**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA; A CASE STUDY OF ENUGU STATE 2007-2017**

**BY**

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**U14/MSS/POL/047**

**FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**GODFREY OKOYE UNIVERSITY, UGWUOMU – NIKE ENUGU,**

**ENUGU STATE.**

**JULY, 2018**

**TITLE PAGE**

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,**

**FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**GODFREY OKOYE UNIVERSITY, UGWUOMU – NIKE ENUGU,**

**ENUGU STATE.**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE BACHELOR OF SCIENCE (B.Sc), DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**SUPERVISOR:**

**MR. MBAEZE NETCHY**

**JULY, 2018**

**DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that the project entitled: Political Participation Democratic Consolidation In Nigeria: A Case Study Of Enugu State 2007- 2017” submitted by me to Godfrey Okoye University, Enugu state, in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the Degree (B.Sc), in Political Science is a record of bonafide project work carried out under guidance and supervision of Mr. Mbaeze N.C.

Sign……………………………………………

Date…………………………………………….

**APPROVAL PAGE**

This research project was examined, read and approved by the under-signed, as having met the requirements for the award of the Bachelor of Science (B.Sc) Degree in Political Science.

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External Examiner Date

**DEDICATION**

To God almighty, I dedicate this project work for his guidance and protection throughout these turbulent years of my academic pursuit, and for seeing me through successfully. I also dedicate this work to my parents. Dr. & lady E.C Igiligi, and my lovely brothers and sisters.

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To the God giver of life and wisdom I fervently thank him for seeing me through my academic mission.

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***ABSTRACT***

*This study was undertaken to evaluate political participation and democratic consolidation in Nigeria with a particular reference to Enugu State. Three objectives and three research questions were formulated to guide the research. The study adopted thematic format in its literature review. The theoretical framework used was structural functionalism and research design used in the study was expos facto design and content analysis was used to evaluate the topic under discussion in line with each objectives. After the analysis the study was able to discover among other things that, the engagement of citizens in public affairs is the benchmark of the liberal democratic system. The availability of participation opportunities and the concomitant enabling process and institutional pre-requisites, allied with positive political orientations to the political system, make it possible for citizens to choose their leaders at elections and also influence the public policy process, and ultimately, the longevity of the democratic system of government. Based on the above findings, the study recommends among other things that, strong political mobilization can help in debasing the overall strategic framework of Primitive Accumulation of Votes (PAV) otherwise known as rigging.*

***Keywords:*** *political participation, political culture and political consolidation*

**CHAPTER ONE**

**INTRODUCTION**

* 1. **The Background of the Study**

Democracy is a bargain between the government and the governed. This bargain is made up of two parts – the government’s legitimacy that is, claim of obedience to its laws as well as doing what the citizens want it to do. The second part is the arrangement that regulates this bargain of legitimacy in the competitive political election. The essence of the bargain is to ensure participation in policy making. This participation is the fundamental meaning of democracy. Democracy and political participation are two concepts that are interwoven; none can exist in the absence of the other. The process of establishing a democratic system requires the full participation of the people. This participation may be direct or indirect and must be by the citizens. Participation refers to the different ways in which the public express opinions and ideally exert influence on political, economic, management and other social decisions. For a well-informed participation to occur, a radical transparency though not sufficient, is necessary. It is argued that people most affected by a decision should have the most say while those less affected should have less say. Participation has its objectives from the administrative perspective, to motivate the people and public support building activities. For the citizens, it facilitates useful information exchange regarding local conditions. It enables individuals and groups to influence agency decision in a representative manner etc. Political participation is that activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action.

It is that aspect of democracy that deals with the political environment. Davies (1963) cited in Unanka (2004:20), defined political participation as “taking part in making the basic decision as to what are the common goals of one’s society and as to the best ways to move towards these goals”. Political participation expresses actions, reactions, interactions and role expectation as one finds oneself as an integral member of a society. It is a known fact that without significant citizen’s involvement, the democratic process falls short of its goals. According to Ogunna (2003:24), political participation can be active, partial or passive.

Democracy, the actualized popular power through political structures that are based on mass participation and political sovereignty, is described by Powell, a well- known American political scientist, as quoted in Cayne (1993:777) as “an implicit bargain between the representative government and the citizens and a specific arrangement which regulates that bargain”. He further stated that a true democracy is that system of government that is controlled by the people through their representatives. True democracy is universally accepted as a system of government that believes in and operates on the principle of law and order, with them as the ultimate repository and regulator of the social norms and practice.

To the authoritarians and other critics, a common misapprehension is that democracies lack the power to oppress and also lacks the authority to govern. Indeed, democracy is unthinkable in the absence of viable political parties. Parties are expected to participate in the political socialization of electorates, contribute to the accumulation of political power, facilitate recruitment of political leadership, and serve as a unifying force in a divided polity (Omotola, 2010:125). The objectives which party regulation seeks to achieve, including the lingering question of internal party democracy, namely the push and pull of struggles to get political parties to respect their own rules and act in line with democratic principles in the conduct of their internal affairs, all remains central to the wider consolidation of democracy in Nigeria (Ibeanu, 2013: 1).

