

**THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN DEMOCRATIC
CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA 1999-2015**

BY

OLUA, DORIS UJUNWA

PG/M.SC/14/69766

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA, NSUKKA**

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TITLE PAGE

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**A PROJECT REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC
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SUPERVISOR: DR. C.U. AGALAMANYI

DECEMBER, 2015

APPROVAL

This research work has been approved for the Department of Public Administration and Local Government, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

By

.....
Dr. C.U. Agalamanyi
Dr. C.U. Agalamanyi
(Project Supervisor)

.....
17/2/2016
Date

.....
Prof. C.N. Oguonu
(Head of Department)

.....
Date

.....
Prof. I.A. Madu
(Dean Faculty of the Social Sciences)

.....
Date

.....
E
External Examiner

.....
13.05.2016
Date

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that Olua, Doris Ujunwa, a postgraduate student of the Department of Public Administration and Local Government, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, with registration number PG/M.Sc/14/69766 has satisfactorily completed the requirement for course/research work for the degree of Master of Science in Public Administration. The work embodied in this research work is original and has not been submitted in part or full for any Diploma or Degree of this or other University/institution.

.....
Dr. C.U. Agalamanyi
Project Supervisor 17/2/2016

.....
Olua, Doris Ujunwa 17/02/16
Researcher

DEDICATION

To my amiable, loving and caring husband, Melugbo Chukwuemeka.

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My profound gratitude goes to God Almighty whom I am greatly indebted, for his mercies, provisions, love and grace towards me and my family. Also, I wish to express my unalloyed gratitude and appreciation to my dedicated Supervisor Dr. C.U. Agalamanyi. The success of this research work bears testimony to your invaluable help, commitment, and sacrifice.

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Abstract

One of the fundamental challenges facing civil society organizations around the world is how to make democratic consolidation possible. While these organizations, in their various types and categories, in most countries of the world, continue to mediate and respond appropriately to emerging political imperatives, between the state and the individuals, civil society organizations' effort towards the consolidation of democratic ideals in Nigeria appeared to be undefined, ambiguous and faced with certain challenges. To this end, the role of civil society organizations in democratic consolidation within 1999-2015 remained largely unclear. Consequently, this study examined the role of civil society in democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015. By means of descriptive survey and a content analysis designs, both primary and secondary data were elicited for the study. 4 popular Civil Society Organizations (8 in total), whose state branches cut across the 36 states of the federation, were purposively selected in both Anambra and Ebonyi states. Furthermore, 73 respondents were selected through an expert sampling procedure, while 31 journal articles, annual reports and other unpublished works that bordered on the research objective were content analyzed to complement the survey method used in the study. The reliability for the research instruments that were used in both designs employed in the study were tested using the Guttman scale of coefficient of reproducibility and the Cohen's kappa (k) symmetric measure of agreement between two independent coders. The results of the reliability test yielded 0.85 and 0.692 respectively and were considered very high. Following the analyses of the study's objectives, it was discovered, among others, that civil society organisations had significantly played critical roles in election monitoring, advocacy for transparency and accountability and human rights campaign, while they had minimally or not at all engaged in democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015. Consequent upon these findings, the researcher recommended, among others, that civil society organisations develop their local resource mobilization skills, including developing individual and community philanthropy techniques and building relations with local businesses and corporate social responsibility programmes.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

There has never been a time in the history of Nigeria that the role of civil society organizations has come under much scrutiny than within the past 16 years of her uninterrupted democracy. Civil society organizations have been widely recognized as an essential third sector (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005, p. 3) that serves as a bridge between the state and the private sphere and work to seek the greatest good for the greatest number of the people. Civil society is therefore seen as an increasingly important agent for promoting good governance like transparency, effectiveness, openness, responsiveness and accountability (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005). Thus, it is because of the significant role that civil society organizations played at the onset of the democratic dispensation in 1999 that they were/and are still being deemed as a springboard to facilitate Nigeria's transient democracy into consolidation (Majeed, 2011).

Katusiimeh (2004, p. 102) defines civil society organization (CSO) as a political community, which can organize and co-ordinate its activities for the purpose of influencing state policies. Put clearly, Gill (2000) defines civil society as a society in which there are autonomous groups which aggregate the views and activities of individuals and which act to promote and defend the interests of those people, including against the state. Civil society organizations are of diverse types, including: religious organizations, universities, community based organizations, professional and trade associations, traditional structures, media, charities, artists, and Non-governmental organizations (NGOs). CIVICUS (2007) describes certain typologies of civil society organizations in Nigeria as follows: Professional Associations, Labour and Student Groups which include; the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA), the Nigerian Medical Association (NMA), Nigerian Society of Engineers (NSE), the Academic Staff Union of Universities

(ASUU), the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), and so forth; The Human Rights and Pro-Democracy Groups such as the Civil Liberties Organizations (CLO), Committee for the Defense of Human Rights (CDHR), Constitutional Rights Project (CRP), and the League for Human Rights (LHR); Primordial Groups such as the Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI), Federation of Muslim Women of Nigeria (FOMWAN), and the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) among others. It is important to note that a number of faith-based groups are structured along gender lines, especially in the rural areas; Business Groups which include the Nigerian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (NCCI), Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN), National Association of Nigerian Farmers (NANF) and Employers Consultative Group (ECG). Others are International NGOs and the Voluntary and Mutual Support groups.

On the other hand, scholars have increasingly adopted broader definitions of consolidation in which the criteria include the legitimation and institutionalization of democratic practices over time, buttressed by the widespread adoption of democratic values and others even argue that the emergence of a democratic political culture is an essential component of consolidation (Linz & Stephan, 1997, p. 15). A widely used definition of consolidated democracy refers to a political regime in which democracy as a complex system of institutions, rules and patterned incentives and disincentives has become, in a phrase "the only game in town," behaviourally, attitudinally and constitutionally (Randall & Svasand, 2001). According to Katusiimeh (2004), "behaviourally" means that no significant actors attempt to use non-democratic means to obtain their goal, "attitudinally" implies that democratic procedures and institutions are considered by the vast majority to be preferred way of organizing politics, and "constitutionally" signifies that actors—governmental as well as non-governmental, are subject to the laws and institutions of the democratic process. In other words, consolidation is the more or less total institutionalization of

democratic practices, complete only when citizens and the political class alike come to accept democratic practices as the only way to resolve conflict. All in all, democratic consolidation is experienced when a reversal to authoritarianism is impossible and civil society can help consolidate democracy in a number of ways.

In determining the role of civil society organizations under democratic settings, underscoring their functions is imperative. Commenting on the above submission, Diamond (1994, p. 9), identifies six ideal roles of civil society organizations in a democracy:

1. Civil society is a reservoir of political, economic, cultural and moral resources to check the power of the state. Civil society can play a role in checking, monitoring and restraining the exercise of power by the state and holding it accountable. This function can reduce political corruption, force the government to be more accountable, transparent and responsive to the public, and strengthens its legitimacy.
2. The diversity of civil society will ensure that a few groups do not hold the state captive.
3. The growth of associational life will supplement the work of political parties in stimulating political participation. Civil society organizations can encourage people to get involved in politics especially as voters in elections. Political participation strengthens the legitimacy and the institutionalization of democratic government, which are essential for consolidation.
4. Civil society will eventually stabilize the state because citizens will have a deeper stake in social order. Furthermore, while civil society may multiply the demands of the state, it may also multiply the capacity of groups to improve their own welfare.
5. Civil society is a locus for recruiting new political leadership. Those who are involved in the activities of such groups learn how to organize and motivate people, publicize

programmes, reconcile conflicts and build alliances. This teaches people to deal efficiently with political challenges and can mould competent political leaders.

6. Civil society resists authoritarianism.

Specifically, civil society organizations in Nigeria are not an exception to these ideal roles of democratic consolidation given by Diamond. Civil society organizations in Nigeria also play similar roles under the political environment they find themselves. Moreover, civil society organizations' role in Nigeria's democracy has been subjected to investigations and assessment in various dimensions. For example, a CIVICUS Civil Society Index of 2007, revealed that the majority (70.5 percent) of the stakeholders that were interviewed in civil society organizations' study across the country, perceived the civil society organizations' network to be ineffective (CIVICUS, 2007). The effectiveness according to the report is perceived to be hampered by civil society organizations' internal structure and the inability to self-regulate (CIVICUS, 2007). Similarly, Arisi (2015) confirms that the dearth of viable and effective civil society organizations has called to question the consolidation of democratic ideals in Nigeria. In Arisi's words, "civil societies operating in Nigeria are docile and not owing to their responsibilities in the entrenchment of democracy and this stems from a myriad of problems that militate against the emergence of a viable strength of civil societies in Nigeria" (Arisi, 2015, p. 10). Some of the factors militating against the effectiveness of civil societies in Nigeria according to CIVICUS (2007) include self regulation, support infrastructure, cooperation and communication among civil society organizations, financial, human and technical resources and international linkages.

Equally, Omede and Bakare (2014) discuss some of the factors affecting the efficiency and effectiveness of civil society organizations as; disconnection from rural organizations, lack of unity, inadequate funding, lack of internal democracy, corruption and personal enrichment

among others. One of the consequences of these challenges is that civil society organizations in Nigeria tend to be reactive rather than proactive in engaging the state on matters affecting the people and the polity. More often than not, civil society has tended to largely depend on government for information and direction, thereby giving the government the head-start on sensitive issues (Igbokwe-Ibeto, Ewuim, Anazodo & Osawe, 2014). This according to Igbokwe-Ibeto, Ewuim, Anazodo & Osawe, (2014) may be pinned down to the weak structural and organizational bases of most civil society organizations.

Coming down to Anambra state, the presence and the role of civil society organizations has come under scrutiny. For instance Iwuamadi (2013) described how civil society organizations responded to the security and governance challenges in the state: the introduction of Bakassi Boys by late Chuks Anah the former local government chairman of Onitsha North, to fight against insecurity in the state ó this was later hijacked by political leaders and was used for political assassination; the use of Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) to organize prayers and value reorientation for the people of the state; non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) also sprung up to promote and implement economic empowerment programmes, sexual and reproductive health education and so forth; and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and town unions were also noted to have made their contributions to effective governance of the state. Iwuamadi (2013) further states the challenges of civil society organizations in Anambra state; Community development associations and town unions in Anambra State according to the study were perceived to be ineffective and enmeshed in conflicts ó these conflicts originated from both leadership tussle and the hostile relationship between town unions and traditional rulers. In a similar vein, Udu (2014) examined the effectiveness and efficiency of civil society organizations in Ebonyi state by assessing the roles of Non-Governmental Organizations and

development agencies from 2000-2008. The study found out that these organizations were largely inefficient and ineffective. Specifically, NGOs proved ineffective (67.5 percent) and unsustainable (72.5 percent) on the average, in the discharge of their responsibilities. This goes to show that civil society organizations are present in every part of the country and therefore saddled with the responsibility of consolidating democratic ideals at every level of society. It is on the basis of the foregoing background that this study attempts to examine the role of civil society organizations in democratic consolidation in Nigeria from 1999-2015.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

One of the fundamental challenges facing civil society organizations around the world is how to make democratic consolidation possible. While these organizations, in their various types and categories, in most countries of the world, continue to mediate and respond appropriately to emerging political imperatives, between the state and the individuals, civil society organizations' effort towards the consolidation of democratic ideals in Nigeria appear to be hindered by a number of problems which further result into inefficiency, ineffectiveness and mockery of those democratic ideals for which they were set. Most of these problems revolve around organizational and structural problem; interrelationship and communication problems among the civil society organizations, misplacement of priorities by the civil society organizations, financial constraints, ethnic rivalries, corrupt practices on the side of the state and civil society organizations, among others (Arisi, 2015; CIVICUS, 2007; Omede, 2014; Ugwu, 2011) making it extremely difficult for CSOs to play their roles in the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria (Majeed, 2011).

One of the notable roles played by CSOs includes election monitoring or observation, which according to Majeed (2011) was regularly marred by government and Independent National Electoral Commission's (INEC) antagonism and opposition. Another major role is the promotion of citizens' education and participation in political life. This role has equally been disturbed by

ethnic rivalry, religious and regional cleavages (Majeed, 2011). Other roles such as restraining state's power and demanding transparency, and accountability, influencing public policies and strengthening state institutions appeared to have been compromised by lack of internal democracy, lack of cooperation among civil society organizations and lack of an enabling environment.

The depth of problems of CSOs is further shown in the West African Civil Society Index ó Rapid Assessment of March 2014 CIVICUS (2014) which affirmed that 69 percent of CSOs surveyed in Nigeria believed their organization is not funded and 55 percent reported having to change the plans of its organization due to financial constraints; 55 percent and 58 percent of CSOs surveyed revealed that they lack access to computers and internet respectively; only 41 percent of the CSOs surveyed reported that they have clear documented administrative policies and guidelines; 59 percent of the sampled CSOs agreed that there is corruption and 74 percent rated collaborations between CSOs as low. Additionally, the report revealed that some CSOs in Nigeria accused the government of hindering their watchdog role by shielding information from them. These evidences reveal some of the enormous problems that confront CSOs in their bid to consolidating democracy in Nigeria. Unfortunately, these problems in themselves have made ineffective and confusing, the roles and contributions of CSOs in Nigeria. This situation has been compounded in that many African scholars and practitioners derive the notion of civil society from a Western historical experience where civil society is viewed in opposition to the state (CIVICUS, 2007) and therefore creates ambiguity in the expectations and roles of CSOs in a country like Nigeria. Similarly, in an argument that depicts the reality in Nigeria, Berman (1997); Kopecky and Mudde, (2003) affirm that there is uncertainty on the issue of positive and negative roles of CSOs as studies have shown that CSOs could stifle democracy if proper caution is not exercised. As Svasand and Tostensen (2009) puts it:

Many CSOs no doubt play a constructive consolidating role while the activities of others make no difference one way or the other. Still others may have a profoundly anti-democratic function. In other words, CSOs play an ambiguous role in the democratic consolidation process. (p. 3)

To this end, the role of CSOs in Nigeria is largely unclear.

More worrisome is the dearth of empirically indigenous literature on the role of CSOs in democratic consolidation in Nigeria, most especially within the past 16 years. This is challenging the thinking of scholars and experts and this creates a huge gap in knowledge and therefore demands an urgent investigation. However, while the presence and sustainability of CSOs may be somewhat linked to democratic system of government than an autocratic type in Nigeria, the role of CSOs in democratic consolidation within the period of 1999 to 2015 is poorly understood. Consequently, the problem of this study posed as a question is, what are the roles of civil society organizations in democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999 and 2015?

In specific terms, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent have civil society organizations' roles contributed to democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015?
2. How effective have been civil society organizations in consolidating democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to examine the roles of civil society organizations in democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999 and 2015. However, the following are the specific objectives.

1. To determine the extent to which civil society organizations' roles contributed to democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015.
2. To ascertain the effectiveness and efficiency of civil society organizations in consolidating democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study is justifiable because of its theoretical and practical relevance. In theoretical terms this study will serve as a test of concepts, hypothesis and theories that may in turn lead to advancement of further theories on democratic consolidation vis-à-vis civil society organizations.

In practical terms, the findings of this study are expected to provide important grounds for policy recommendations and implementation, intervention strategies and further research endeavours. First, political experts and administrators, and policy makers will find the result of this study useful as it is hoped to provide a strategic blue print through a robust and practicable initiative that will serve as an available and more importantly, potential resource of ideas capable of improving the relationship between the individual, civil society organizations and the state. As for the government, the study is expected to stimulate interests on issues on the role of CSOs in democratic consolidation. This is hoped to guide the implementations of policies and intervention strategies that will create an enabling environment for CSOs to perform their ideal role in Nigeria's democratic consolidation. Moreover, by being explicit and emphatic about the methods and processes of this research undertaking, the final report of this study will allow researchers to evaluate, and if they so wish, conduct their own research so as to check if they arrive at similar conclusions or results.

1.5 Scope and Limitation of Study

The geographical scope of this study is Nigeria. To gather secondary data, the study will focus on Nigeria within the period of 1999-2015 by means of a content analysis of materials on the topic under investigation. Additionally, in gathering primary data, the study's focus will be Anambra and Ebonyi States respectively. In doing this, members of civil society organizations in these two states will be targeted. The primary source of data shall complement the secondary source that will be used in this study. In terms of content, the study is limited to, the roles of civil society organizations in democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999 and 2015, the extent to which civil society organizations' roles contributed to democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015, the effectiveness and efficiency of civil society organizations in consolidating democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015, and the challenges facing civil society organizations in their bid to consolidating on democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015. Whereas the reason for limiting the scope from 1999-2015 is predicated on the fact that Nigeria has experienced an uninterrupted democracy since 1999, the reason for limiting the scope of the study in content and geographical space is due to time and financial burden that might be experienced if the scope, in time and geography, were to be extended beyond what it is.

1.6 Definition of Concepts

Role: for the purpose of study, it refers the involvement, interaction and activities on the part of civil society organizations with the government, the public and their members.

Civil Society organizations: for the purpose of study, it refers to any kind of non-profit and/ non-governmental organization whose mission/vision is to serve the interest of its members and the general public.

Efficiency: for the purpose of study, it refers to the extent or the degree to which the civil society organizations in the study have fared or performed in democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

Effectiveness: for this study, it refers to the degree or extent to which the civil society organizations' contributions have been felt by the citizens under different government since 1999-2015.

