of in-group and out-group dynamics. Processes that enhance comprehensive participation of stakeholders build ownership, which serves as a motivation for stakeholders to be engaged.

The Quest for long lasting peace has been elusive. A transformation of human relations within and among societies at all levels of interdependence is needed, and learning provides the environment for that opportunity. The learning process is rooted in strategies that allow stakeholders interaction, thereby enhancing the collaboration of stakeholders. This creates an innovative environment for stakeholders, which enhances the relationships that in-groups and out-groups can perceive. The learning phase removes and/or reduces prejudice and stereotypes between and among groups.

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