Anchoring on platforms offered by political parties, citizens make demands on the state, support specific policy positions, and participate in public policy making and implementation. Political parties therefore provide the vital linkage between citizens and the state, governors and the governed, and elites and the masses (Lawson 1980). The nature, behavior and performance of political parties and the nature of party relations with other parties, groups, and even the state have consequences for the nature of governance, integration, stability and security (Ikelegbe, 2013:7).

The character and tendencies exhibited by political parties has implications for democratic sustenance in the country (Pogoson, 2013: 5). The political party is a critical, formal, institutional, organizational and mobilizational player in the political process particularly in relation to power, democracy, governance, governments and economy (Ikelegbe, 2013:4). The nature of political parties and the nature of party politics have consequences for the nature of governance (democratic consolidation), integration, stability and security. The performance of political parties in terms of articulation, aggregation, representation and organization are critical to political accountability, communication, democratic consolidation and political stability (Ikelegbe, 2013:4).

**1.2 Statement of Problem**

Mainstream rhetoric in Nigeria media and popular discourses of the polity is often centred on the claim that Nigeria is “consolidating its democracy”. The evidence on the ground, however, contradicts this claim (Momoh, 2013:1). It is perhaps most appropriate to liken the relationship between political participation and the sustenance of democratic rule in a particular society to that which exists between the umbilical cord and the fetus (Yagboyaju, 2012:54). Political participation through political parties are at the heart of examining the health of any form of democracy (Orji, 2013:1), for example, maintains that ‘to talk, today, about democracy, is to talk about a system of competitive political parties. Their roles and activities are critical in any assessment of democratic practice (Momoh, 2013:1). With the transition to civil rule in 1999 (Signalling the commencement of the fourth republic), political parties had the mandate to produce the right calibre of people to govern (Momoh, 2013:1). One of the most complex and critical institutions of democracy is the level of political participation through political party (ies) (Omotola 2009).

Political parties are traditionally the most significant intermediary organization in democratic societies. Students of political science have commonly associated them with democracy itself (Orji, 2013:1). Political parties, as “makers” of democracy, have been so romanticized that scholars claim that neither democracy nor democratic societies are thinkable without them (Omotola 2009). In other words, the existence of vibrant political parties is a sine qua non for democratic consolidation in any polity (Dode, 2010). It is patently ironic that political parties largely pursue (and profess) democracy outside the gates and resist it within the gates (Ibeanu, 2013:1). Competitive party and electoral politics is expected to deepen and consolidate the democratic transition, which the country embarked upon in May 1999 (Jinadu, 2013:2). Well- functioning political parties are essential for the success of electoral democracy and overall political development of Nigeria (Adetula and Adeyi, 2013:3).

**1.3 Objective of the study**

The general objective of this study is to evaluate the Nigerian democracy in the context of political participation especially in Enugu State while the specific objectives are:

1. To find out the extent to which Political Participation has enhance political recruitment in Enugu state.

2. To evaluate political mobilization as a major attribute to effective democratic culture.

3. To examine the role of civil societies and democratic governance in Nigeria

**1.4 Research questions**

1. Does Political Participation enhance political recruitment in Enugu State?

2. Does political mobilization enhance effective democratic culture in Enugu?

3. Did civil societies engender democratic governance Enugu State?

**1.5 Significance of the Problem**

This involves both the empirically and the theoretical significance. Empirically, the result of this work on completion will help to address the problem of democracy and political participation in Nigeria. And it will enable the federal government and state government to see how to blend representative democracy and active participation in political activities in Nigeria by allowing them to get involve in political activities without fear intimidation for national development. Hence the need for this study or the problem this work intends to solve is to provide means to increase reasonable political participation in Nigeria polity that is enough to justify our democratic practice and to improve the quality of the polity. In doing this an attempt will be made to expose some of the phenomena responsible of strong political apathy in Nigerian polity like violence, corruption, godfatherism and electoral malpractice etc.

**1.6 Scope and limitation of the study**

The research is actually prepared to analyze critically and profound a solution to the problem of democracy and political participation in Enugu state, between 1999 and 2016. However, in area of operation, the Nigeria state is the area of grand framework of analysis which Enugu State remains the point of emphasis of the study.

**1.7 Research Hypotheses:**

To further guide the study, the following hypotheses were put forward for investigation:

1. Political Participation has enhanced political recruitment in Enugu State.

2. Political mobilization has enhanced effective democratic culture in Nigeria.

3. Civil society has not engendered democratic governance in Nigeria.

**CHAPTER TWO**

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

**2.1 Introduction**

The simplest way of economizing efforts in any enquiry is to review the existing literatures in that area and build upon already done work by others. This review of related literatures includes but not limited to Journals, newspaper books, standard dictionaries, encyclopedia and records related to the study in question. Here, this research work will dwell on the concepts of democracy and political participation in Nigeria particularly in Enugu State.