Democratic consolidation: for the purpose of this study, it refers to the process by which Nigeria's democracy have grown and matured when measured by such indices as election monitoring, human rights campaigns, ensuring rule of law, transparency etc.

1999-2015: for the purpose of this study, this refers to the period (also known as the 'fourth republic') with which Nigeria have thus far experienced democratic government without military interruption.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Literature Review

This chapter focuses on the review of related work under the following headings:

2.1.1 Civil Society Organizations

Even though the idea of civil society is not young as it dates back to Ancient Greece, in today's social science, there is no unanimously agreed definition of this concept. However, it will be appropriate to apply a handful of definitions that have been posited by a handful of authors. To begin with, Riedel (1991) claims that the term civil society is a literal translation of the Ancient Greek term *Politike Koinonia* which will evolve into the Latin version, *societas civilis* referring to communities, which conformed to norms that rose above and beyond the laws of the state (Katusimeh, 2004). Riedel (1991) emphasizes that the modern version of civil society is particularly different from antique understanding. Equally Mary Kaldor in her book, *Global Civil Society and, An Answer to War* (2003) offers four different version of civil society that corresponds to historical epochs in social ideas:

The first version is civil society as *societas civilis*. This concept covers the rule of law, zone of civility and reduction of violence. In this concept it is impossible to separate state and civil society because civil society as an area of policy making is different from the uncivil state or the state of nature as it was described by Thomas Hobbes. This is the historical state of Ancient Greek and Rome, the idea of civil society that can be found in the consent theory scholars (Kovacic, 2011).

The second conception of civil society is grounded in Marx's and Hegel's text. This bourgeois version of civil society is a product of development of capitalism and the main actors

are the market, individuals and social organizations. All of those organizations are counter balances to the state. This concept is described as the post-Marxian and utopian version of civil society. The characteristics of civil society can be summarized in the request for redistribution of state's power in order to increase the level of democracy, spread the realm of political participation and the main mechanism are social movement. This activist concept of civil society as described by Kaldor is inherent in the 1970s and the 1980s (Kovacic, 2011).

The third concept, characteristic of the United States, is a *laissez faire* politics where there is a tendency in decreasing state's power. Civil society is a set of citizens' associations that help other citizens in solving their problems and replace some state's functions (especially in the area of social protection). This version according to Kaldor is the neo-liberal version of the civil society.

The last concept has a post modern trait. In this version (that is found in today's world), the main principle is that of toleration. This makes civil society an area of pluralism, deliberation and different identities. In this stage of civil society development there is a distinction between civil and uncivil society. Having laid the foundation of the chronological concept of civil society and how it has transformed over time, it is imperative to understand what civil society connotes in the present time, since over the past few decades the concept has been construed and analyzed in relation to the authoritarian tendencies and the mobilization forces for democratic institutions (Bibic & Graziano, 1994). What then does civil society mean in our contemporary time?

To start with, Keane (1998) refers to civil society as an ideal type construction that describes complex and dynamic sphere of non-governmental organizations that has the tendency to be non-violent, are self organized and auto-reflexive. Keane's identification of civil society as an ideal type may perhaps have a far-reaching implication for this concept in that ideal types are

essentially a measuring rod that may be useful for and helpful in undertaking empirical research and in understanding a specific aspect of the world (see, Ritzer, 2011 for discussion on ideal type). This function of the ideal type may be considered important for the concept of civil society. Unfortunately however, the identification of civil society as an ideal type may posit the concept as unrealistic measurement of the real world ó comparing a civil society that is supposed to be to the one that actually is.

Diamond also (1997, p. 6) defines civil society as the realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary, self-generating, at least partially self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules. It is distinct from "society" in general in that it involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, passions, preferences, and ideas, to exchange information, to achieve collective goals, to make demands on the state, to improve the structure and functioning of the state, and to hold state officials accountable. Civil society therefore serves as that link between the state and the private sphere. In Diamond's view, civil society is an intermediary phenomenon, standing between the private sphere and the state. Thus, it excludes individual and family life, inward-looking group activity (for example, for recreation, entertainment, religious worship or spirituality), and the profit-making enterprise of individual business firms.

According to Diamond (1997), Civil society encompasses a vast array of organizations, formal and informal: These include (1) economic (productive and commercial associations and networks); (2) cultural (religious, ethnic, communal, and other institutions and associations that defend collective rights, values, faiths, beliefs, and symbols); (3) informational and educational, devoted to the production and dissemination (whether for profit or not) of public knowledge, ideas, news, and information; (4) interest groups, which seek to advance or defend the common

functional or material interests of their members (for example, trade unions, associations of veterans and pensioners, and professional groups); (5) developmental organizations, which pool individual resources and talents to improve the infrastructure, institutions, and quality of life of the community; (6) issue-oriented movements (for example, for environmental protection, land reform, consumer protection, and the rights of women, ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, the disabled, and other victims of discrimination and abuse); and (7) civic groups, which seek (in nonpartisan fashion) to improve the political system and make it more democratic (for example, working for human rights, voter education and mobilization, election monitoring, and exposure and reform of corrupt practices). Furthermore, Schmitter (2003) defines civil society as a set or system of self-organized intermediary groups that are relatively independent of both public authorities and private units of production and reproduction ó i.e. of firms and families; are capable of deliberating about and taking collective actions in defense or promotion of their interests or passions; do not seek to replace either state agent or private produce or to accept responsibility for governing the polity as a whole; and agree to act within pre-established rules of æcivil nature, that is, conveying mutual respect.

Meanwhile for Foely and Edwards (1998, p. 5-6) civil society is identified as an effort to rethink the bases of social order, placing it as a realm of politics situated between the state and citizenry or put otherwise, between government and those governed. The attractiveness of the term, according to Seligman (1992), is its assumed formation of private and public 'good' and of individual and social wishes.

In another light, CIVICUS (2007) conceptualize civil society as the arena, outside of the family, the state and the market where people associate to advance common interests. The CIVICUS in its Civil Society Index derives two interesting features that contrast with other civil

society concepts. First, its goal is to avoid the conventional focus on formal and institutionalized civil society organizations by also considering informal coalitions and groups. Second, whereas civil society is sometimes perceived as an area with positive actions and values, CIVICUS assesses both the positive and the negative manifestations of civil society. This concept consequently includes not only the humanitarian organizations and associations active in environmental protection, for example, but also groups such as skinheads and aggressive football supporters. The CSI not only assesses the extent to which CSOs support democracy and tolerance, but also the extent of their intolerance or even violence. This conceptualization of civil society tends to be all inclusive and thus encompasses groups whose interest, whether consciously or otherwise, have negative impact on the state. CIVICUS (2007) further conceptualizes the civil society along four main dimensions:

- The structure of civil society (e.g. number of members, extent of giving and volunteering, number and features of umbrella organizations and civil society infrastructure, human and financial resources);
- The external environment in which civil society exists and functions (e.g. legislative, political, cultural and economic context, relationship between civil society and the state, as well as the private sector);
- The values practiced and promoted within the civil society arena (e.g. democracy, tolerance or protection of the environment); and
- The impact of activities pursued by civil society actors (e.g. public policy impact, empowerment of people, meeting societal needs).

Consolidating on the all inclusive position of CIVICUS, Write (1993, p. 377) argues that the use of civil society implies a certain power relationship between state and society such that there are

limitations on the state's capacity to pervade and control society, and a certain power on the part of members of a society to insulate themselves from, and exert influence upon, the state.

Despite the varying definitions, there is an emerging perspective among scholars of non-western origin. In the view of some of these scholars, the concept of civil society, which is borrowed from western philosophers and historical experience, does not satisfactorily explain the 'civil society' in Africa. In fact, some researchers imply that the concept of civil society has little meaning outside the context of the West. For instance, Maina (1998, p. 137) argues that the 'civil society' is a concept made to order for the political reality of the western society which has 'limited explanatory power' for the complexities of African associational life because it fails to understand the domination of African societies by a predatory state, the informal character of many forms of organization and the fundamental role played by social class and ethnicity. However, despite Maina's position on the relevance of civil society in African, he reluctantly suggests that such a concept can be valuable if it is adapted in various ways. Specifically, Maina (1998) suggests that the concept includes activities and not just organizations and it needs to move away from western pre-occupation with rights and advocacy to include self-help groups that are organized for personal and economic needs.

This is perhaps the reason why the question concerning the relevance of civil society within the African context has been raised. Lewis (2002) gave four different answers to this burning question. According to Lewis (2002), the idea of a positive, universalist view of the desirability of civil society as part of the political agenda of establishing and sustaining a democratic government around the world makes civil society relevant to the African context. Second, Lewis avers that the concept of civil society is irrelevant to the African context. This according to him is based on the fact that a concept which emerged at a distinctive moment in the history of

Europe can have little or no meaning to different cultural and political settings such as Africa and other non-western societies. On this, Lewis opines that this reason may justify the theory that the concept of 'civil society' is just another in a long line of attempts at misguided policy transfer from western powers. Lewis also gave a third possible answer to this salient question; suggesting that while this concept is potentially relevant to non-western context it will take on, local different meanings and should not therefore be applied too stiffly, whether at the level of analysis or practical application, where it should not be deployed instrumentally in search of 'predictable' policy outcomes (p. 575). Finally, Lewis argues that there are some who suggest that the question of whether civil society is relevant to the African context, is probably the wrong question to ask, arguing that the concept of civil society has been an African experience in that either by colonial history of both domination and resistance, the African people have always organized themselves to resist foreign powers in the past.

2.1.2 Democratic Consolidation

The concept of democratic consolidation is equally another concept that is subjected to different elucidation (Majeed, 2011) as Schedler (1997) put forward that students of democratic consolidation tend to define this term on a personal ground, wide or narrow, positive or negative, ideal or operational ó the end result in which a conceptual fuzziness is created. Additionally, Kovacic (2011) sees democratic consolidation as a concept which emanated from the field of Political Science but enjoys no unanimous definition. Hague, Harrop and Breslin (2001) opine that democratic consolidation can be spoken of when the party elected on the first democratic election passes government to the next elected political party. This implies that democratic consolidation as a concept is understood when and where there is democratic power transition that is devoid of undemocratic intervention from groups or institutions such as the military. This

position is also similar to that of Huntington (1991) who argues that consolidation is experienced when a party that takes over power in the initial election at a time of transition loses subsequent election and turns over power to those who newly won and when those winners later on turn over power to the winners of a later election. This is what Huntington (1991) describes as the double turn over and could serve as a measure of democratic consolidation. Be that as it may, democratic consolidation is conceptualized as initiation and deepening democracy in a polity that was previously authoritarian (Mungui-pippidi, 2005, p. 16). Consolidation therefore, is not just a new phase after the end of transition and institutionalization, as it has been observed by many, it is a different process of the beginnings of which overlap with the second phase of the transition and which in most cases continues after the end of the transition until a characteristic threshold is reached after which the new democracy can be considered to be consolidated (Hans-Jürgen, 2005).

In another direction, Schedler (1997, p. 6) avers that democratic consolidation presupposes that democratic regime exists from the beginning to end of the process. To him, democracy marks the starting point for the process of democratic consolidation (in form of a consolidating democracy) and its hopeful outcome (in form of a consolidated democracy). However, there are doubts as to whether consolidation can take place in a democratic government that eventually became authoritarian. Responding to this uncertainty, Schedler (1997) posits that a democratic consolidation cannot be spoken of in an authoritarian regime. Then, the term consolidation denotes both movement and arrival, both progress and achievement, and accounts for the teleological nature of democratic consolidation (Schedler, 1997, p. 6). Also, Schedler avers that the term consolidation itself connotes solidity. By solid, he means, expression of firmness, robustness, stability: the solid wall, the solid alliance, the solid financial base, etc. on the one

hand; and on the other hand, solidity describes something more qualitative, something sound and well done, something valuable because of its intrinsic qualities: a solid piece of furniture, solid scholarship, a solid education etc. Although 'solid democracy' could not be used as a term perhaps because of its empirical inability, the terms 'consolidating democracy' and 'consolidated democracy' substitute for the former. In most academic literature, the term 'consolidating democracy' describes the removal of threat of democratic breakdown or the movement towards some higher stage of democratic performance (or both together) and a consolidated democracy is meant to be either a crisis-proof democracy or a high quality democracy or both together (Schedler, 1997).

Similarly, Faulenbach (2007) argues that the term consolidation was synonymously used to mean stabilization or sustainability. According to him however, caution must be exercised in thinking that persistence of a democracy implies consolidation. In fact, there is no automatic progress towards consolidation – the development can either go forward to democracy or backward to authoritarian government (Faulenbach, 2007). According to Faulenbach (2007), when democratic consolidation is seen as a process of securing democracy or deepening democracy, there is confusion about where and how to begin and end the process and what elements are required for consolidation and deepening. This therefore makes democratic consolidation a complex process with institutional, attitudinal and behavioural dimensions in which usually actors and factors interplay and more arenas matter than in the process of the transition (Hans-Jurgen, 2005).

2.1.3 Historical Overview of Civil Society Organizations in Nigeria's Democratization Process

Civil society organizations have an age long connection with struggle for democratization in Nigeria (Igbokwe-Ibeto, Ewuim, Anazodo & Osawe, 2014). The antecedents of today's civil society organizations can be traced back in time to the pre-colonial, colonial and nationalist eras. Civil society existed in pre-colonial traditional states in Nigeria as associational forms that gave rise to participation, communication, information flow and influence between the citizens and the state, as well as means of social economic assistance, control of social existence and survival to citizens (Chazan, 1996; Ikelegbe, 2003). With the advent of colonialism however, new social exchanges, modernism and attendant social dislocations provided a new platform of consciousness and agitation which accelerated the formation of communal, traditional, cultural and other groups (Ikelegbe, 2013). The nationalist movement and decolonization also provided the stimulants for associational blossoming. As a result, the decolonization period is regarded as the springboard of modern day civil society (Young 1992, p. 37).

According to Igbokwe-Ibeto, Ewuim, Anazodo and Osawe (2014), several associational groups in the colonial era sought to restrain the colonial administration from enforcing unpopular laws like the imposition of taxes on some products. The Agbekoya revolt and the Aba Women Riot in the Western and Eastern Regions of the country respectively, were some of these activities of civil society (Igbokwe-Ibeto, et al., 2014, p. 6). Crude and unorganized as some may see it, these organizations were at the vanguard of ensuring equality and equity in the eyes of the law. This is perhaps the reason why Ekeh (1994) argues:

The structures and processes that are currently labeled civil society are not new. Historians and social scientists in the pre-1985 period used other concepts and

terms to designate phenomena that this fresh construct of civil society now claims for its domain.

Lending credence to the above submission, Bratton argues intensely that the historic existence of civil society in Africa before independence and as well as its capacity to mobilize popular support put civil society organizations in a vantage point in harnessing the common interests of society. Bratton speaks of the civil society this way:

Far from being stunted in sub-Saharan Africa, it is often vibrant. While many pre-colonial cultures may have lacked states, they certainly did not lack civil society, in broad sense of a bevy of institutions protecting collective interests... Africans invented forms of voluntary associations during the colonial period as a response to the disruptive impact of urbanization and commercialization... they gave collective shape to new occupational identities (peaceful movements, labour unions, professional associations). Many of these voluntary associations became explicitly political by giving voice, first to protest the indignities of colonial rule, and later, to the call for independence (Bratton, 1989, p. 411).

Colonial rule and its attendant harsh economic conditions imposed on the people by the colonial state was what led to the rise of civil society activism in Nigeria (Mgba, 2015). According to Mgba, colonialism made civil society particularly labour, professional, women, and student organizations, and the media active in the politics of the colonial era (p. 183). Particularly, repressive colonial policies of forced labour, dispossession and commercialization of peasants' lands, increased taxation including on women, and urban-biased development became sources of local resistance which significantly helped to nurture and strengthen civil society organizations in Nigeria (Mgba, 2015). Going by historical evidence, the rise of labour struggles and, indeed, other associational entities, is closely embedded in the process of colonial conquest, dependent capitalist and class formation (Tar, 2009a, p. 89-125, 2009, p. 167). Furthermore, Thomson argues following a more general African experience but one that depicts the true Nigerian experience; it had been civil society that had actually overthrown the colonial state. Associational activity... trade unions, professional societies and community organizations had all

contributed to make the nationalist movement the powerful forces that they were (Thomson, 2010, p. 276).

Specifically, colonialism incited labour and youth activism in Nigeria leading to the formation of the labour union, Nigerian Youth Movement, and the Nigerian Union of Students (NUS) to mention but a few (Mgba, 2015). Supporting the above claim, Iweriebor (2003, p. 113) posits that the colonial exploitation of Nigerians served as the impetus for activism òas a component of the larger Nigerian anti-colonial freedom movement.ö The establishment of the modern state by the British colonialists activated a new social class including the new modern labour force used for the development of the capitalist system in Nigeria (Mgba, 2015). This created division and engendered contradictions in the colonial economy that nurtured associational life among the exploited working class to challenge the obnoxious policies of the colonial state including forced labour, taxation, imposed agricultural development programmes, etc (Ake, 1981; Ekekwe, 2009; Tar, 2009a). Therefore, òa domain of resistance populated by several indigenous groups often led by urban professional and wage labourersö emerged òto challenge the colonial stateö (Tar, 2009a, p. 90). Indeed, civil society activism became a consequence of an anti-state struggle of indigenous people ensnared by the contradictions of the developing capitalist system in Nigeria (Willems, 2012, p. 15). Some foremost civil society organizations during this period helped in ensuring effective governance through their respective bodies by instilling in their members a sense of political discipline that enabled them to participate efficiently in the political process of their time. Ibrahim in his monograph: òDemocratic transition in Anglophone West Africa,ø depicts some of the remarkable feat made by the earliest civil society organizations in colonial Nigeria thus:

The dynamism of trade, professional and students unions in Nigeria is one of the clearest signs of the democratic drive embedded in its civil society. For example, Nigerian students have played a very significant role since 1934 when they

established the Lagos Youth Movement (LYM), the core on which the first nationalist party, the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) was built. In the post war years, the West African Students' Union (WASU) played a galvanizing role in the independence movements... Nigerian students have continued to play a significant role in the country's democratic struggles (Ibrahim, 2003, p. 29).