**2.2 Democracy as a Concept:**

The term democracy is derived from two Greek words: demos which mean people and kratos which means rule. Literarily, democracy means ‘rule by the people’ Appadorai (2004) described democracy as a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives periodically elected by them. In the ancient states, direct democracy was possible because all adult members of the community could easily take part in decision making. Population growth and expansion in political boundaries have made direct democracy impracticable in the modern political system. This is the reason why representative democracy has replaced direct democracy in different parts of the world. Representative democracy is an indirect democracy where sovereignty is held by the people’s representatives. Watter Lanqueur cited in Idowu (1998) pointed out that although the conditions of modern state make direct participation of all the people in government of the state impossible, the concept of democracy still emphasizes the rule of the people. That is, the sovereign power is indirectly exercised by the people through a system of representation. Consequently, political participation, particularly in the electoral process, is a fundamental requirement of representative democracy. This is the reason why Appadorai (2004) argued that where, on account of an atmosphere of fear and coercion, people do not feel free to discuss or vote, democracy cannot be said to exist, even though the other political rights are enjoyed by the people. Sovereignty (2010) identified some of the requirements of democratic rule as: at least two party system to give room for freedom of choice; periodic election that is based on universal adult suffrage; free and fair election to allow the political party that has the support of the majority to control the machinery of government and civil liberties such as freedom of association, religion, speech and freedom from arbitrary arrest.

Representative democracy rests on the assumptions that the citizens possess and demonstrate some civic capacities. These civic capacities involve three qualities: intelligence, self-control and conscience. The citizens must be able to understand the interest of the community, to subordinate his own will to the general will and must feel his responsibility to the community and be prepared to serve it by voting (Appadorai, 2004). In the contrary, indolence, indifference and political apathy have hindered the entrenchment and sustenance of representative democracy in Nigeria. Falade and Orungbemi (2010) argued that true democratic governance is absent in Nigeria and many parts of Africa. The political culture in Nigeria is characterized by intolerance, intimidation, thuggery, assassination, bitterness, apathy, indolence, money and ethnic politics. As a result of this, the ingredients of democracy have not been able to thrive after many years of political independence in Nigeria.

According to Oke (2010) democracy involves the opportunity to participate in decision making in the political process. It repudiates arbitrariness and authoritarianism. It extols the consent of the governed and it protects human personality and values (Ake, 1991). Democracy, whether liberal, African or modern, includes equal opportunity for all, fundamental recognition of popular sovereignty, representativeness, majority rule, minority rights, popular consultation, right of choice between alternative programmes, consensus on fundamental issues, as well as essentially periodic elections (Oke, 2005). The concept of democracy confers the opportunity to participate in decision making by all.

Democracy here goes beyond opportunity of election. Although, the centrality of elections to democratic process cannot be over-emphasized, democracy is not wholly centered on election. For democracy to evolve good governance, it must be liberal and participatory. In this sense, Liberal democracy entails not only free and fair elections in terms of voting administration, it requires a more comprehensive fairness of political competition embodied in the concept of a just and open competition. In a liberal democracy, the electoral arena is open, and the playing field is reasonably level.

Only in a free society with opportunity of free participation and respects for citizens’ rights can good governance be achieved. True democracy places emphasis on freedom, and open competition, popular and meaningful participation, responsiveness, transparency and accountability. Freedom to organise, freedom to protest anti-people policies and freedom to demand and assert citizens’ rights and interests, freedom of the press to report, investigate and expose government policies and actions without fear or favour. According to Diamond (2005), “Only in a climate of true political and civil freedom can a country achieve the absolute fundamental condition for development: responsible government—that is government that is committed to the advancement of the public good, rather than the private interests of its own officials and their families and their cronies”.

**2.3 Political participation in Nigeria:**

Political participation is the involvement of the citizens in the political system. Eakin cited in Adelekan (2010) described political participation as the process through which the individual plays a role in the political life of his society and has the opportunity to take part in deciding what common goals of the society are and the best way of achieving these goals. According to Akamare (2003) political participation is an aspect of political behaviour and it focuses on the way in which individuals take part in politics. It is a voluntary activity and one may participate directly or indirectly. The various ways by which the people can be involved in the political system include selection or election of political leaders, formulation of policies, community activities and other civic engagements. According to Awolowo and Aluko (2010), the essence of political participation in any society, either civilized or primitive, is to seek control of power, acquisition of power and to influence decision making. Political participation is a means of contributing ones quota to the political system and overall development of the nation. Political participation is one of the fundamental requirements of democratic governance. This is the reason why Adelekan (2010) emphasized that ideally, democracy means individual participation in the decisions that involves one’s life. In a democratic system, there is the necessity for the citizenry to be fully involved in the democratic procedures of the choice of rulers and effective communication of the public policies and attitudes. Any claim to democratic regime or state must essentially embrace a high degree of competitive choice, openness, and enjoyment of civic and political liberties and political participation that involves all groups of the society (Arowolo and Aluko, 2010). The extents to which people participate in the political system differ from person to person. Falade (2008) identified six types of political participants. These are:

**The inactive:** These are the people that take no part in any political activity

**Voting specialists:** These are the people that get eagerly engaged only in voting. Besides voting, they are not concerned about other political activities.

**Parochial participants:** These people participate in politics occasionally. They vote or get involved in any other political activity only when it affects their personal interest.

**The communalist:** These are those who get engaged in voting regularly, they also get involved in community affairs but they are not involved in political campaign activities.

**The campaigners:** They are actively involved in political campaign but inactive in other community affairs.

**Complete activists:** They are highly involved in all political activities. They actively participate in voting, political campaign, community activities and make contact with public officials. Some of the factors that determine political participation are: cultural, economic, political, religious and educational backgrounds of individuals. Also, the level of political awareness as well as the measure of confidence in the political process determines the extent to which the citizens participate in the political system. In Nigeria, politics is influenced by money, ethnic and religious factors. Since independence in 1960, religious and ethnic politics characterize electioneering process in Nigeria. This is the reason why Albert Legogie, former deputy Senate President, pointed out that it was clear from the trend of the election that there was a big gulf, a dichotomy between the north and the south and between Christians and Muslims (Adeyemo, 2011).

For instance, during the post-presidential election violence in the Muslim dominated northern part of Nigeria, southerners and Christians were attacked and killed while many churches were burnt. Falade, (2007) expressed that politics in Nigeria is regarded as a dirty game and it is practiced with bitterness, hatred, rancor and other associated evils. The outcome of this is that Nigeria is in vicious cycle of political crises and instability. Deceit and unfulfilled promises by political leaders discouraged a number of Nigerians from participating in election and other political activities. Falade (2008) argued that politicians make series of promises during election campaign. Most of these promises are not fulfilled after they had been voted in to power. As a result of this, some voters lose interest in election. One of the respondents interviewed during the 2011 election expressed that “I have come to the sun to suffer even though I am not benefiting anything from the government…I don’t even have confidence in them because they have been failing us generally” (Adelakun, 2011).

There is low level of political participation among the Nigerian citizens. Many Nigerians are indifferent in political matters. The INEC noted that Nigerians’ participation during the last general election in the 2011 was low. Only 35% of the 70 million registered voters took part in the election. The Friedrich Elbert Stiffing Foundation conducted a research on the 2011 election and identified lack of transparent elections, election violence and politicians’ non- committal to their campaign promises as major reasons for voters’ apathy in the country (Odebode, 2011). The political apathy in Nigeria is based on the twin problems of ignorance and deliberate deception by some politicians. The consequence of this is the inability of the masses to have a link between their state of underdevelopment and their nonparticipation in the electoral process (Fabiyi, 2010).

In the light of this Falade (2007) concluded that the Nigerian political culture has not given room for the entrenchment and sustenance of true democracy. Awolowo and Aluko(2010) expressed that the low level of political participation of the Nigerian women is becoming alarming and disturbing. Since the emergence of political independence in 1960, the Nigerian women have remained invisible in the political process. The 1985 Beijing declaration to which Nigeria is a signatory provides that 30% of all positions in government should be given to women. This policy is yet to be implemented in Nigeria because there is a continuing trend of male domination of political and other public positions (Oloyede, 2004; Adelekan, 2010).The marginal involvement of African women in the political process results from the lingering inhibitive cultural and patriarchal forces against women’s engagement in politics that characterized African traditional societies (Chuku, 2009).

Democratic Consolidation Scholars have used different definitions of democratic consolidation. These definitions are based on two conceptions of democracy. One is a “minimalist conception,” emphasizing procedural or formal democracy. The other is a “maximalist conception,” focusing on the outcomes of politics, such as institutionalization of political institutions, social justice, and economic equality (Lee, 2007: 103). Schmitter defines the minimalist conception of a consolidated democratic regime as “the process of transforming the accidental arrangements, prudential norms, and contingent solutions that have emerged during the transition into relations of cooperation and competition that are reliably known, regularly practiced, and voluntarily accepted by those persons or collectives that participate in democratic governance (Schmitter, 1992: 424).”

In his own contribution Linz (1978: 158) asserts that: a consolidated democracy is one in which “none of the major political actors, parties, or organized interests, forces, or institutions consider (s) that there is any alternative to the democratic process to gain power and that no political institutions or groups has a claim to veto the action of democratically elected decision makers. To put it simply democracy must be seen as ‘the only game in town.’ Democratic consolidation is about regime maintenance and about regarding the key political institutions as the only legitimate framework for political contestation and adherence to the democratic rules of the game (Ogundiya, 2009).

More explicitly, Gunther, Diamandurous, and Puhle (1995) contend that the democratization process has three phases: the fall of the authoritarian regime, consolidation, and enduring democracy. Democratic consolidation should therefore connote a consistent and sustained practice of democratic princip (Yagboyaju, 2013: 101). The building of a consolidated democracy involves in part an affirmation and strengthening of certain institutions, such as the electoral system, revitalized or newly created parties, judicial independence and respect for human rights, which have been created or recreated during the course of the transition (Valenzuela, 1990:4).