Additionally, Ikelegbe (2003, p. 49) claims that further into the 20th century, this associational vibrancy was carried over into the post independence era. Civil Society Organizations particularly the trade unions, students groups, professional associations and media associations played significant roles in governance while farmers associations, self help community associations, cooperative movements and women groups began playing notable roles in socio-economic engagements (Lee, 2007). However the governments became suspicious, intolerant and began to infiltrate, politicize, compromise, circumscribe and harass civil society (Ikelegbe, 2013, p. 34). Despite the resistance experienced by these civil society organizations, they continued in their struggle for the greater good of the greatest number of Nigerians even under military regimes that were known for their outright disregard for democratic principles and human right abuses; just as Mgba (2015, p. 185) puts it, "organized labour's role in popular struggle in Nigeria spans through Nigeria's history beginning from the colonial era, to the prolonged period of military rule, and to the contemporary time of globalization."

Throughout the long years of military rule in Nigeria, especially during the 1980s and 1990s, civil society organizations were first of all preoccupied with the ousting of military dictatorship and secondly taking reactionary approach to counter government's unfavourable and unpopular policies. Of significance are chains of reactions that trailed the introduction of the economic policy (Structural Adjustment Programme) of the then Babangida's administration. Emphasizing the civil society organizations' contributions to the fight against SAP initiative, Jega vividly underscores that:

At the initial stages of the implementation of SAP, some organized civil society groups, notably labour movement, the students, and professionals, were able to mobilize using brands of nationalist, patriotic and class-based identities... university students organized under their national association, NANS, to agitate for collective demands and to oppose state education and other economic policies perceived as detrimental to the Nigerian people. Similarly, workers under the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) to advance collective economic and political interests, while professionals such as lawyers and university lecturers, under Nigeria Bar Association (NBA) and the Academic Staff union of Universities (ASUU), respectively, struggled, agitated against, or otherwise impacted upon state policies (Jega, 2000, p. 32).

Other commitments, by civil society organizations were also displayed to democratic ideals during the annulment of the 1993 June 12th in which the Babangida led administration was forced to step aside. The massive protests by civil society including NLC, NUPENG, NBA and other pro-democracy organizations compelled the Babangida led administration to impose an interim national government on the nation. (Kew, 2004; Onyeonoru & Aborisade 2001; Nnoli 2011; Tuman, 1994). The same show of courage to achieving a democratic government was again evident during the Abacha led administration and this led to the late Sani Abacha's effort of self-succession ó from the military government to a democratic type ó a move that eventually did not materialize. With the advent of democracy since 1999 (termed as the fourth republic), one of the core objectives of civil society organizations have been to consolidating democracy and its ideals.

2.1.4 Civil Society and Democratic Consolidation in Present Day Nigeria

Just as any other nation with democratic structure and institutions is shaped and reshaped by the functions of civil society organizations, Nigeria's civil society is expected to, in no small measure contributes its ideal quota to the deepening and consolidation of democratic principles and values. Ever since the year 1999, the Nigerian people have experienced what Huntington

(1991) describes as a 'double turn over' especially with the transfer of power to an opposition party (the APC) in the just concluded election. By this, it can be argued that Nigeria and its people are consolidating democracy, at least in part, with the ability of transferring power as at when due. Nevertheless, other areas and yardstick for which democratic consolidation takes place still remain issues of subject in the political and academic arena, thereby creating a path for assessing the roles and contributions of civil society organizations to democratic consolidation as it were. Even though the existing relationship between the Nigerian state and civil society is still that of confrontation rather than accommodation, of competition rather than partnership, a number of studies have examined civil society's role in Nigeria's present day political system.

According to Omede and Bakare (2014), Civil Society Organizations have played vital roles in the enthronement of democracy as well as, the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. Therefore, while the contributions of these organizations before 1999 may not be discussed in this section, some key contributions within the 1999 and 2015 are discussed. Ever since the enthronement of democratic governance in Nigeria on May 29, 1999, there has been no doubt that the civil society in Nigeria has been persistent in the agitation for good governance (Omodia & Erunke, 2007). To begin with, Omede and Bakare (2014) discuss five key contributions of civil society organizations in recent memory:

First is the fight against authoritarianism which was consequent upon the 'third term agenda'. The third term agenda was an idea initiated by the then president of the federal republic of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo, to elongate his tenure by another an extra term. This covert controversial move by Obasanjo angered a cross-section of Nigerians and especially antagonist of the third term bid across the country. The prominent actors who participated in the struggle included the then Vice President, Atiku Abubakar, some members of the PDP, other political parties and civil society organizations (Saliu & Muhammad, 2007, p. 538). Describing the

contributions of these actors towards an outright abuse of power by the then incumbent, Vanguard News dailies of January 5, 2006 observes that:

The National Civil Society Coalition against Third Term (NACATT), Bamidele Aturu, the Steering Committee Chairman of NACATT, challenged President Obasanjo that the "third term agenda" is immoral, corrupt, divisive, insulting, an evidence of failure, capable of creating a political uncertainty and, of course, it is unconstitutional. (Vanguard, January 05, 2006 as cited in Saliu & Muhammad, 2007, p. 538)

Other civil society organizations that participated in this protest against authoritarian leadership of Obasanjo were; Peoples Problems and Solutions (PPS) organization, Catholic Bishops' Conference of Nigeria and individuals like Prof. Wole Soyinka, former governor and factional chairman of the Alliance for Democracy (AD), Chief Bisi Akande, Prof. Ropo Sekoni, Dr Joseph Oladokun, Solomon Olufelo and Adeola Odusanya among other. (The PUNCH, March 12, 2006 as cited in Saliu & Muhammad, 2007, p. 538)

Furthermore, more civil society organizations keyed in the struggle and began to fight against a perceived authoritarianism under the guise of democracy. Worthy of mention was the role played by the Centre for Legislative Studies (CLS), a non-governmental organization whose effort was significant to the victory eventually achieved in this process.

The Centre for Legislative Studies (CLS), a non-governmental organization, invited stakeholders on March 26, 2006 at the International Press Centre in Ogba, Lagos to analyse the propriety of the agenda in line with the public hearing of the National Assembly Joint Committee on the Review of the 1999 Constitution. The stakeholders, who came from the media, human rights community and politics, concluded that the third term agenda is an ill wind that will blow nobody any good and that the public hearing on the constitution amendment was a sham. (The Punch, as cited in Omode & Bakare, 2014, pp. 215)

According to Omode and Bakare, all these and many more protests from the civil society groups paved way for the legislative arm of the government on Wednesday May 16, 2006 to

throw out, in its entirety, a bill seeking 116 amendments/alterations of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria which sought a three-term maximum of 4 years each for the President and the Governors as opposed to a two-term of 4 years each prescribed by the Constitution.

Omode and Bakare (2014) also discuss the second contribution of civil society organization which targeted unfair public policy. Of particular interest is the decision by the federal government under the administration of former president Goodluck Jonathan to remove the subsidy that is regularly paid by the government. These generated world-wide condemnation especially from civil society organizations in Nigeria. According to Omode and Bakare:

In Lagos, protesters massed at Ojota for a rally that was convened by the Save Nigeria Group. Musicians, movie stars and leaders of civil society groups all addressed the huge crowd as they denounced the government's attempt at creating hardship for the people. Part of the plan, as explained by Femi Falana, a lawyer, is to occupy the Gani Fawehinmi Park, venue of the protest, until the government backs down on the policy. (Omode & Bakare, 2014, pp. 216)

Equally in Abuja, the federal capital territory, Abdulwaheed Omar, the then president of the Nigeria Labour Congress, NLC led a coalition of civil society groups and trade unions to challenge official ban on the protest (Adewuyi, 2012). The action (strike) of the umbrella associations was suspended on Monday 23rd of January, 2012 after extensive and long-hours deliberation between the civil society and the Nigerian government. Different from the former reaction that challenged authoritarianism, this particular reaction (also different from the first approach) challenged unpopular government policy and the success recorded entered the annals of Nigeria's history.

Third is the fight against non-transparent structure and function of institutions of the state. The fight for the passage of Freedom of Information Act by civil society groups in Nigeria in the fourth republic is suggestive of the important role of civil society organizations in entrenching

transparency in the government of the day. According to Omode and Bakare, (2014), the Freedom of Information Act is a law that stipulated that all institutions spending public funds will have to be open about their operations and expenditure while citizens will have the right to access information about such activities. However, due to personal elitist reasons, the machineries responsible for passing the bill slowed down the process and it took a very long time (over a decade) before the desired result was achieved. The result that was achieved is chiefly attributed to the relentless efforts of the coalition of Nigerian civil society groups who have long worked and advocated for the passage of the F.O.I Bill under the leadership of the Right to Know Movement, Media Rights Agenda (MRA) and the Open Society Justice Initiative (Omode & Bakare, 2014). Commenting on the success described above, Edetaen (2011, p. 112) succinctly affirm that “the signing of the F.O.I Bill into law is the clearest demonstration ever of the power of civil society working together to influence public policy and initiate reform in making government work for the people.”

Fourth is the civil society’s fight against abuse of Nigerian’s constitution. This fight was made possible because of the refusal by the some groups loyal to the ailing president Musa Yar’adua to recognize his vice president, Goodluck Jonathan while he was away and incapacitated in Saudi Arabia. The effort of the society in this direction was observed by Ojo who opines that:

Civil rights organizations such as the Save Nigeria Group and Enough is Enough Group actually seized the initiative, mobilized and marched on the National Assembly to demand for a resolution that will give due recognition to vice president as acting president. This led to the adoption of the now popular “Doctrine of Necessity” by the National Assembly on February 9, 2010 (Ojo, 2011).

Lastly is civil society organizations' fight against electoral deformation. According to Omode and Bakare, one of the unforgettable efforts of the Civil Society Organizations in the consolidation of Nigeria's democracy was the unflinching support they gave to the Justice Uwais Electoral Reform Committee (ERC) inaugurated on August 28, 2007 by late President Yar'adua. The contributions of CSOs in electioneering activities and election monitoring cannot be overemphasized. They embarked on series of advocacy to mobilize the citizens and encourage them, to actively participate in the voter registration exercises that preceded the elections. Coming together under the umbrella- Domestic Election Observation Groups (the group which included the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN), Labour Monitoring Team (LMT), Women Environmental Programme (WEP), Muslim League for Accountability (MULAC), Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD); Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO), Alliance for Credible Elections, Citizens Forum for Constitutional Reform (CFCR) and the Electoral Reform Network (ERN); deployed approximately 50,000 trained election monitors throughout the country during the 2007 general election (Akinboye & Oloruntoba, 2007, p. 14-15).

In a further assessment of civil society organizations' role in Nigeria under the democratic era of the past 16 years, Dew (2002) describes the commitment levels of notable civil society groups in Table 2.2.2.1 below:

Table 2.1.2.1: A tabular representation of political culture and democratic promotion of civil society organizations in Nigeria

Civil society group	Level of democratic political culture	Level of commitment in democratic promotion
Civil liberties organization	High	Active, sustained
Constitutional rights projects	High	Active
Association for a better Nigeria	Low	None

Niger delta wetlands center	High	None
Center for advanced social studies	High	Passive
National council of women's society	Moderate	None
Gender and development action	High	Passive
Center for law enforcement	-	-
Education (CLEEN)	High	Active

Source: Dew (2002)

Irrespective of the roles of civil society organizations in consolidating Nigeria's democracy since 1999, an appraisal by Dew (2002) (see, table 2.2.2.1) revealed that even though some civil society groups had a high level of political culture, most of the civil society groups were actively committed to democratic consolidation. A cursory look into the table also shows that only one civil society organization (civil liberties organization) sustained their activity. The discrepancies noticed in the level of their performance towards democratic consolidation imply that civil society organizations are faced with challenges that impede their expected performance in a democracy.

2.1.5 Challenges of Civil Society Organizations in Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria

Democratic environments have provided the opportunity for political expression but non-democratic actors have become more visible than those organizations committed to the ideal course of democracy. Extremist movements, such as the Boko Haram insurgents have grown by leaps and bounds. Confrontations between the executive and the legislature have slowed down the process of governance reform while ethnic and religious violence is on the ascendance. In the midst of these challenges the pro-democracy NGOs and other civil society organizations appear to have lost steam or are ill-prepared for engaging the new democratic institutions and their challenges. The power seekers have dominated the political space. Civic engagement has been

very low. Then one begins to wonder why organizations that fought so gallantly against the military have ceased to be important under democratic rule. The reasons are not far-fetched ó as several scholars have pointed at certain factors that are perceived to be responsible for the weak structure and functioning of the civil society in their contribution towards democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

One such factor impacting negatively on the effectiveness and efficiency of civil society organizations in Nigeria is the lack of internal democracy within the structure of civil society. Commenting on the above submission, Omode and Bakare (2014) argues that the lack of internal democracy in most of the civil society groups in Nigeria makes it difficult for members of these organizations to imbibe democratic values/norms and principles within their organization. This makes the obvious understandable ó when the supposed guardians of democratic ideals are themselves become undemocratic, of what use is their contribution towards consolidating democracy. Similarly, Igbokwe-Ibeto et al. supported the above notion by describing the undemocratic structure of civil society organizations in Nigeria:

Paradoxically, many civil society organizations lack the very democracy they are trying to promote or sell to the larger society. Substantially, internal democracy is almost absent in civil society as its members are treated as second class citizens by their leaders/founders. Unless this abnormality is corrected and their internal operations subjected to the rule of law and separation of powers, particularly in the areas of the use of funds and recruitment and selection of their leaders, its contributions to the democratization process could be vitiated. Does one give what it does not have? For civil society to contribute to reshaping and deepening the democratization of the polity and society, it should first demonstrate that it has what it wants to sell to the larger society which is democracy. (Igbokwe-Ibeto et al., 2014, pp. 9)

Arisi (2015) concludes that civil society organizations' dearth of internal democracy, did not place them in a position to enforce the tenets of democracy because they lack the culture/prerequisites to do so.

Another important factor that has enormous effect on the activity of civil societies is lack of finance or what some may call inadequate funding. Omode and Bakare (2014) also argue that inadequate funding causes a huge setback for civil society organizations. According to them, a good number of prodemocracy Civil Society Organizations in Nigeria are donor-dependent and the focus of foreign donors on democracy in Nigeria have expanded thereby increasing competition for the few available sponsors and donors. This situation leaves majority of the civil society organizations inactive and ineffective. Another challenge that stems out of that of inadequate funding is the difficulty and rigour that accompany seeking for funds. In its West African Regional report, CIVICUS (2014) revealed that a significant number of civil society organizations in Nigeria do not possess the adequate capacity to seek funds. Even some, according to the report have weak proposal writing skills to seek for fund from donors. Even though the lack of funding and financing is a problem, it may also so become more problematic if civil society organizations get the right support and does not exercise caution before they begin to become over dependent on donors ó as this could cause civil society groups to be more accountable to donors and less accountable to the people (CIVICUS, 2014). Equally in a 2013 CSO sustainability index of sub-Saharan Africa report conducted by United States Agency for International Development, it was showed that:

Many CSOs do not have diversified sources of funding. Only a few local CSOs have enough resources to remain viable for the short term, and only some engage in membership outreach and philanthropic development programs. As in 2012, there are only fifteen to twenty philanthropic organizations in Nigeria, such as MTN Foundation, Guaranty Trust Bank, TY Danjuma Foundation, and Globacom Foundation. For example, TY Danjuma Foundation supports CSOs working in

health, education, and empowerment programs. CSOs do not benefit from the distribution of oil revenues. (USAID, 2013, pp. 100)

One of the greatest problems affecting the unity of the Nigerian nation is ethnocentrism, religious bigotry and tribal sentiments. These problems put together, reflect in the nature and function of Nigeria's civil societies. The reason for this hinges on the fact that most civil society groups are formed and across ethnic and religious lines hence they work to achieve the common good of their immediate groups. Omode and Bakare concur with the above submission when they describe the effect of ethnic and religious rivalry among civil societies:

Divisions among the Nigerian civil society along the ethnic and regional lines have not helped its democratic advocacy. This has led to disunity and disagreement among the Nigerian CSO practitioners in term of decision-making and unity of purpose. The internal contradictions within the membership make it difficult to agree on common positions during the period of engagement with the state. Such inherent divisiveness weakens efficiency and makes the associations vulnerable to penetration by government agents. (Omode & Bakare, 2014, pp. 220)

In conjunction with the above submissions, Arisi (2015) submits that majority of civil societies in Nigeria are ethnic connotations and which agenda does not make for national orientation or focus on entrenching democracy in the nation but are tools for carrying out ethnic agendas.