Diamond (1995:171) was poignant in his analysis. He contends that: democratic consolidation means the quality, depth, and authenticity of democracy in its various dimensions has been improved: “political competition becomes fairer, freer, more vigorous and executive; participation and representation broader, more autonomous, and inclusive; civil liberties more comprehensively and rigorously protected; accountability more systematic and transparent.”Several of the newly emerging democratic regimes are far from consolidated. They are merely surviving without consolidating. In particular, in the less developed regions of the world, these fragile democratic regimes have experienced significant uncertainty over the rules of the game, due to their terrible economic conditions and other social problems. Although many Third-World countries (which Nigeria belongs) have experienced transitions to procedural democracy, such as free elections with few barriers to mass participation and meaningful party competition, this democratic change definitely does not guarantee democratic stability (Lee, 2007: 103). Democracy can be said to be consolidated when it can avoid democratic breakdown and erosion by ‘eliminating, neutralizing, or converting disloyal players’ (Schedler, 1998), and moving a step further towards completing and deepening democracy, measured by high ‘expectations of regime continuity’(Schedler, 1998). For Diamond (1996:7)Democratic consolidation is obstructed by or destroyed causally by the effects of institutional shallowness and decay. If they are to become consolidated, therefore, electoral democracies must become deeper and more liberal. This will require greater executive (and military) accountability to both the law and the scrutiny of other branches of government, as well as the public, the reduction of barriers to political participation and mobilization by marginalized groups; and more effective protection for the political and civil right of all citizens.

With consolidation,democracy becomes regularized and deeply internalized in social institutional and even psychological life as well as in political calculations for achieving goals (Babatope, 2012: 14). Democratic consolidation “implies the internationalization of democratic culture and the institutionalization of democratic “best practices” by a polity that has successfully embarked on a democratic transition” (Asiwaju 2000).

A political party is much more than an organization for seeking and controlling political power. More critically, it is an organization for expressing and harmonizing interests, and that intermediates between the citizens and political society, government and state (Ikelegbe, 2013:7). There are numerous types of political parties such as elite-based parties, mass-based parties, ethnic-based parties, electoralist parties and movement parties (Gunther and Diamond, 2003).

Political parties have been defined in different ways. Nnoli (2003) defines a political party as a group of people who share a common conception of how and why state power should be organized and used. Political parties have also been conceived as an instrument for contesting elections for the purpose of selecting candidates and parties to exercise political power (Yaqub 2002:122). A political party is simply a body of organised individuals whose ultimate aim and goal is to contest for governmental power through the instrumentalities of elections. While it should not be mistaken that the mere existence of political parties presupposes that a society is democratic or otherwise, however, competitive and periodic elections have come to at least define the character of liberal democracy (Momoh, 2013:).

When we consider popular attitudes on political parties around the world, many of them reflect strongly negative views held by the general public. Popular views on parties range from identifying parties as: power-hungry; corrupt; either excessively partisan or, on the other extreme, lacking in ideology; male-dominated; elite-dominated; lacking internal democracy; lacking meaningful connection to the grassroots; responsible for gridlock and obstructing the smooth functioning of government; and in some cases violent and dangerous (Carothers, 2006 cited in Deme, 2013:2).

A number of these views have not only been held by the general public but also such widely respected leaders as George Washington, who once said, “[political parties]…are likely in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion” (Deme, 2013:2). Political parties, despite all these drawbacks, however, fulfill a number of vital functions that help a multi-party democratic system function. Parties serve essential functions including aggregating citizen interests, forming governments, developing and promoting policy positions and programmes, and grooming and selecting political leadership (Carothers, 2006).

Political parties perform other functions that include mediating between citizens and state institutions; recruiting and preparing individuals for political leadership; organizing election campaigns; aggregating societal interests, and providing a participatory, responsive relationship with the people; political recruitment and training; education, socialization, breeding consensus, providing alternative world views and political communication among others (Pogoson, 2013:4).

**Civil Society and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria**

The concept of civil society in Nigeria and the struggle for political independence dated back to the colonial era, though repeated attempts to sustain and consolidate democratic government faltered. However, the 1980s witnessed the activation of their operations in the quest for democratic governance. Governments, hitherto unaccountable and despotic, became even more authoritarian as they embarked upon unpopular, belt-tightening programs. The abuse of office, executive lawlessness and reckless political decisions became the order of the day, as the state became the property of the ruling class. This activated a civil society, determined to check the erosion of rights, freedom and civic values. The conjecture was characterized by intense restlessness among citizens and civic groups, which demanded for democracy, participation and justice.

According to Ojo (2011), many of these groups like the Campaign for Democracy (CD), Civil Liberties Organizations, (CLO), Committee for the Defense of Human Rights (CDHR), Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), etc, were instrumental in the restoration of civil rule. It would be recalled that between 1993 and 1999, in collaboration with the Nigeria Labor Congress (NLC), these groups fought the Nigerian military to a standstill. They mobilized students and workers for civil disobedience, strikes and protest marches across the country. Many in their ranks were killed and maimed, while some lucky few were able to make good their escape into exile In recent times in Nigeria, CSOs executed diverse programs such as voter education, election observation, campaign finance monitoring, election tribunal monitoring, electoral reform advocacy, conflict mitigation, access to justice, public interest litigation, budget tracking, constituency outreaches as well as research and documentation in thematic areas of democracy and governance. These initiatives have made some impact on Nigeria’s nascent democracy, as reports of activities carried out by CSOs have become the barometer through which international organizations and governments assess the democratic temperature of the country. (Ojo,2011) The resurgence of ethnic and religious conflict all over the country has once again fueled pessimism concerning not only the future of democracy in Nigeria, but also the existence of Nigeria as a political entity. The way the Nigerian government resolves these challenges will determine whether Nigeria’s fledgling democracy is transient or sustainable and, more importantly, whether Nigeria disintegrates or reconfigures itself as a nation-state. In the light of these concerns, it has become imperative to reconsider the concept of civil society as a possible catalyst to Nigeria’s democratic consolidation. This paper set out to discuss how this theorem can hold in the Nigerian state, bedeviled by corruption, poverty, ethno-religious crisis and other socio-political impedimenta, which is different from the West, the citadel of democracy.

**Theoretical Discuss on Civil Society**

There is no general consensus on the definition of civil society. However, according to Imade (2007), Aristotle defined civil society as a “public ethical community of free and equal citizens, under a legally defined system of rule”. In this definition, it was hard for Aristotle to separate civil society from the state. For Aristotle, the state and civil society are intertwined. John Keane, drawing on the works of Adam Ferguson and Thomas Paine, delivered a polemic against viewing the state and civil society as one entity. His contentions were essentially centered on the premise that civil society plays a vital role in aggregating private interest and concomitantly attenuating state authority. As such, it is different from the state in its roles, composition, shapes, and contours. This approach found an intellectual ally in Alexis de Tocqueville’s writings on democracy in 19th century North America, which emphasized the importance of civil associations for the creation and maintenance of democracy. (Imade 2007)

Imade (2007) further viewed Civil society as a source of counter-hegemonic social movements, concerned with political and societal actors, playing by the rules of the political game and thus seeking to legitimize the state, but not to win control over the state. On the contrary, Hegel was extraordinarily critical of the supposed contribution of civil society to the success of democracy. Hegel viewed civil society as a source of conflict that can spill over into the larger society. His argument is supported by the premise that not every organization in civil society works for the success of democracy; some actually work to undermine democracy. The Oduduwa People’s Congress (OPC), and The Arewa People’s Congress (APC) in Nigeria, are great examples of Hegel’s view.

Mutfang (2003) views civil society as a wide range of association and other organized collectives, capable of articulating the interest of their members, molding and constraining state power. According to him, their demands provide inputs for the democratic political process, which at times are aggregated by political parties. Their approval or disapproval of what goes on in government contributes to its accountability. He further postulates that a country which is well endowed in this respect is well positioned to democratize and ensure good governance. It is in this same vein that a weak civil society is often used to explain the failure of democratization.

Gold (1990), on his part, defines civil society as a whole range of social groups that seeks to operate independently of the state, such as private business enterprises, labor unions, trade unions, professional associations, religious bodies, student organizations etc. His inference is that civil societies are not only independent of the state, but as interest groups, they push forward their demands which might contradict that of the government and could be either specific or general. Diamond (1999) views civil society as that realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self- generating, largely self-supporting, autonomous fromthe state and bound by a legal order and a set of shared rules. He further stated that it is distinct from society in general and that it involves citizens acting together and collectively in the public sphere, to express their interest, passion and ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state and hold local state officials accountable. Diamond thus distinguished civil society from the society in general. Basically “interest” remains the defining factor, because it is the defined interest that constrains members to act collectively in actualizing their objectives. These interest in some cases runs contrary to state policies.

Diamond (1999), further ascribes certain functions to civil society in a democratic set-up. These include providing the basis for the limitation of state power. It is supposed to supplement the role of political parties by stimulating political participation, promote the development of political attribute and creating channels other than political parties to articulate, aggregate and represent their interests.

Uchendu, (2000) however stressed that civil society is rooted in the notion of “natural law”. The central hypothesis being that man is not by nature ordered towards society, rather he orders himself towards society and promoted by self interest. These could be seen from the view expressed by the social contract theorists as Thomas Hobbes, John Locks and Jean Jacques Rousseau.

Strauss, (1972), pressing further, stated that the “desire for self-preservation is a powerful passion that makes itself the basis of civil society”. In other words, Strauss makes natural law a sufficient basis for all rights and duties in society and derives man’s civil duties from the right of self-preservation. Thus, the state advances politically, economically, socially and otherwise only when there is a strong civil society or it can boast of one.