Disconnection from rural organizations is one major problem that has notably been hampering the effectiveness and efficiency of civil societies across the length and breadth of the nation. Organizationally, Igbokwe-Ibeto et al. (2014) argue that most civil society organizations are weak with most of their offices located in urban centers, in makeshift buildings with handpicked staff who does not possess the requisite skills and experiences to run such organizations. According to them, failure of most civil society to link up with social formations in the rural areas as in the days of the nationalist struggle for independence in much of Africa,

has stripped them of the support base they need to carry on a protracted and well organized campaign towards achieving the desired democratic consolidation. This depicts most civil society, Africa elitist and or personalized in nature and character (Igbokwe-Ibeto et al., 2014). Furthermore, Omode and Bakare (2014) added that activities are mostly restricted to the federal government level and therefore lack national spread. Most of these organizations are concentrated in Lagos and a few other state capitals in the country. This makes it difficult for majority of the Nigerian population, which live in rural areas to appreciate the role they play, imbibe their doctrines and through the process, develop political consciousness and confidence to resist inducement from politician (Omode & Bakare, 2014). More reason why civil society organizations in Nigeria today do not command overwhelming support among people in rural communities as they should, as many people who reside in rural areas are hardly aware of some of the existence of some of these organizations, not to talk of identifying the roles they play or even feel their impact.

A lack of capacity in planning and strategic skills hinders CSOs' ability to perform their roles effectively. For instance in a study carried out by CIVICUS (2014) in Nigeria, it was revealed that only 53 percent of CSOs surveyed believe they have the capacity to prepare and report financial records adequately, which creates an accountability deficit and causes fundraising challenges. This shows that a significant portion of civil societies in Nigeria do not possess the basic skills with which civil organizations is managed. Emphasizing on their lack of capacity in terms of knowledge, skills and methods of advocacy, Ojo (2011) affirms that many of these organizations are not well equipped with superior knowledge and articulation to advance the cause of civil society in consolidating democracy. This disadvantage on the part of civil society groups is also reflected in the evidence that 55 percent of civil society organizations in Nigeria

do not consider that they have adequate access to computers and 58 percent confirmed that they do not have adequate internet access. Poor access to information and communication technology (ICT) and out-dated technology and software are raised as limiting factors in Nigeria. These are felt to inhibit CSOs' ability to communicate and collaborate, and to access funding, creating a negative cycle (CIVICUS, 2014).

One of the most devastating factors perceived to continually impede the effectiveness and efficiency of civil society organizations in their democratic consolidation drive is corruption. Commenting on this, Omede and Bakare (2014) confirm that there have been accusations of corruption, ranging from lack of transparency in the utilization of donor-funds to outright embezzlement/conversion of foreign donations to personal use. This according to them tends to weaken the civil society organizations' moral justification to engage the state during disputes. It also prevents people of integrity and value from associating with them. The impact of their advocacy for a change is also limited, because it is stated that 'he who comes to equity must come with clean hands' (Omode & Bakare, 2014, p. 221). Indeed, the endemic form of corruption among members of some civil society organizations in Nigeria has resulted to lack of trust from their international partners and lack of confidence on Nigeria's civil society organizations to consolidate on democracy as expected.

Lastly, lack of impact on public policies may of course also be an indicator of constrained relations between civil society organizations and governments, limited political space for civil society organizations or the lack of an enabling legal and regulatory framework that allows civil society organizations to carry out their mandates and responsibilities fully. The undue state influence on the environment for civil society organizations, and relations between CSOs and their governments is believed to largely contribute to the ineffectiveness of civil society organizations.

Table 2.1.2.2 : Key indicators on the political space for CSOs in Nigeria

Country	Population Enabling Environment Index, 2013 (109 countries)	Ibrahim Index of African Governance Ranking, 2013 (52 countries)	USAID CSO Sustainability Index Ranking, 2012 (25 countries)	Freedom House Freedom in the World Assessment, 2014
Nigeria	98 th	41 st	10 th	Partly free

Source: CIVICUS (2014)

The above table highlights the way Nigeria among falls short of the average (defined as the halfway point) on some key governance indicators of relevance to civil society organizations. Nigeria performed badly on all four indicators, suggesting a particular need to focus attention on improving the conditions for civil society in the country.

2.1.6 Review of Empirical Studies

In this segment of the study, the researcher considered relevant empirical studies that are related to the current one either in content or by design. First is the study undertaken by CIVICUS (2007) on “Civil Society in Nigeria: Contributing to Positive Social Change.” The main objective of the study was to assess the state of civil society in Nigeria in order to enhance the strength and sustainability of civil society and to strengthen civil society’s contribution to positive social change. By means of the following set of research methods: Review of existing information, Regional Stakeholder Consultations, Community Sample Survey, Media Review and Fact-Finding Studies the study elicited data from insider, external stakeholder and outsider views, as well as objective data ranging from the local and the regional to the national level. Findings revealed that a significant proportion of citizens are involved in civil society through non-partisan action, charitable giving, volunteerism, and collective communal action. However, it is unclear whether this participation comes from the need to be involved with CSOs or from

religious and cultural beliefs that are practiced by most Nigerian citizens. While CSOs in Nigeria have made major efforts to be more inclusive of social groups, persons with disabilities and children unfortunately remain excluded. On a more technical level, the organization of civil society is generally weak and lacks self regulation or appropriate infrastructural support and resources for achieving its goals. The study concludes that although communication is rather limited within civil society, coalitions and linkages have been formed for common causes and issues. Even though this study is related to the current one, there is a gap in that the study failed to adapt a proper theoretical reference to guide the study. The current study will fill the current gap.

Another similar empirical study that was reviewed is that of Majeed (2011) on "Civil society and democratic consolidation in Africa: A comparative study of Ghana and Nigeria." The main objective of the study was to deconstruct the role of civil society in democratic consolidation process of Ghana and Nigeria. By means of a comparative research design, the study combined the secondary and primary method of data collection to elicit data from reports of several studies on civil societies across both countries and email questionnaire was used to gather data from 20 civil society organizations in both countries. Findings from the study revealed that Ghana is contributing to democratic consolidation in the field of public policy, holding the state accountable, promoting citizen's education and participation, as well as monitoring elections and strengthening state's institutions. Unfortunately for Nigeria, it was revealed that civil societies have been unable to contribute as much in this direction, due to factors like contradictory relationship with the state, ethno-religious and regional cleavages as well as the undemocratic tendencies of most civil society organizations in the country. Like the first study reviewed, the second study is similar to the current one in content and in design. However, there is a gap in the

study: an ambiguous research method that may not be useful for replication. This current study therefore intends to fill this gap.

The study of Thapa (2012) on the topic: "Ambivalent civil society in democratic consolidation: The case of local chambers of commerce and industry in the Visayas and Northern Mindano." The study's main objective was to explore possible explanations for Philippine civil society's failure in fostering democratic consolidation and, as a result, possibly refine existing concepts of the nexus between civil society and democratic consolidation. Exploring the theoretical foundations of the assumed link between civil society and democratic consolidation, the study presented different notions of civil society and democratic consolidation and adjusted them to the case of the Philippines. On this conceptual basis, the study revisited the theoretical functions of civil society in democratic consolidation. Linking these positive functions with the possibility of a "dark side" of civil society provided an analytical framework to assess Philippine civil society's contribution to democratic consolidation. The research employed case study design. Three local chambers of commerce and industry in the Visayas and Northern Mindanao served as case studies. The study presented and analyzed the three cases in line with the elaborated theoretical framework, focusing on the strategic rationales underlying their political behavior. In a final cross-case analysis, the study emphasized common strategic rationales and factors among the case studies that plausibly illustrate the behavioral logic of Philippine civil society at large. The study found out that the case of Philippine local chambers of commerce clearly illustrates that civil society does not axiomatically facilitate democracy. Especially in clientelistic systems similar to the Philippines, strategic rationales based on the logic of influence rather than civic virtues can lead civil society to become part of "undemocratic" informal systems of interest intermediation rather than breaking them up.

In yet another study, Ugwu (2011) investigated "Civil society organizations and the monitoring of 2007 general elections in Enugu State: A case study of the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO)." The study focused on empirical verification on two key areas via: Whether the presence of civil society organizations and other observer missions mitigate or reduce the incidence of tension, intimidation, fraud, violence and rigging during the elections. The study also investigated whether the presence of these observer groups strengthen voters confidence in the election as well as whether the areas duly observed or monitored by the civil liberties organization differ significantly from fraud, rigging and other electoral vices when viewed from the areas not observed. The study adopted the Marxist theory of the state and also relied on observation method of data collection and descriptive qualitative method of data analysis. Findings from the study revealed that though the presence of these observer missions does not mitigate or reduce the above incidence associated with the elections and that even the areas where the presence of Civil Liberties Organization was noticed, there seem to be no striking difference witnessed. Even though the study appear similar to the current one, it failed to describe clearly its methodology and this also may not allow for proper study replication. The current study intends to fill this gap.

Finally, a report of an exploratory study by Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) (2007), on "Enhancing the Competence and Sustainability of High Quality CSOs in Kenya," aimed at establishing what were considered to be the standards and qualities of an exemplary CSO and sought to identify organizations offering capacity building in the region, the areas in which capacity building was being offered and to determine the gaps in capacity building services. By means of a survey design which employed purposive sampling procedure and interview method of data collection, the study was able to find out that the lack of a legitimate

and credible institution to organize CSOs and monitor standards; lack of information on the standards required of them and of their role and responsibilities in upholding them; the lack of a culture that puts a premium on best practices, quality control and value driven leadership; as well as the fact that CSOs generally lack the capacity to implement practices that require technical skills, capital resources, financial resources and infrastructural as well as logistical skills are major hindrances against the effectiveness of CSOs in Kenya. Even though this study is also related to the current one, it failed to employ a proper theoretical orientation or framework in explaining the study. This current study will fill this gap.

2.1.7 Gap in Literature

This study has reviewed relevant literatures that are both empirical and other wise on various concepts and aspects of civil society, democratic consolidation, and their relationships both in Nigeria and other nations. Specifically, the roles of civil society in democratic consolidation were equally reviewed as well as the challenges of civil societies in Nigeria and their perceived effectiveness and efficiency in consolidating democracy. However, there are significant gaps in the literatures that were reviewed: (1) very few studies investigated the role of civil society organizations in consolidating democracy in Nigeria ó leaving scholars, stakeholders and the entire public in ambiguity concerning the topic under discussion; (2) None of the Nigerian studies focused their studies on civil society's role in democracy and democratic consolidation within 1999-2015; and (3) very few literature employed empirical methods of research to come to a conclusion about the topic under discussion. It is on this note that the researcher intends to examine the role of civil society organizations in democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015 using sound empirical methods of research endeavour.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Political Process Theory

Political process theory also known as political opportunity theory was propounded by Dough McAdam (1982). This theory posits that success or failure of social movement is primarily by political opportunities. McAdam places particular emphasis on unfolding political process throughout history. The theory accounts for variety of social factors that interact and operate in the promotion or prohibition of social movement activity. Additionally the theory analyses the dynamic interplay of variables of in historically contingent spaces of action and emphasize political opportunities, indigenous organization and cognitive liberation (McAdam, 1982). The theory is premised upon the following constructs:

- (1) Insurgent Consciousness or Cognitive Liberation: certain members of the society feel deprived, mistreated, and develop grievances directed at a system perceive as unjust. When a collective sense of injustice develops, it motivates people to become members. Movement members do not choose their goals at random; it is the political context which stresses certain grievances around which movements organize (Meyer, 2004).
- (2) Organizational Strength: this construct argues that social movements must have strong and efficient leadership and sufficient resources particularly when it is seen as focusing on mobilization external to the movement (Meyer, 2004). Associated and indigenous organizations also play a major role in recruiting and motivating actors to join and participate within social movements. According to McAdam, the rise of a movement often merges with other pre-existing and highly organized blocs of individuals who lend the movement resources and support.

(3) Political Opportunities: if the existing political system is vulnerable to a challenge, it creates an opportunity for others to issue a challenge and try to use the opportunity to push through a social change. This vulnerability may arise out of increasing political pluralism, decline in repression division within elites and increased political enfranchisement (Meyer, 2004).

From these three components emerges what Doug Adam calls cognitive liberation, which is the ability for those active within the political protest to recognize their collective strength and take advantage of political opportunities as they become available to them. So, as political opposition to the movement's demands weakens, members may feel collective sense of symbolic efficacy, the capacity to enact significant change across the political arena. This gives way for important opportunities for movements to both recruit members and mobilize under a concentrated and effective cycle of demands. Over time these broad socio-economic processes develop, maintain and cause decline within the movement. A movement once developed may be affected by social control placed on it, which in turn affects its ability to maintain members (Minkoff & McCarthy, 2005).

Furthermore, McAdam affirms that movements may be affected by oligarchization when a class of individual within the movement works to ensure the maintenance of the movement itself rather than a continual push for collective goals, or cooptation, when outside support is gathered for the movement at the same time as it is forced to sacrifice its goals to meet the demands of these supporting institutions. This in turn may lead to the loss of indigenous support, and along with it many of its supporting grassroots organizations that were able to quickly mobilize members at the onset of the movement (McAdam, 1982).

Political opportunities and organizational strength have received much attention from scholars (e.g., Cress & Snow 1996; Minkoff & McCarthy, 2005) but of equal significance is the concept of cognitive liberation or what is also called insurgent consciousness which mediate between political opportunities and organizational strength. Commenting on the importance of this concept, McAdam writes, political opportunities and indigenous organizations only provide the "structural potential" for movements; "mediating between opportunities and action are people and the subjective meanings they attach to their situations" (McAdam, 1982, p. 48). Here political process theory incorporates the subjective into the analysis of political opportunities and actions (Brown, 2009). Even though this theory is useful to this current study, it is not left without some criticisms. For instance, critics suggest that political process theory frames movements as legally or politically detached from the state, the theory ignores movements that form out of cultural solidarity or do not directly stand in opposition to extant rules or regulations (Neal, 2007).

2.2.2 Applicability of the political process theory to the current study

This theory has the explanatory power of explaining the current study because it fits the variables of civil society as pockets of movements around the country (Nigeria), who have the political opportunities in terms of what Meyer (2005) describes as "dimensions of political struggle that encourage people to engage in contentious politics" (p.129). This theory also explains the civil society organizations in Nigeria, in terms of organizational strength which previous literature that was reviewed in this current study proved that is lacking. Although, it can be agreed that there political opportunities that may give civil societies the opportunities advance and challenge the state for social change, the subjective analysis into political opportunities and actions may be incorporated.

2.3 Research Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested in the study

1. Civil society organizations' roles have to an extent contributed to democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015.
2. The effectiveness of civil societies in Nigeria has consolidated democratic ideals within 1999-2015.

2.4 Methodology

2.4.1 Research Design

Descriptive survey and a content analysis designs was employed in this study. Reason being that descriptive survey is often a suited method for descriptive, explanatory and exploratory purpose (Babbie, 2013; Bhattacharjee, 2012; Haralambos & Holborn, 2013). Additionally,

content analysis design was used because it permits the study of 'already made' data; and processes occurring for a long time (Babbie, 2013). Hence, this study adopted both methods in examining the role of civil society organizations in democratic consolidation within 1999-2015. The independent variable in this study is the role of civil society organizations and the dependent variable is the level of democratic consolidation within 1999-2015.

2.4.2 Scope of Study and Study Population

For the survey design, this study covered selected civil society organizations in Anambra and Ebonyi States. These are Nigerian Bar Association, Nigerian Medical association, Christian

Association of Nigerian, and Nigerian Labour Congress chapters in Anambra and Ebonyi States capitals. The reason for choosing these organizations lies in the fact that they have their chapters in these two state and they are equally easy to locate in accessible areas in the states capitals. For the content analysis however, this study covered all the 31 journal articles, annual reports and other unpublished works which were retrieved from academic data base such as Proquest, Google Scholar, Ebsco, Science Direct and Scopus and reflects: the role of civil society organizations in democratic consolidation in Nigeria. The justification for the 31 secondary materials rests upon the fact that they best represent quality source of data for the topic under study. The study population therefore includes all the 8 (4 in each states) civil society organizations whose branches are in these two states and the 31 journal articles, annual reports and other unpublished works which were retrieved for the purpose of this study.

2.4.3 Sample Size and Sample Procedure

The sample size for the study is 80 CSOs members from 4 CSOs each in each of the selected states and 31 journal articles, annual reports and other unpublished works. For the descriptive survey design sample, a non-probability expert sampling procedure was employed in selecting 10 executive members each from the 4 CSOs in each state. The expert sampling procedure is a technique where respondents are chosen in a non-random manner based on their expertise on the phenomenon being studied (Bhattacharjee, 2012). The advantage of this approach is that since experts tend to be more familiar with the subject matter than non-experts, opinions from a sample of experts are more credible than a sample that includes both experts and non-experts, although the findings are still not generalizable to the overall population at large (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p. 70). Therefore, since the topic under study involves experts of civil society organizations, the expert sampling procedure was found most suitable.

To survey journal articles, annual reports and other unpublished works comprehensively using content analysis on literature bordering on civil society and democratic consolidation, the researcher used a two-stage strategy. First, the researcher searched the major academic and practitioner journal articles, annual reports and other unpublished works in Proquest, Google Scholar, Ebsco, Science Direct and Scopus data base using keywords and phrases such as 'civil society', 'civil society in Nigeria', 'democratic consolidation in Nigeria', 'civil society in Nigeria's fourth republic', etc. journals articles, annual reports and other unpublished works. Second, the researcher check the references list of the article obtained through the initial search to uncover additional studies. In total, this search yielded 31. The numbers of articles, annual reports and other unpublished works therefore served as the sample that was analyzed via the content analysis design.