Helin, (1996), in the light of the above, sees civil society as a concept used to describe a dynamic process of constructing and reconstructing political space normatively in order to accommodate new patterns of political participation outside the formal state structure and institutions. The idea of political space suggests that the polity is one of the many spheres of society and of political action. The empirical validity of civil society therefore, rests on the fact that society is a bundle of capacities, which functions best when it permits or admits other sectors into the arena of political and social action.

Civil society is therefore an indispensible tool in the consolidation of democracy due to the fact that citizens can actualize their goals through their operations in the state. It has been able to show too, that the law of natural right is the precursor to the development of civil society, though in Nigeria and other third world nations, they came up as a result of dissatisfaction with the state.

**Role of civil society in consolidating Democracy in Nigeria**

In assessing the role of civil society in consolidating Democracy in Nigeria, certain indicators were utilized. These include;

A. Ensuring credible Elections

B. Guarding against democratic threats.

C. Influencing public policy

D. Responding to Social Interests/ Empowering citizens

**Ensuring credible Elections**

Igbuzo (2011) noted that the 1999 and 2003 elections saw CSOs conducting voters’ education programs. Citizens were mobilized to come out to vote for candidates of their choice. Unfortunately, citizens came out but were disappointed when they realized that in some cases, votes did not count. Despite this, there is a need for CSOs to build more efforts on voters’ education, because, it is basic to engaging other strategies. Igbuzo (2011) further stated that CSOs indeed trained some citizens and communities on the protection of mandate in preparation for the 2007 elections. This, according to him, involved a series of tools and strategies that citizens could use to engage political parties, security agents and electoral officers to prevent manipulation of electoral franchise. However, Ojo (2011) revealed that the 2007 elections and bye-elections were characterized by massive rigging, ballot snatching, violence and other corrupt practices. The late President, Musa Yar’Adua, actually admitted that the elections were flawed, despite the inputs of CSOs in the system. Furthermore, during the preparations for the 2011 elections, CSOs embarked on voters’ education. Some other CSOs deployed thousands of observers to follow through and report on the electoral process. Ojo (2011) noted that some members of the civil society also shed the toga of being armchair critics by joining the political fray to contest elections. Examples are; Governors Adams Oshiomole and Kayode Fayemi. Nevertheless, it was observed that there were violent protests in the North, as the Northern political elites claimed that the elections were rigged by the ruling party. Many lives and properties were lost in the carnage. This implies that the CSOs need to step up on voters’ education in Northern Nigeria. The challenge in this regard, however, has been the persistent religious crisis and insecurity in that part, which has made it difficult for CSOs to have the needed results.

**Guarding against Democratic Threats**

Ojo (2011) stated that ex-President Obasanjo’s administration had attempted to tinker with the Nigerian constitution in 2005/2006, to insert a tenure elongation clause, but the plot was primarily shot down by the parliamentarians with pressure from the civil rights groups. Thereafter, in 2010, CSOs rose to the occasion to demand for the recognition of the then Vice President G. Jonathan as the Acting President, when late President Musa Yar’Adua was ill disposed abroad. CSOs such as the Save Nigeria Group and Enough is Enough Group actually seized the initiative and demanded 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 in March 2010. (Igbuzo, 2011). It should be noted that the CSOs need to cover more grounds in this role. For instance, they have not done much to curb the unprecedented corruption among the ruling class, which has become a great threat to the survival of democracy in Nigeria.

**Influencing Public Policy**

Five key policy areas will be examined;

1. **Human Rights-Child Labor and Human Trafficking-**

Here, children are exploited and forced to work to supplement family incomes. The consequence is that the child is unable to access education, which hinders his or her development. CSOs working on human rights and children’s rights issues partnered with the state for the enactment of the Child Rights Law. The legislation has been passed in 11 states of the Federation. (CSI,2007)The CSOs need to work towards success in the remaining states. Secondly, People involved in the human trafficking, export young people across for purposes of prostitution and related forms of exploitation. According to a study conducted by CSI (2007), CSOs responded to this through advocacy campaigns. The establishment of the National Agency for the Prohibition in Trafficking of Persons (NAPTP) indicates some success by CSOs. This notwithstanding, it is strongly expressed that state actors need to recognize CSOs as partners for meaningful impact in other spheres of human right abuses such as the boom in the sale of new born babies in parts of the country.

1. **Right to Life and Properties;**

Reacting to the spate of bomb blasts by the Boko-Haram Islamic sect and the wanton destruction of lives and properties in northern Nigeria in recent times, Nigerian CSO, the Socio-Economic Rights and Accountability Project (SERAP), said the federal government's failure to prevent the continuing violence and unnecessary loss of lives was a serious breach of its international obligations to protect citizens’ rights to life (PANA,2011). The organization’s agitation has received international attention. However, it has been observed that the CSOs were unable to embark on aggressive street protests, which could have drawn more support in the fight against terrorism, which is now the greatest threat, not only to democracy, but the corporate existence of the Nigerian state.

1. **Monitoring the National Budgeting Process-**

According to CSI (2007), CSOs have established the Budget Law and the fiscal responsibility initiative to help monitor the process. They are also working with the legislature to develop inclusive budget laws at national and regional levels. Despite these initiatives, it is still early to evaluate the effectiveness of CSOs in the national budgeting process, since they have only been active in this area since 2003.