2.4.5 Instrument of data collection

A structured, self-designed questionnaire instrument of two sections was employed for this study. The first section bordered on questions relating general background of respondents' organization, while the second section elicited responses that bordered on key research questions that have been developed for the purpose of the study. The reason for the choice of a structured questionnaire is to enable the researcher quantifies answers that will be given by respondents and as such measure issues on democratic consolidation in a quantitative manner. The researcher adopted the latent content instrument of eliciting data for the study (Babbie, 2013). The latent method of data analysis applied in-depth textual explanation to meet the objectives of the study.

The reliability of the questionnaire instrument was ascertained by the use of test-retest method of the questionnaire instrument. A pre-test questionnaire of 20 copies were designed and administered to some members of the Academic Staff Union of Universities in Kogi State

University and University of Nigeria Nsukka. After two weeks interval, the same pre-test copies of questionnaire were administered again to the same respondents and three errors were observed. The Guttman scale of coefficient of reproducibility was used to measure reliability of the instrument and it is as shown below:

$$1 - \frac{\text{total error}}{\text{total responses}} = \frac{3}{1 - 20}$$

$\frac{17}{20} = 0.85$ $1 - 0.15 = 0.85$. The calculation yielded 0.85(85%) which was considered very high.

Furthermore, the intercoder reliability measure (Cohen's kappa (k) symmetric measure of agreement) for determining the extent to which independent coders evaluate the characteristics of the selected materials reached the same conclusion was employed for the content analysis. The Cohen's kappa (k) for this study yielded 0.692. Cohen's kappa (k) can range from -1 to +1. This is consistent with the guidelines from Altman (1999). Therefore, a Cohen's kappa (k) of 0.692 represents a good strength of agreement. This was calculated with the use of the SPSS (16.0)

2.4.6 Method of data collection

Data was collected using both primary and secondary method. For the primary method, 2 research assistants were trained in the administration of questionnaire items. For a period of 1 week, data was also distributed in the state secretariats of the selected civil society organizations within weekdays and at office hours (between 8am to 4pm) in both Anambra and Ebonyi states, depending on the availability of the members of selected organizations. By the second week, data was retrieved from where they were initially distributed. As for the content analysis, two coding assistants who are at least under graduate were specifically trained for the purpose of placing the

appropriate themes in the appropriate categories and providing qualitative insights for words, phrase and expressions that are considered important to the study.

The following are the coding categories that guided the content analysis of the study:

Positive/Efficient Roles: this has to do with CSOs' ideal roles that are considered beneficial to democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015 e.g. election monitoring, human rights campaign, political education, etc.

Neutral/ Roles: this has to do with those roles played by the CSOs that are neither positive nor negative to democratic consolidation within 1999-2015 e.g. indecisiveness on public issues, reservation on public issues, focusing much interest on members at the expense of the public, etc.

Negative/Inefficient Roles: this has to do with CSOs' undesirable roles that are considered repressing to democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015 e.g. corrupt dealings with the state, parochial criticisms, ethnic based dealings with the state, etc.

Challenges: this refers to the problems and difficulties faced by CSOs in the discharge of their democratic responsibilities within 1999-2015 e.g. insufficient funding, internal corruption, lack of clear vision, interference by the state, lack of unity among CSOs, etc.

2.4.7 Method of data analysis

A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis was used for the study. The first method of data analysis is the thematic analysis ó a qualitative analytic method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes the data set in rich details (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). This was done after the researcher had gone through the following steps: becoming familiar with the data, generating

initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and producing report (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The thematic analysis was used to provide deeper insights on key research questions. As for the quantitative analysis, simple percentage, mean and standard deviation were used to answer key research questions. The Chi-square goodness of fit (χ^2) was also employed to test the hypotheses that were proposed in the study. Finally, Graphs and charts were also be used to make illustrations where necessary. These two methods of analysis complemented each other appropriately in the study.

CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE STUDY AREA

3.1 Nigerian Bar Association (Anambra and Ebonyi Branch)

The Nigeria Bar Association (NBA) is a non-profit umbrella professional association of all lawyers admitted to the Bar in Nigeria. The organization is engaged in protection and promotion of human rights, the rule of law and good governance in Nigeria. It has an observer status in the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights, and working partnership with many national and international non-governmental organizations concerned with human rights, the rule of law and good governance in Nigeria and in Africa. The Branch has 109 branch, 3 professional sections, 2 specialized institutes, 6 practice-cadre forums, and a high leverage in the political society in Nigeria. Its chapters in Anambra and Ebonyi State Chapters (as parts of the network of branches in every state in Nigeria) are situated on Arthur Eze Avenue, Akwa Anambra and No. 11 Gunning Road Abakaliki, Ebonyi States respectively.

Conceptual Definition

To be in the vanguard for the promotion and defence of the rule of law, good governance, social justice and dignity of all persons.

Vision

To rank among the foremost Bar Associations in the world.

Mission

To use the law as an instrument for social change.

Motto

Promoting the Rules of law, core values, integrity, excellence, courage and professionalism.

Objectives

Maintenance and defence of the integrity and independence of the Bar and Judiciary in Nigeria; promotion and advancement of legal education, continuing legal education, advocacy and jurisprudence; improvement of the system of administration of justice, its procedure and the arrangement of court business and regular law reporting; establishment, maintenance and efficient operation of a system of prompt and efficient legal aid and assistance for those in need but are unable to pay for same; promotion and support of law reform; maintenance of the highest standard of professional conduct, etiquette and discipline; promotion of good relations among the members of the association and between them and the lawyers of other countries; promotion of cooperation between the associations and other national or international law organizations and such other bodies as may be approved by the National Executive Committee; encouragement and protection of the right of access to courts at reasonably affordable fees and of representation by counsel before courts and tribunals; encouragement of the establishment of a national law library; promotion and protection of the rule of law and respect for enforcement and fundamental rights, human rights and people's rights; creation of schemes for the encouragement of newly qualified members and assistance to aged or incapacitated members of the association; establishment of schemes for the promotion of the welfare, security and economic advancement of members of the legal profession ; and creation and maintenance of an endowment fund for the proper observance and discharge of any of these aims and objectives

3.2 Nigeria Labour Congress (Anambra and Ebonyi Branch)

The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) is an umbrella organization for trade unions in Nigeria. It was founded in 1978 following a merger of four different organizations: Nigerian Trade

Union Congress (NTUC), Labour Unity Front (LUC), United Labour Congress (ULC), and Nigeria Workers Council (NWC). The NLC has branches in all the 36 states of the federation including the federal capital territory, Abuja. Its chapters in Anambra and Ebonyi State Chapters (as parts of the network of branches in every state in Nigeria) are situated on Nigeria Labour Congress Anambra State Council NUT Office Road 1, No. 5 Udoka Housing Estate Akwa and Nigeria Labour Congress Ebonyi State Council Trinity House No. 2 Nwankwo Street, Abakaliki respectively.

Vision of the NLC

NLC's vision of Nigeria is that of a nation in which all workers, irrespective of gender, ethnicity or religion would be guaranteed a just and fair living wage, security of job and greater opportunities for career advancement and fulfillment. It should be a future in which national economic policies shall be geared towards job creation, steady improvement of the general well being of the citizens, and equal participation of women in the economy. Above all, it is a future in which there would be work place and industrial democracy and where collective bargaining would be the main mechanism for determining working conditions and wages in the country.

Essential to this is the ending of workplace discrimination, especially against women, and the entronement of equal pay for equal jobs as well as equal opportunities and advancement. Such a future entails the establishment and deepening of genuine rather than symbolic structures and institutions at all levels of society. This entails the building of effective structures such as political parties, trade unions and non-governmental organizations that will create political awareness as a basis of strong economic foundation that should counter the absolute power of multinationals, whose grip on the economies of many nation-states is increasing with the

intensification of globalization. The NLC envisions a secular Nigerian state and an egalitarian modern industrial society that will be free, democratic, united and just.

Pursuit of this vision requires that the NLC itself be transformed into a well-focused, goal-oriented and pro-active organization. Its defining qualities should be internal democracy, genuine representation, transparent interaction and accountability. It must build its fighting capacity and power and those of its affiliate members. The envisioned NLC must be one that would rise above narrow industrial interests, promote and protect our national independence and integrity, and have the credibility to mobilize and lead civil society in seeking to establish a democratic, just and egalitarian order in Nigeria and the world in general. In the effort to mobilize and lead other civil society groups, NLC will be guided by the policy of active political intervention through strategies such as alliance building, networking and party formation.

Vision Statement

Arising from the above, the vision statement of the NLC is as follows:

Congress envisions a people-driven, people-centred and people-owned process of national economic management pursued through an activist, developmental and popularly controlled state. Congress envisions an end to systemic oppression, the crudity of capitalist exploitation and the rule of a bankrupt and predatory national elite, which has not demonstrated the capacity to address development challenges. The NLC wants to create in Nigeria a just and democratic society where there is no exploitation of any kind; the NLC believes that the trade union movement is best placed to provide leadership in building a just society and sustainable democracy in Nigeria,' the NLC sees the Nigeria Labour Congress as the model of solidarity, independence, dedication, and a progressive, class-conscious organization of workers; the NLC seeks to be an organization that is trusted and respected by Nigerian workers, other exploited classes in Nigeria and the international 'working class.

The Mission of the NLC

Nigeria trade unions have drawn up a programme of self purification in the spirit of A New Beginning. The programme, which was launched on May 1, 1999, has the broad objective of building the capacity of trade unions to promote the interests of workers, working people and the nation. Deriving from its vision, the NLC shall be committed to:

- Protect, defend and promote the rights, well-being and the interests of all workers, pensioners, self-employed, working people and the masses in general.
- Promote and defend a Nigerian nation that would be just, democratic, united, secular and prosperous.
- Enhance the quality of life and improve the income and other working conditions of workers
- Promote and sustain the unity of Nigerian trade unions, ensure total unionization of all workers in both formal and informal sectors, irrespective of their creed, state of origin, gender and their political beliefs
- Promote and defend trade union and human rights, the rule of law and democratic governance
- Promote and defend democracy, probity and transparency in the trade unions and in civil governance.
- Work for the industrialization and prosperity of the Nigerian nation and ensure protection of jobs, full employment and humane working environment
- Strive to influence legislation and public and corporate policies, in the interest of workers, disadvantaged social groups and trade unions
- Promote and sustain positive industrial relations practice in Nigeria by strengthening collective bargaining in all sectors of the economy and internalising appropriate work culture among workers.

- Promote workers education, principally for developing trade union, political and class-consciousness for empowerment of workers in the Nigerian society.
- Co-operate with other organisations with which the trade unions may share common ideological and other commitment.
- Establish international relationship and co-operation with international labour movement.

Mission Statement

Arising from the above:

The mission of the Nigeria Labour Congress is to organize, unionize and mobilize all categories of Nigerian workers; defend and advance the political, economic, social and cultural rights of Nigerian workers; emancipate and unite Nigerian workers and people from all forms of exploitation and discrimination; achieve gender justice in the work place and in NLC; strengthen and deepen the ties and connections between Nigerian workers and the mutual/natural allies in and outside Nigeria and; lead the struggle for the transformation of Nigeria into a just, humane and democratic society.

3.3 Nigerian Medical Association (Anambra and Ebonyi Branch)

The Nigerian Medical Association (NMA) is the professional association for Nigerian doctors and physician. NMA's membership spans all six major specialties of internal medicine surgery, obstetrics and gynaecology, paediatrics, public health and laboratory medicine/pathology. Its chapters in Anambra and Ebonyi State Chapters (as parts of the network of branches in every state in Nigeria) are situated on 63A Ziks Avenue, Akwa, Anambra State and C/o Department, Family Medicine, Federal Teaching Hospital Abakaliki Ebonyi State respectively.

Aims and Objectives

- To ensure that medical and dental practitioners in this country uphold the physicians' oath (i.e. the Declaration of Geneva) which is the modern Hippocratic Oath.
- To promote the advancement of Health and allied Sciences.
- To assist the government and peoples of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in the provision of smooth, efficient and effective health care delivery system in the country.
- To promote the welfare and interaction of all medical and dental practitioners in the country.
- To co-operate with organizations anywhere in the world which have similar aims and objectives.
- To consider and express views on all proposed legislations and national issues especially those affecting health care delivery system and medical and dental education in Nigeria.

3.4 Christian Association of Nigeria

On 27th August 1976 the (then) Federal Military Government, under Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo invited several church leaders of diverse denominations to Dodan Barracks, Lagos. The government's sole purpose was to hold a discussion with the church leaders, on the National Pledge and the Salutation of the National Flag, which the government intended to introduce to the Nation's primary and secondary schools. The church leaders did not object to the introduction of the two items provided and on the condition that reading and reciting the national pledge and saluting the national flag would be preceded by the usual morning devotion, during which staff and students of each school worship their creator and offer praises and worship to Him. This singular event necessitated the eventual formation of the organization. The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) was registered under the perpetual succession Act Cap 98 of

Federal Republic of Nigeria (now CAC) in Lagos on 19th December 1986 with Rev. Fr. Anthony Okogie, Pastor I.G. Sakpo, Charles Williams, Rev. Mgr. John Ogbonna and Clifford Mobolaji Smith as the trustees. CAN has chapters in all the 36 states of the country including the federal capital territory Abuja. Its chapters in Anambra and Ebonyi State Chapters (as parts of the network of branches in every state in Nigeria) are situated on 17, Ivediegwu Adikeogu Akwa, Anambra and Assemblies of God Church, No. 4 Ezza Road, Abakaliki, Ebonyi States respectively.

Definition of CAN

CAN is an association of Christian churches with distinct identities, recognizable church structures and system of worship of one God in the trinity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The Association makes Christ the centre of all its works and shall promote the glory of God, by encouraging the growth and unity of the churches and helping them to lead the nation and her people to partake of Christ Salvation and all its fruits. The motto is ó that they all may be one ó John 17:21.

Mission

The mission of the Association is to meet regularly and take joint action on vital matters, especially on those issues which affect the Christian Faith and the welfare of the generality of Nigerians.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 DATA ANALYSIS

This section deals with the analysis of both primary and secondary data collected on the roles of civil society organizations in democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999 and 2015. Eighty questionnaire instruments were administered to respondents who were selected through an expert sampling procedure. Seventy three questionnaires were later retrieved. The response rate was 91.25% and this was therefore considered high and appropriate for further analysis.

Therefore, results from the analyzed data are presented in tables while graphical representation is also employed as appropriate. The Chi-square goodness of fit is the major statistical tool that was used in testing hypotheses raised in the study. The hypotheses were tested at 95% confidence level (0.05 Confidence Interval). On the other hand, 31 journal articles, annual reports and other unpublished works were used to support, in a qualitative manner, the quantitative findings of the key research questions raised in the study. First is the presentation of result on the general background information of individual members of the sampled Civil Society Organizations.

4.1.2 Background Information on Members

Table 4.1.2.1: Name and Location of Organization

Name of CSOs	Anambra/Frequency	%	Ebonyi/Frequency	%
Nigerian Bar Association	9	23.1	6	17.6
Nigeria Labour Congress	10	25.6	8	23.5
Nigerian Medical Association	10	25.6	10	29.4
Christian Association of Nigeria	10	25.6	10	29.4
Total	39	100	35	100

Source: Survey (2016)

Table 4.2.1 above shows the name of organizations and number of respondents in their locations. Result revealed that; 15 respondents are from Nigeria Bar Association (NBA) ó Anambra and Ebonyi chapters, 18 respondents are from Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) ó Anambra and Ebonyi chapters, 20 respondents are from Nigerian Medical Association (NMA) ó Anambra and Ebonyi chapters, and 20 respondents are from Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) ó Anambra and Ebonyi chapters.

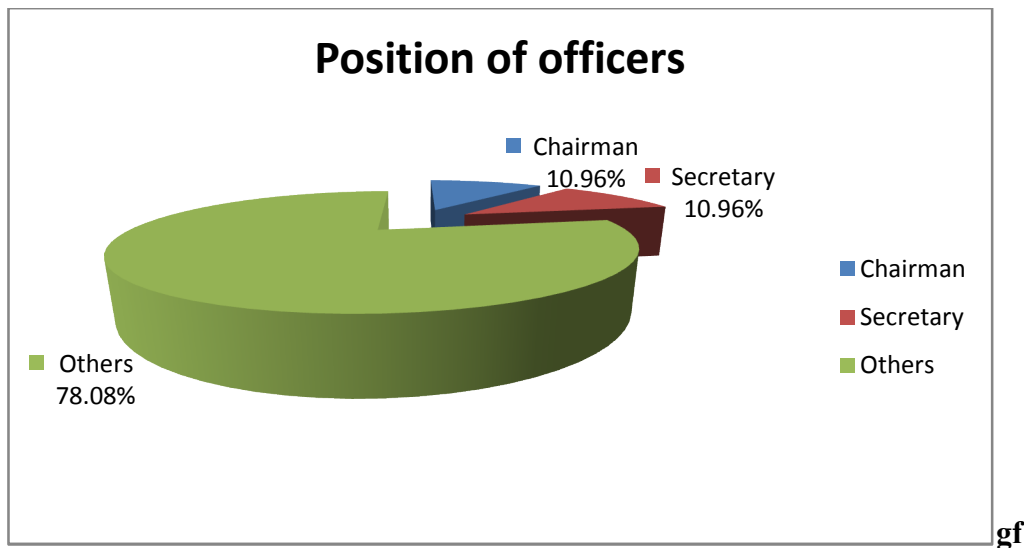


Figure 4.1.2.2 showing the Position of Responding Officers

Result from figure 4.2.2 shows the position of responding officers in their respective organizations. Here, it is shown that 10.96% (4) of the entire respondents are chairmen of the organizations in the selected state chapters, 10.96% (4) are secretaries of the selected organizations, while the majority (78.08%) of the entire respondents belong to the category of others such as financial secretaries, vice chairman, members, etc.

Figure 4.1.2.3 showing Work/Activity or Focus of Organizations

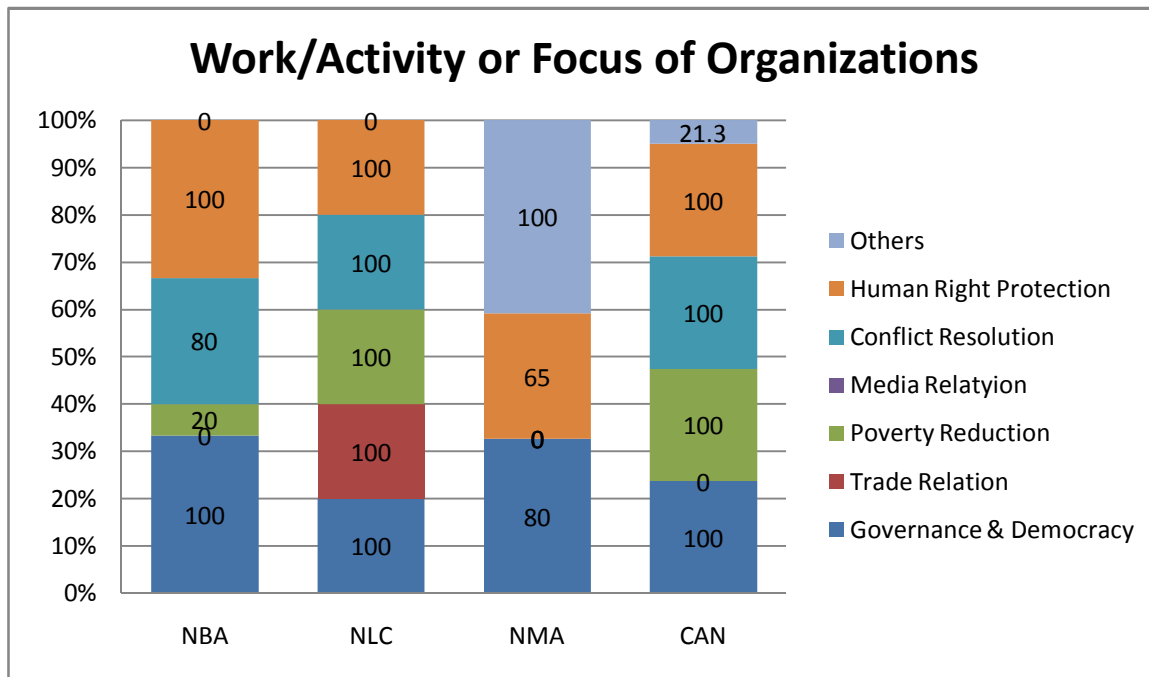
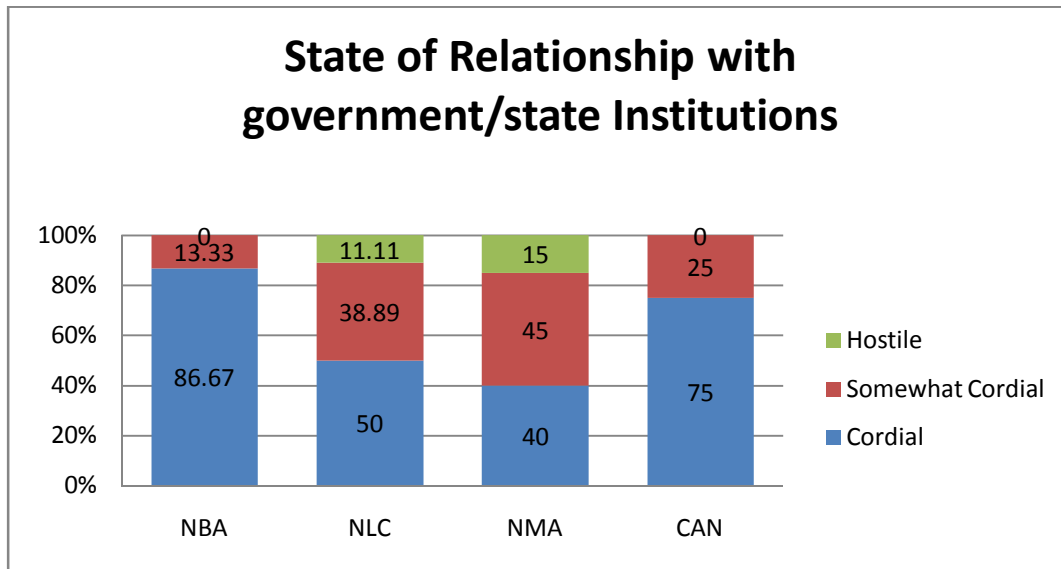


Figure 4.2.3 shows the work/activity and focus of the selected CSOs in the study. Finding revealed that respondents from NBA affirmed that their work activity/focus include governance and democracy, poverty reduction, conflict resolution and human rights protection. Also, respondents from NLC affirmed that their work activity/focus include governance and democracy, trade relation, poverty reduction, conflict resolution human rights protection. Similarly, NMA's respondents supported that their work activity/focus include governance and democracy, human rights protection and others (e.g., protecting its members' interests, ensuring a healthy nation, etc.). Lastly, result revealed that CAN's respondents affirmed that governance and democracy, poverty reduction, conflict resolution, human right protection and others (e.g., preaching the gospel, missionary work to enrich the poor, etc) are their work/activity/focus.

Figure: 4.1.2.3 showing State of Relationship with Government/State Institutions



When asked the nature of their (the CSOs) relationship with the government/state institutions, 86.67% (13) of members of the NBA affirmed that their relationship with the state is cordial, where as 13.33% (2) attested that their relationship with government/state institutions is somewhat cordial. Furthermore, 9 (50%), 7 (38.89%) and 2 (11.11%) respondents from the NLC said that their relationship with the government is cordial, somewhat, and hostile respectively. Also, 8 (40%), 9(45%) and 3(15%) of respondents from NMA affirmed that their relationship with the government is cordial, somewhat cordial, and hostile respectively. Finally, 15 (75%), and 5(25%) of respondents from CAN confirmed that their organization's relationship with the government is cordial and somewhat cordial respectively. This result (figure 4.2.4) therefore suggests that across the entire CSOs that were sampled, majority believe that their relationship with the government is cordial.

4.2. Section Two

Roles of Selected organizations in their contributions to democratic consolidation within 1999 - 2015

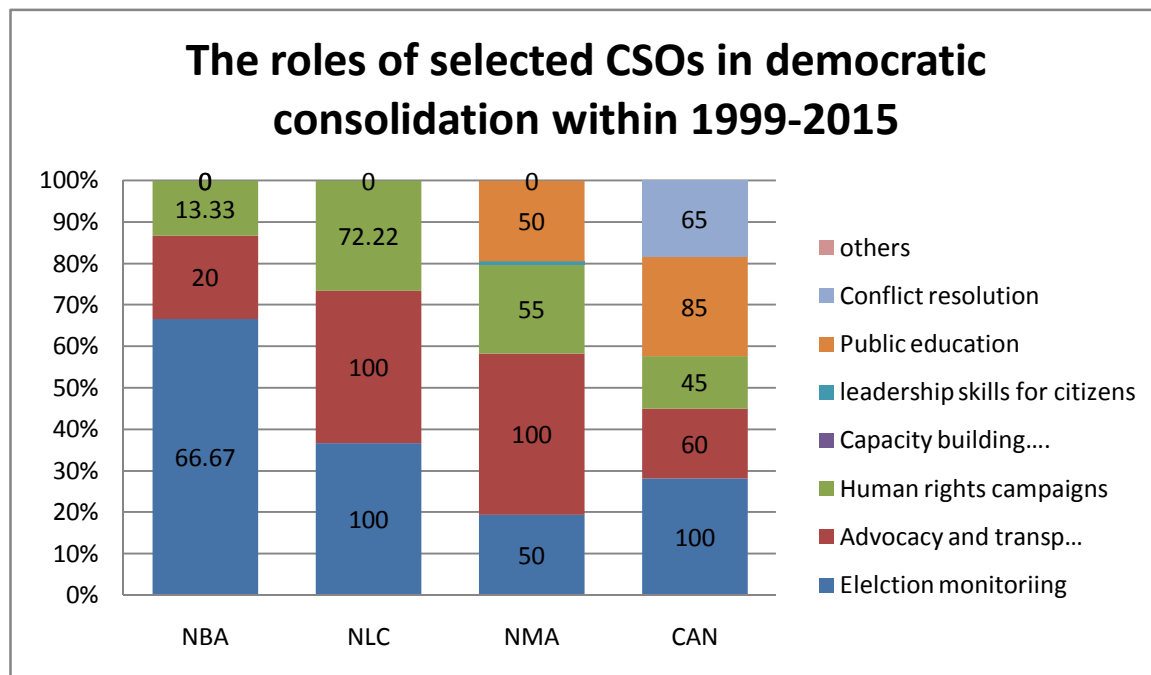


Figure 4.1.3.1: showing the roles of selected CSOs in democratic consolidation within 1999-2015

Result from the above table (4.1.3.1) shows the roles the sampled CSOs have played in the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015. Analysis of the result revealed that 66.67% (10) respondents from the NBA affirm that their organization have contributed to democracy by election monitoring. Additionally, 3 (20%) respondents believe that NBA has contributed to Nigeria's democracy by advocacy for transparency and accountability, while 13.3% (2) of the respondents from NBA believe that their organization have contributed to democracy by engaging in human rights campaigns within the past 16 years. On the part of the NLC, 18 (100%), 18(100%), and 13(72.22%) respondents from the organization are of the view that the organization have consolidated democracy by engaging in election monitoring, advocacy for transparency and accountability, and human rights campaigns respectively. In a similar

manner, 10(50%), 20(100%), 11(55%), 10(50%) respondents from the NMA opined that NMA have contributed to democratic consolidation by engaging in election monitoring, advocacy for transparency and accountability, human rights campaigns, and public education respectively. Lastly, 12(60%), 9(45%), 17(85%), and 13(65%) respondents from the CAN affirm that their contributions within the years in question have been; election monitoring, advocacy for transparency and accountability, human rights campaigns, and public education and "others." The above result (figure 4.3.1) indicates that all of the 4 CSOs that were sampled have significantly engaged in election monitoring, advocacy for transparency and accountability and human rights campaign, while they have minimally or not at all engaged in other areas of democratic consolidation.

On the other hand, a qualitative assessment of the 31 journal articles, annual reports and other unpublished works that were content analyzed revealed consistency in the roles of civil society in the past 16 years (1999-2015). According to these sources CSOs have played roles as watchdog in the areas of electioneering practices, conflict resolution, collaboration with other CSOs and ensuring sustainable peace for the nation's development. For instance in one analyzed study, as with others (e.g, Majeed, 2011, etc.), between 2009-2013;

CSOs in Nigeria continue to intensify their efforts to build constituencies around pressing issues such as peace and security, electoral reforms, and empowerment of various groups in society...CSOs at the national level have strategic plans, which are largely implemented. At the state and local levels, CSOs are becoming increasingly aware of the need to have strategic plans, though many still do not have them. Large CSOs based in major cities, such as Action Aid Nigeria, continue to assist small CSOs at the local level with the development of strategic plans. (United States Agency for International Development, 2013, pp. 100)

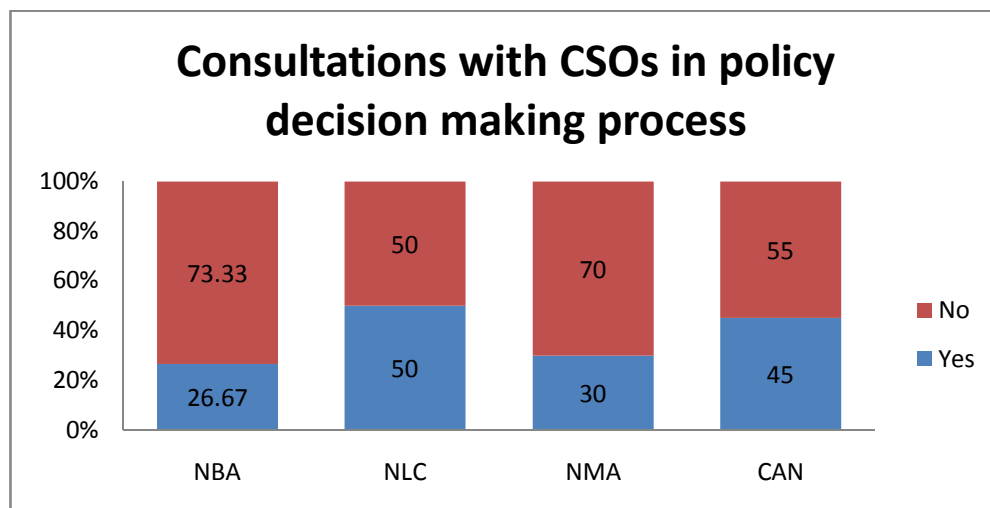


Figure 4.1.3.2: showing whether government institutions consult sampled CSOs in policy decision making process

Result from figure 4.1.3.2 shows whether government institutions consult sampled CSOs in policy decision making process. Findings revealed that a preponderance (73.33%) of the members of NBA affirm that government institutions do not consult their organizations in policy decision making process, while the remaining (26.67%) affirm the opposite. As for the members of the NLC, result revealed that exactly half (50%) of its sampled members are of the opinion that government institutions consult them when they want to make decisions, meanwhile the other half (50%) have a contrary opinion. Furthermore, result showed that 70% of sampled respondents from the NMA affirm that government does not involve them in decision making, as against the other 30% who affirm their position in the contrary. Finally, result also revealed that 55% of the sample members of CAN affirm that government institutions do not consult them (CAN) when making decisions, on the other hand, the remaining (45%) respondents affirm that government institutions do consult them in policy decision making process. A cursory look at the above result (figure 4.3.2) therefore imply that majority of the sampled respondents in all the CSOs believe that government institutions do not consult them in policy decision making process.

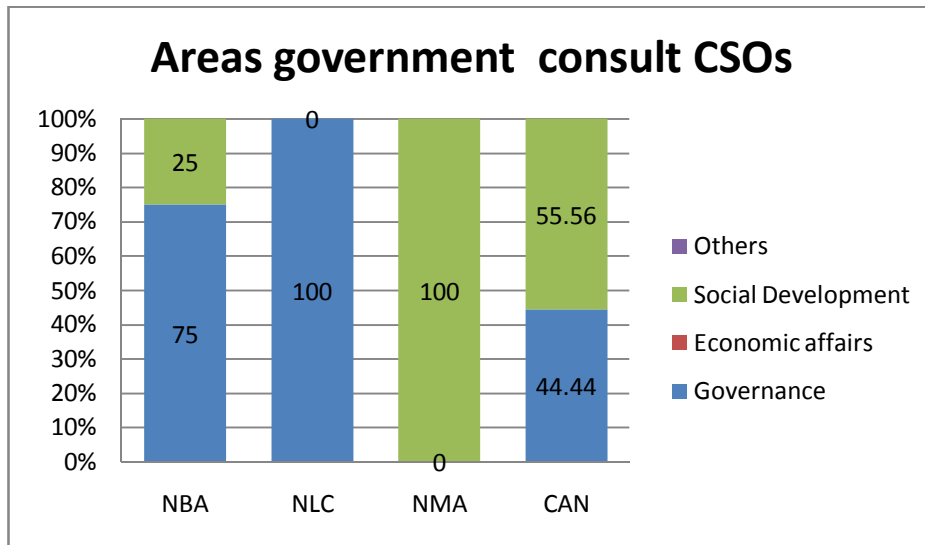


Figure 4.1.3.3: showing the field in which sampled CSOs are consulted by the government

Figure 4.1.3.3 shows the field in which sampled CSOs are consulted by the government. This answers were given by respondents who said ‘yes’ to the previous question (Q.2). A look at the figure (4.3.3) reveals that 4 (75%), and 1(25%) of the members of NBA reveal that governance and social development were the fields over which government consulted them. As for the NLC, 9 (100%) affirm that government only consults them in the field of governance. 6 (100%) of the NMA reveal that government only consult them over issues concerning social development. Lastly, 4(44.44%) and 5(55.56%) of members of CAN who said ‘yes’ to the previous question affirm that government consults them over issues concerning governance and social development. The implication of the above result (figure 4.3.3) is that government mostly consults these CSOs mostly on governance and social development only.

Research Question 1: To what extent have CSOs contributed to democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015?

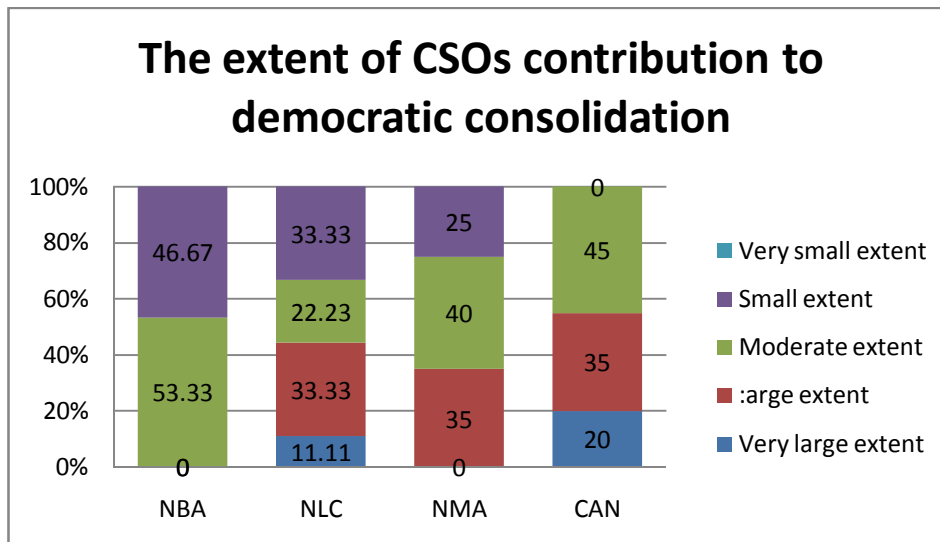


Figure 4.1.3.4: showing the extent to which the sampled CSOs have contributed to democratic consolidation

Result from 4.1.3.4 shows the extent to which the sampled CSOs have contributed to democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015. Findings revealed that 8(53.33%) and 7(46.67%) CSOs members from the NBA are of the opinion that the extent to which their organization has contributed democratic consolidation is moderate and small respectively. On the other hand, 2(11.11%), 6(33.33%), 4(22.23%), and 6(33.33%) members of the NLC believe that the extent to which their organization has contributed to democratic consolidation is very large, large, moderate and small respectively. As for members of the NMA, 7(35%), 8(40%), and 5(25%) respondents are of the opinion that their organization have to a large, moderate and small extent contributed to democratic consolidation respectively. Finally, findings revealed that 4(20%), 7(35%), and 9(45%) members of CAN responded that their organization's contributions to democratic consolidation is to a very large extent, large extent and moderate extent respectively. The result above (4.1.3.4) is indicative of the fact that

majority of the respondents across all of the sampled CSOs believe that their organizations have moderately contributed to democratic consolidation within 1999-2015.

Using a qualitative approach, a content analysis was carried out to provide further insights on the second research question. Findings revealed that civil society have only been able to some extent contribute to democratic consolidation in Nigeria. This is reflective of the study of CIVICUS (2007) as with other studies (e.g., Igbokwe-Ibeto et al., 2014; Ikelegbe, 2013; USAID, 2013, etc.) who avers:

Respondents felt that CSOs have undertaken several activities to support democracy. While 23.5% of the respondents admitted that several examples can be cited, another 35.3% admitted that they could only point to one or two examples. Meanwhile, 11.8% of the respondents could cite many examples, while 29.4% of the respondents claimed that they did not know of any examples. With regard to the promotion of democracy, 70.6% of the respondents noted that CSOs have made a moderate contribution, while 17.6% considered the role of CSOs to be significant. Additionally, 5.9% of the respondents considered the significance of CSOs to be limited, while another 5.9% claimed they did not know. (CIVICUS, 2007, pp. 59)

Research Question 2: How effective has been CSOs in consolidating democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015?

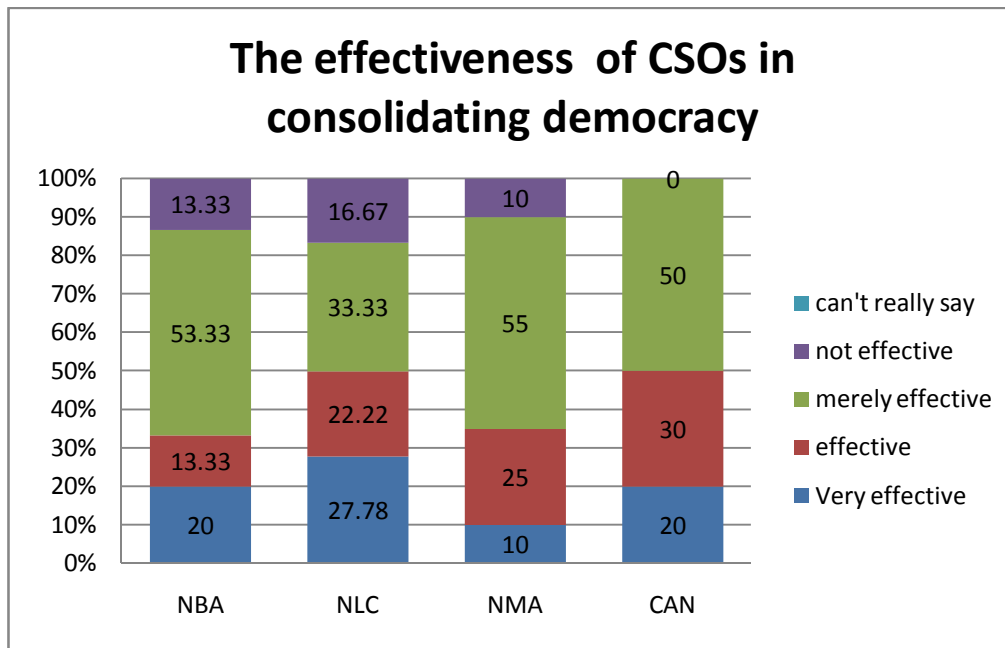


Figure 4.1.3.5: showing how effective sampled CSOs have been in consolidating democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015

Figure 4.1.3.5 shows the perception of respondents on the effectiveness of CSOs in consolidating democracy within 1999-2015. Findings revealed that 3(20%), 2(13.33%), 8(53.33%) and 2(13.33%) members of NBA perceive that in consolidating democracy, their organization is “very effective”, “effective”, “merely effective” and “not effective” respectively. Similarly, 5(27.78%), 4(22.22%), 6(33.33%), and 3(16.67%) respondents from the NLC believe that their organization have been “very effective”, “effective”, “merely effective”, and “not effective” respectively in their bid to consolidating Nigeria’s democracy. In the same vein, 10(20%), 5(25%), 11(55%), and 2(10) respondents perceive that their organization’s bid to contributing to democracy has been “very effective”, “merely effective”, “effective” and “not effective” respectively. Finally, 4(20%), 6(30%), and 10(50%) respondents from the CAN affirm that their organization has been “very effective”, “effective” and “merely effective” respectively.

This result (see, figure 4.1.3.5) suggests that across all of the sampled CSOs, majority of its members perceive that their organizations have been merely effective in their bid to consolidating democratic ideals in Nigeria within 1999-2015.

As to the effectiveness of CSOs in consolidating democratic ideals in Nigeria within the year 1999-2015, a qualitative content analysis was carried out to assess the level of effectiveness in this direction. Analysis revealed that CSOs in Nigeria have been significantly effective in their democratic consolidation process, except for some areas where they are still lagging behind. For example, a Efebeh (2015) just like other studies (e.g., CIVICUS, 2007 CIVICUS, 2014, etc.) exemplified ways in which CSOs have been effective in the past 16 years:

The rejection of the third term, moreover, was driven by an alliance of grassroots activists, civil society organizations (CSOs), public outcry (opinion) and elected representatives. Civil society groups, the legislative and judicial arms of government are now asserting their constitutional powers more frequently in spite of having been silenced for decades of brutal military dictatorships. Again, all of these trends are very positive for the consolidation of democracy Nigerian [Sic]. (Efebeh, 2015, pp. 78)

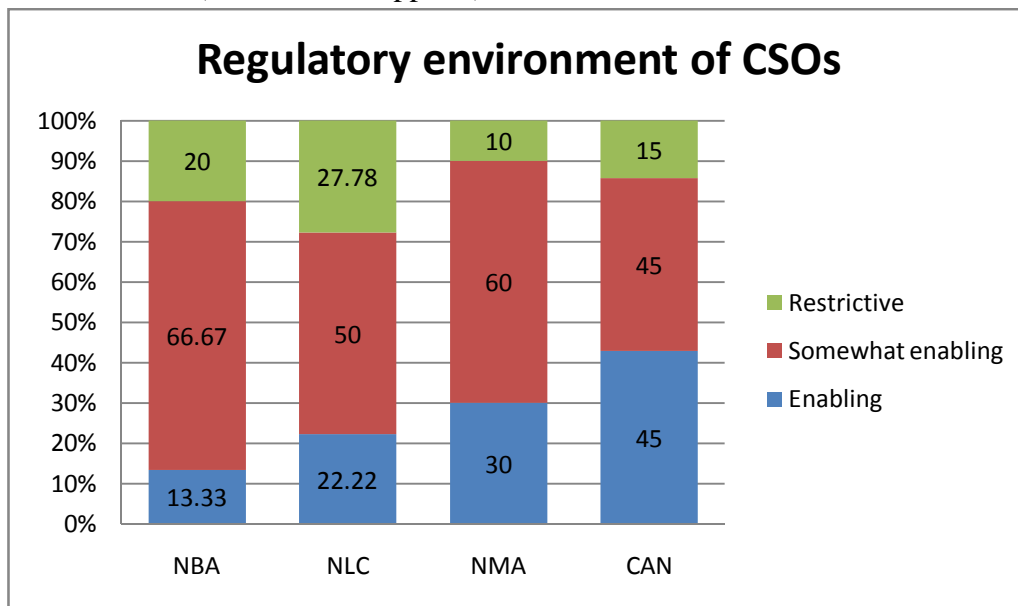


Figure 4.1.3.6: showing the regulatory environment within which CSOs operate

Result from figure 4.1.3.6 shows the regulatory environment within which CSOs operate. When asked to assess each CSO's regulatory environment, 2(13.33%), 10(66.67%) and 3(20%) members of NBA affirm that the regulatory environment within which they operate is enabling, somewhat enabling and restrictive, respectively. Equally, 4(22.22%), 9(50%), and 5(27.78%) members of NLC perceive that the environment is enabling, somewhat enabling and restrictive respectively. As for the NMA, 6(30%), 12(60%), and 2(10%) members declare that the regulatory environment within which their organization operates is -enabling,ø -somewhat enablingø and -restrictiveø respectively. Finally, 9(45%), 9(45%), and 2(10%) members of CAN believe that their operational environment is enabling, somewhat enabling and restrictive respectively. This result (figure 4.3.6) also implies that majority of the entire CSOsø members are of the opinion that the regulatory environment within which they operate is somewhat enabling.

Table 4.1.3.7: Frequency Analysis for a Multiple Response on Challenges Facing Selected CSOs in their Bid to Consolidating on Democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015

Multiple Items Chosen by Respondents	F	%
Unsupportive policy environment, Inadequate funding, Lack of internal democracy, Corruption, and Inadequate human resource.	18	24.66
Ethno-religious rivalry, Corruption, Inadequate human resource, and Undue state influence	12	16.44
Corruption, Inadequate funding, and Unsupportive policy environment	21	28.77
Victimization and intimidation from government, and Insufficient technical capacity	10	13.69
Corruption, and Undue state influence	5	6.85
Inadequate funding, and Disconnection from rural organizations	7	9.59
Total	73	100

Source: Survey (2016)

Table 4.1.3.7 shows the frequency analysis for a multiple response on challenges facing selected CSOs in both areas of study, in their bid to consolidate on democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015. Following a careful analysis, findings revealed that 18(24.66%) respondents believe that the set of challenges facing their organizations are unsupportive policy environment, inadequate funding, lack of internal democracy, corruption, and inadequate human resource.

Furthermore, 12(16.44%) of the entire respondents (73 members) reveal that ethno-religious rivalry, corruption, inadequate human resource, and undue state influence are the set of challenges facing their organizations. Also, 21(28.77%) opine that this set of challenges; corruption, inadequate funding, and unsupportive policy environment militate against their organizations' performance, while 10(13.69%) affirm that victimization and intimidation from government, and insufficient technical capacity are the challenges staring their organizations in the face. Corruption and undue state influence was equally identified by 5(6.85%) respondents as major challenges facing their organizations. Lastly, 7(9.59%) identify inadequate funding and disconnection from rural organizations as major impediment facing their organizations. The result from the above table (4.1.3.7) suggests that corruption and inadequate funding seem to have the highest frequency across all of sets of answers that were given by the study's respondents.

On the other hand, a qualitative content analysis was carried out to address research question 4. Findings revealed that the challenges facing CSOs in Nigeria are enormous and diverse. For instance, CIVICUS (2014) just like other studies (e.g., Ibitoye, 2012, etc.) analyzed, describes the challenges that stare civil societies in the face across West Africa:

West African CSOs face a common set of challenges. It is on these common points that this regional overview focuses, in the key areas of the financial, human and technical resource challenges of CSOs, their internal governance and practice of values, the level of networking and cooperation between them, the perceived impact of CSOs, and the political and legal space for CSOs, including their relations with government.(CIVICUS, 2014, pp. 2)

Table 4.1.3.8: Frequency Analysis for a Multiple Response on Ways of Mitigating the Challenges of Selected CSOs in their Bid to Consolidating on Democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015

Multiple Items Chosen by Respondents	F	%
Training should be provided for fund raising skills, Ensure credibility in all their dealings, Transparency and rule of law in CSOs internal structure, and Building a human resource management capacity	29	39.73
Transparency and rule of law in CSOs internal structure, Developing a social charter including a code of conduct, and Training should be provided for fund raising skills	20	27.39
Strengthening the capacity of CSOs to enhance their policy impact, Training should be provided for fund raising skills and Transparency and rule of law in CSOs internal structure	18	24.66
Ensure credibility in all their dealings and Transparency and rule of law in CSOs internal structure	6	8.22
Total	73	100

Source: Survey (2016)

Table 4.1.3.8 shows the frequency analysis of a multiple response on ways of mitigating the challenges selected CSOs in their bid to consolidate democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015. Result revealed that 29(39.73%) of the entire respondents across all of the surveyed CSOs affirm that this set of solutions: transparency and rule of law in CSOs internal structure, developing a social charter including a code of conduct, and providing training for fund raising skills will help lessen its challenges. 18(24.66%) respondents believe that; strengthening the capacity of CSOs to enhance their policy impact, training for fund raising skills and transparency and rule of law in CSOs internal structure will help reduce its challenges. Similarly 20(27.39%) respondents believe that transparency and rule of law in CSOs internal structure, developing a social charter including a code of conduct, and training for fund raising skills will help reduce its challenges. Finally, the remaining 6(8.22%) respondents affirm that ensuring credibility in all their dealings and transparency and rule of law in CSOs internal structure will help reduce its current challenges. The result above (table 4.1.3.8) is indicative of the fact that transparency rule of law

and employing fund raising skills seem to be the key solutions prescribed by majority of respondents in the study.

4.2 Hypotheses Testing

The formulated hypotheses were tested by using statistical tool: chi-square goodness of fit (X^2). All the hypotheses are tested at 5% or 0.05 significant level.

The chi-square formula is stated thus;

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

E

Where X^2 = Chi-square

X_c^2 = Computation of test

\hat{U} = Summation

O = Observed frequency

E = Expected frequency

4.2.1 DECISION RULE

- The chi-square is computed at a statistical level of 0.05, which is 7.815 significant level
- The hypotheses are restated based on the statistical evidence
- Accept the null hypothesis if the (X^2) calculated is less than (X^2) tabulated
- Reject the null hypothesis if the (X^2) calculated is greater than the (X^2) tabulated

4.2.2 Hypothesis One

Ho¹: Civil society organizations roles have to no extent contributed to democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015.

Hi¹: Civil society organizations roles have to an extent contributed to democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015.

Table 4.2.21: The extent of CSOs contribution to democratic consolidation

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
very large extent	6	18.2	-12.2
large extent	20	18.2	1.8
moderate extent	29	18.2	10.8
small extent	18	18.2	-.2
Total	73		

Source: Survey (2016)

Table 4.2.2.2 Test Statistics

	perceived extent of CSOs contribution to democratic consolidation
Chi-Square	14.726 ^a
Df	3
Asymp. Sig.	.002

Source: Survey (2016)

Decision Rule:

The above indicate that (X^2) statistic $>$ (X^2) critical. Hence, the hypothesis that "civil society organizations' roles have to no extent contributed to democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015" is rejected while the hypothesis that "civil society organizations' roles have to an extent contributed to democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015" is accepted (X^2 (3) =14.726, $P<.05$).

4.4.3 Hypothesis Two

H₀²: The effectiveness of civil societies in Nigeria has not consolidated democratic ideals within 1999-2015.

H₁²: The effectiveness of civil societies in Nigeria has consolidated democratic ideals within 1999-2015.

Table 4.2.2.3: The effectiveness of CSOs in consolidating democracy

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
very effective	14	18.2	-4.2
Effective	17	18.2	-1.2
merely effective	35	18.2	16.8
not effective	7	18.2	-11.2
Total	73		

Source: Survey (2016)

Table 4.2.2.4: Test Statistics

	Perception on the effectiveness of CSOs in consolidating democracy
Chi-Square	23.384 ^a
Df	3
Asymp. Sig.	.000

Source: Survey (2016)

Decision Rule:

The above indicate that (X^2) statistic $>$ (X^2) critical. Hence, the hypothesis that the effectiveness of civil societies in Nigeria has not consolidated democratic ideals within 1999-2015 is rejected, while the hypothesis that the effectiveness of civil societies in Nigeria has consolidated democratic ideals within 1999-2015 is accepted ($X^2 (3) = 23.384, P < .05$).

4.3 Discussion of Findings

This study attempted to assess the role of CSOs in democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015. In the course of this study, four research questions and two hypotheses were raised to guide the direction of the study. It is therefore on the basis of these questions that the research findings are discussed.

Research Question 1: To what extent have CSOs contributed to democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015? Following the quantitative analysis, result (see, figure 4.1.3.4)

suggested that majority of the respondents across all of the sampled CSOs believe that their organizations have moderately contributed to democratic consolidation within 1999-2015. Similar finding was also made regarding the qualitative aspect that was applied in the study. These findings are congruent with that of CIVICUS (2007) which found that 70.6% of the respondents in its study noted that CSOs have made a moderate contribution, while 17.6% considered the role of CSOs to be significant.

Research question 2: How effective has been CSOs in consolidating democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015? Following the quantitative analysis of this research question, result (see, figure 4.1.3.5) revealed that across all of the sampled CSOs, majority of its members perceive that their organizations have been merely effective in their bid to consolidating democratic ideals in Nigeria within 199-2015. This finding is also consistent with that of CIVICUS (2007) which found that about 53% of the stakeholders indicated that the effectiveness of existing umbrella associations in achieving defined goals is mixed; 18% believed that CSO umbrella bodies are largely ineffective; and 29.4% of the respondents believed that umbrella bodies were generally effective. However, qualitative analysis revealed that CSOs in Nigeria have been significantly effective in their democratic consolidation process, except for some few areas where they are still lagging behind. The discrepancy in the both findings may perhaps be understood in the context of study area in that: while the former was conducted on selected CSOs within 2 states, the later was larger in scope because it covered the activities of CSOs all over the country.

The study also conducted a Chi-square goodness of fit test on two hypotheses that were raised in the study. Findings from the first hypothesis revealed that 'civil society organizations members perceive that their roles have to an extent contributed to democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015' ($\chi^2 (3) = 14.726, P < .05$), while the second hypothesis revealed that 'the effectiveness of civil societies in Nigeria has consolidated democratic ideals within 1999-

2015 ($\chi^2 (3) = 23.384, P < .05$). As a result, the study affirms that both findings are statistically significant at 95% confidence level. Even though these findings appear encouraging, caution must be exercised in the interpretation as statistical significance does not suggest practical significance.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 SUMMARY

This research work assessed the role of civil society organizations in democratic consolidation in Nigeria within the year 199-2015. By means of a survey of selected CSOs in Anambra and Ebonyi states, coupled with the use of a qualitative content analysis design, the research work examined CSOs contributions, effectiveness, efficacy and challenges. This work exposes the perception of the members of selected CSOs Anambra and Ebonyi states.

This study began by examining the various scholarly perspectives on the concept of civil society organizations. The roles, effectiveness, efficacy and the challenges of CSOs in Nigeria were important areas that provided broad insights and direction for the study. Several literatures that borders on the CSOs were reviewed both conceptually and empirically. In part, the empirical studies provided the guide for methodology that was adopted in the study.

The study also utilized the political process theory which was proposed by Dough McAdam (1982). This theory formed the basis of the study. Research methodology used both primary and secondary sources of data collection; sample size, sample technique, reliability and validity of instrument were discussed.

Finally, the research work discussed the presentation and analysis of data. Hypotheses of the study were tested based on the responses from the questionnaire and data from other sources, recommendations were made based on the findings.

5.2 CONCLUSION

Civil society organizations are known to be strong, effective and veritable instrument in shaping the democratic landscape of any society. CSOs ensures that the characteristic of democracy not only survive by means of civilian transition whenever it is necessary, but also reflects in the political gene and consciousness of leaders who manage the affairs of the state, its institutions and resources. Therefore, the role of CSOs in this direction cannot be overemphasized.

From the findings of this study, it was observed that the roles of CSOs are diverse but tend to engage more in election monitoring, advocacy for transparency and accountability and human rights campaign, while they (CSOs) have minimally or not at all engaged in other areas of democratic consolidation. Second, findings also revealed that that civil society have only been able to moderate extent contribute to democratic consolidation in Nigeria. Third, CSOs have been found to be merely effective in their duty and at sometimes, significantly effective. Finally, the challenges of CSOs are enormous and daunting at this time.

Be that as it may, it may be safer to conclude that the challenges that stare the Nigeria CSOs in the face are enough justifications for their ineffectiveness thereby mitigating the extent of their contribution towards democratic consolidation in the nation. These challenges as it has been revealed in the course of this study have important implication for policy making and intervention programmes. These challenges must not be taken with levity. In solving the problems confronting CSOs in Nigeria, the application of the political process theory by Dough McAdam (1982) could also provide a framework within which CSOs can improve their efficiency and effectiveness in our nascent democracy.

Whereas this study has attempted to assess the role of CSOs in democratic consolidation in Nigeria within a specific period in time, it has not been devoid of the usual limitations that

accompanies a research work of this nature. For instance, it was limited in terms of scope; sampling procedure (i.e., the use of non-probability sampling procedure) which could not allow for generalization ó as the findings are limited to the groups that were studied and the validity of both designs used in the study could not be ascertained. This provides significant grounds for further investigations into these key areas.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study assessed civil society organizations' role in their bid to consolidate democratic ideals in Nigeria within 1999-2015. The study also examined the effectiveness, efficacy and challenges militating against the success of CSOs in Nigeria. Important findings were made in this regard. Therefore, it is based on the central findings of this study that the recommendations under the following headings are made:

Financial Resources

More training should be provided to develop fundraising skills, such as proposal writing and budgeting. There is also a need to raise awareness of different sources of funding, and strengthen capacities in searching for funding sources and building relationships with donors. Support should be given towards developing CSOs' experimentation capacities with new fundraising approaches, such as social media-based and crowd sourcing approaches. CSOs need to develop their local resource mobilization skills, including through developing individual and community philanthropy techniques and building relations with local businesses and corporate social responsibility programmes.

Capacities to develop nationally specific fundraising strategies appropriate to the different range of assets in each context should be developed. Donors need to work in collaboration, with each other and with the CSOs that they support, to build in efforts to improve the governance and capacities of CSOs they provide with funding.

Human and Technical Resources

CSOs need to build their HR management capacities, including developing a dedicated HR function to drive staff training, encourage staff development and staff retention, and enable more adequate in-house replacement of staff who leave. CSOs need to be supported to develop these

capacities CSO networks could play a role in helping here, through such means as peer learning and the sharing of good practice.

Donors should consider providing more support to obtain basic equipment and for updating ICT hardware and software, particularly when it enables better communication between CSOs, improved fundraising and enhanced access to rural communities. CSOs should make more use of open source rather than proprietary software to enable inexpensive updating.

Good Governance

CSO codes of conduct should be developed, in inclusive processes led by a wide range of CSOs, where these do not exist. CSO networks could lead on developing these, and members of academia could make a valuable contribution. Where they do exist, there is a need for stronger scrutiny mechanisms over adherence to these. Existing accountability tools such as the Istanbul Principles for CSO Development Effectiveness should be adopted, applied and internalized. Codes of conduct and CSO charters need to state in clear and simple terms, and in multiple relevant languages, what the duties, responsibilities and roles of being involved in a CSO should entail.

CSOs should make systematic attempts to be transparent, including through the regular publication and accessible dissemination of annual and financial reports. CSOs should set mutually agreed benchmarks for assessing their governance performance. Examples of good practice should be shared, and oversight mechanisms such as peer review, supplying of peer references and recognition and reward schemes should be explored. Donors could work with CSOs to set governance indicators as a factor in funding allocation decisions, but only if funding decisions are themselves made transparent and accountable.

Networks and Cooperation

Collaboration needs to be actively supported, including between CSOs that work on similar issues, to alleviate competition between CSOs, and between different types of CSOs, including new civil society forms, to address issues of civil society disconnect. Urban-rural divides between CSOs also need to be bridged. There is a need for activities that bring together different types of CSOs in practical cooperation, as well as for networks to target bringing a wider range of CSOs into membership. Stronger CSO networks are needed to help build credibility with the government and public by channeling diverse civil society voices more effectively.

CSO networks should however avoid competition with their members, and should focus only on strengths that individual CSOs cannot offer, such as undertaking civil society-wide research, advocacy and capacity strengthening, and building up routines of dialogue and collaboration with governments to expand civil society space. Networks also need to focus on reducing competition between members. The remits of networks should be made clear and their mandates adhered to; where key challenges have been identified in a national context, networks should try to address them through approaches that unlock advantages of economies of scale.

Political, Legal and Regulatory Space, and Relations with Governments

Governments need to develop more enabling legislation and regulation, and donors and CSOs need to work with them to encourage them to do so. Key principles of CSO laws and regulations are that they should be predictable and simple, should treat all CSOs equally, and offer independent appeal procedures.

Registration and reporting procedures should be efficient, accessible, simple and inexpensive, and should uphold the freedoms of assembly, association and expression. Laws and regulations should go beyond establishing minimal rules of engagement to promote civil society, for example by offering tax breaks to CSOs and for donations to CSOs. Governments need to

provide spaces that go beyond superficial encounters, and that foster real dialogue and participation. Dialogues should be broadened to encompass a wider range of CSOs, and should be made more systematic. CSOs should be enabled to work with governments to help set the parameters of interactions. For their part, CSOs need to develop their capacity to advance constructive, plausible recommendations, rather than simply criticize. This may imply mastering technical expertise in their policy areas, and being supported to do so.

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APPENDIX I: A STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

Department of Public Administration
and Local Government
University of Nigeria
Nsukka, Enugu State,
6th September, 2015.

Dear Respondent,

I am a Post-graduate student of the University of Nigeria Nsukka. I am undertaking a research on **Civil Society Organization and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015**. It is part of the requirements for the award of M.Sc. Please be assured that your answers are purely for academic purposes and would be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thanks for your co-operation

Yours Sincerely

Olua, Doris Ujunwa

(PG/MSc/14/69766)

Instruction: Please mark ç for the answer of your choice.

SECTION ONE: GENERAL BACKGROUND

1. Name and Location of Organization í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í .

2. Position of Responding Officer

(a) Chairman

(b) Secretary

(c) Other, please specifyí í í í í ...

3. Please, which of the following best describes your sector of work /activity or focus

(a) Governance and Democracy

(b) Trade Relation

(c) Poverty Reduction

(d) Media Relation

(e) Conflict Resolution

(f) Human right protection

(g) Other, please specifyí í í í

4. Please indicate who is the primary target of your work?

(a) Government state/institutions

(b) Political parties

(c) General public

(d) A particular group

(e) Business sector

(f) Minorities

(g) Other, please specify í í í í í í í í í í í í í í ...

5. What is your relationship with government/state institutions?

(a) Cordial

(b) Somewhat cordial

(c) Hostile

SECTION TWO: QUESTIONNAIRE

6. What roles have your organization played in making sure that democracy thrives in Nigeria within 1999-2015? **(Multiple answers allowed)**

(a) Election monitoring

(b) Advocacy for transparency and accountability

(c) Human rights Campaigns

(d) Capacity building for statesøinstitutions

(e) Leadership skills for citizens

(f) Public education

(g) Conflict resolution

(h) Other, please specify í í í í í í í í í í í í í í .

7. Do government institutions consult your organization in policy decision making process?

(a) Yes

(b) No

8. If Yes to Q 2, in what policy field are you consulted by government?

(a) Governance

(b) Economic affairs

(c) Social development

(d) Other, please specify í í í í í í í í í í í í í

9. To what extent have your organization contributed to democratic consolidation in Nigeria within 1999-2015?

- (a) To a very large extent
- (b) To a large extent
- (c) To a moderate extent
- (d) To a small extent
- (e) To a very small extent

10. How effective have been your organization in consolidating democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015?

- (a) Very effective
- (b) effective
- (c) merely effective
- (d) not effective
- (e) I can't really say

11. How will you assess the regulatory environment within which you operate?

- (a) Enabling
- (b) Somewhat enabling
- (c) Restrictive

12. What have been the challenges facing your organization in its bid to consolidate on democracy in Nigeria within 1999-2015? **(Multiple answers allowed)**

- (a) Unsupportive policy environment
- (b) Inadequate funding
- (c) Victimization and intimidation from government
-

- (d) Insufficient technical capacity
- (e) Ethno-religious rivalry
- (f) Lack of internal democracy
- (g) Disconnection from rural organizations
- (h) Corruption
- (i) Undue state influence
- (j) Inadequate human resources

13. How can any or all of these challenges be mitigated? (**Multiple answers allowed**)

- (a) Training should be provided for fund raising skills
- (b) Building human resources management capacity
- (c) Transparency and rule of law in CSOs internal structure
- (d) Ensure credibility in all their dealings
- (e) Build a culture of self evaluation and impact assessment
- (f) Governments should develop enabling legislation and regulation
- (g) Fostering a people-centred approach to development, policies and activities
- (h) Strengthening the capacity of CSOs to enhance their policy impact
- (i) Developing a social charter including a Code of Conduct

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION

Appendix II: The List of Secondary Data Used for the Content Analysis Employed in the Study

Author	Topic	Year of Publication	Type
Nwanolue, B.O.G and Iwuoha, Victor Chidubem	Democratic consolidation and challenges of legislative Politics in Nigeria: A Political economy approach	2012	Journal
Chimaroke Mgba	Civil Society and Democratization in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective	2015	Journal
USAID	The 2013 CSO Sustainability Index for Sub-Saharan Africa Developed	2013	Report
Bernard Ugochukwu Nwosu	Two Faces of Civil Society and the Military in Nigeria's Democratisation	2014	Journal
Efebeh, Eseoghene Vincent	Democracy and the Rule of Law in Nigeria: 1999 - 2015	2015	Journal
Ibitoye, M. O.	Civil society and democratic governance in Nigeria	2012	Journal
Ogbonna, Confidence	Civil society organization and democratic Consolidation in Nigeria and Ghana, 2003 ó 2013	2014	Unpublished thesis
Chinyeaka Justine Igbokwe-Ibeto, Ngozi Ewuim, Rosemary Ogomegbulam Anazodo and Cyril Onyepuemu Osawe	Civil society organizations and democratic consolidation in Nigeria: Issues, Challenges and The Way Forward	2014	Journal
C. Jaja Nwanegbo	Electoral Process and Micro	2015	Conference

	Level Rigging in 2015 General Elections in Anambra West and Awka North Local Government Areas of Anambra State.		Paper
Professor Sakah Saidu Mahmud	The 2015 General Elections: Voter Turnout, Voting Behavior and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria	2015	Conference Paper
Okechukwu Oko	Consolidating Democracy on a Troubled Continent: A Challenge for Lawyers in Africa	2007	Unpublished Work
Makmis Mark Dakyyen and Samuel Mahanan Dang	The role of civil society in promoting democracy in Nigeria	2014	Review
CIVICUS	Civil society in Nigeria: Contributing to positive social change	2007	Report
CIVICUS	CIVICUS Civil Society Index-Rapid Assessment	2014	Report
Essien D. Essien	Civil Society in Nigeria: A force for social inclusion and sustainable development?	2014	Series
Phillip Adeyinka Oyadiran and Obinna Innocent Nweke	An Appraisal Of The Nigerian Democratic Journey Between 1999 And 2014	2014	Journal
Mohamed Majeed	Civil Society and Democratic Consolidation in Africa: A comparative study of Ghana and Nigeria	2011	Unpublished Thesis
Victor Adetula Darren Kew Chris Kwaja	Assessing Democracy Assistance: Nigeria	2010	Report
Regina O. Arisi	Civil Society and Democratic Governance in Nigeria	2015	Journal
Remi Aiyede	The dynamics of civil society and the democratisation process in Nigeria	No Date	Unpublished Work

Nchuchuwe, Friday and Ajulor, Olusegun Nathaniel	The roles of trade unions and civil society in good Governance: The case of Nigeria from 1999 till date	No Date	Unpublished Work
Augustine O. Ikelegbe,	State, Civil Society and Sustainable Development in Nigeria, Centre for Population and Environmental Development	2013	Monograph Series
Ofoneme Chukwumaelo Daniel	The impact of civil society organization on Nigeria's socio-political development: an appraisal of civil liberties organization	2013	Unpublished Thesis
Ugwu, Amos	Civil society organizations and the monitoring Of 2007 general elections in Enugu State: A case Study of the civil liberties organization (CLO)	2011	Unpublished Thesis
Akinboye, S. O., & Oloruntoba, S. O.	Civil Society Organizations and Transition Politics in Nigeria: A Retrospective Analysis of the 2007 General Elections.	2007	Conference Paper
Iwuamadi, C. K.	Security and governance Challenges in Anambra State	2013	Conference Paper
Lee, J.	Civil Society in Nigeria: An Overview.	2007	Report
Mgba, C.	Civil society and democratization in Nigeria: A historical perspective.	2015	Journal
Ojo, J	Civil society and democratic consolidation in Nigeria.	2011	Unpublished Work
Omode, A. J. and Bakare, A. R.	The impact of civil society organizations on sustainable development in developing countries: The Nigerian experience.	2014	Journal

Omodia, S. M., & Erunke, C. E	Civil society and democratic consolidation in the Nigerian fourth republic: A reappraisal	2007	Journal
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