1. **Campaign for Legal Reforms in the National Assembly-;**

The recently passed Freedom of Information Act would have been a mirage but for a CSO called Media Rights Agenda, which alongside others, sponsored a private member bill on the issue at the National Assembly. (Ojo,2011). An ongoing struggle of CSOs is the campaign for a new constitution for the country through the convocation of a sovereign national conference (SNG). This has not been achieved because the issue has been given an ethnic coloration among the CSOs.(Ikubaje,2011)

1. **Guarding Against Unpopular Policies-;**

Kunle (2012) observed that when the federal government unilaterally removed subsidy on petrol or Premium Motor Spirit (PMS), with its attendant increase in fuel prices and hardships on the citizens in January 2012, CSOs, led by the NLC, mobilized Nigerians from all walks of life for what they described as the “mother of all protests”. The government reversed the policy to N97.00 /litre, in favor of the citizens, thereby forestalling unnecessary pressures that could jeopardize the democratic process. However, nothing has been done on the issue of gross mismanagement and corruption in the oil sector, which prompted the fuel crisis in the first place.

**Responding to Social Interests/ Empowering Citizens**

According to a study conducted by CSI (2007), CSOs have been involved with issues related to poverty, illiteracy, the Hiv/Aids pandemic, environmental degradation. For instance, 89% of respondents in the study show that CSOs were involved in the provision of micro-credit programs for women, building networks and coalitions of women at local level, to encourage participation in governance, provision of home care and support for people living with Hiv/Aids (PLWHA). However, this success is mainly in the southern part of the country, as the north has to contend with numerous religious and socio-political unrests, which hinders these initiatives there. CSI (2007) also stated that the activities of CSOs have led to increased awareness among widows’ rights and the elimination of traditional laws relating to widows in the South-East region. More efforts geared at ensuring better gender related legislation would ensure more sustained positive outcome.

**Progressive aspects of democratic consolidation in Nigeria**

We shall use the following subheadings to present a case of progress in democratic consolidation in Nigeria, with a focus on the period commencing from 1999 (when the Nigerian nation embarked again on the journey of democracy). These subheadings of course do not lay claim to exhaustiveness but are rather more of highlights to explicate on the progressive tendencies in democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

At The National Assembly At the inception of the current democratic dispensation in the country (in 1999), the hallowed chambers of the central legislature became an auditorium of monumental political dramaturgy. Extant literature on this episode is humongous. We shall only sample the aspects that had to do with leadership instability and the meddlesomeness of the executive branch of government, personified by the then President Olusegun Obasanjo, in the affairs of the two arms of the National Assembly in Nigeria: the Senate and the House of Representatives. In Banjo (2013), we see a well-documented effort in chronicling the Nigerian Senate’s leadership embarrassment between 1999 and 2007. In most cases, the executive branch of government was behind this leadership imbroglio. In conclusion, Banjo posits:

We have proved in this descriptive analysis that the upper house of the Nigerian National Parliament that sat from 3 June 1999 to 29 May, 2007 produced financial scandals as well as a leadership crisis as its major defining attribute. In conclusion, we submit that whenever the history and politics of Nigeria’s Fourth Republic are examined/re-examined, the Senate will face a rather critical review for some unparliamentarily attributes.

According to Okolie (2012) who reported the submissions of Emeka Ihedioha, former Deputy Speaker of Nigeria’s House of Representatives, the political leadership that emerged in 1999 was coming from a military background where the idea of a legislature was totally unknown or greatly detested. Under succeeding military regimes, Ihedioha highlighted, the ruling military High Command always combined executive and legislative powers. Government policies and programmes were carried out with “immediate effect”. The military had no patience for “too much grammar” and debates often associated with parliamentary democracy. So, for a former military leader who was used to issuing out orders and getting things done, it was inconceivable for former President Obasanjo to be sharing powers with “idle civilians” who constituted the legislature in a democratic setting. The tendency to assert total control was ever present. This mental construct or military hangover was primarily responsible for the adversarial relationship that existed between the Executive and the Legislature, between 1999 and 2007 in Nigeria. Ihedioha further submitted that the desire of the Executive to exercise total control over the Legislature led to the imposition of leadership in the two chambers of the National Assembly, against the preferences of majority of the members. Hence, the two chambers of the National Assembly: the Senate and the House of Representatives, similarly witnessed crises of leadership, which had their origin in the meddlesomeness of the Executive (Okolie 2012).

Within the specific context of democratic consolidation, it is highlighted in this study that as the regime of President Goodluck Jonathan came to an end in 2015 and Retired General Muhammadu Buhari was about to become the President of Nigeria, such executive meddlesomeness was no longer presentable as a feature of Nigeria’s democracy. Both the Senate and the House of Representative had freely elected their leaders, who were successfully leading them to the end of the tenure of Nigeria’s seventh National Assembly. In the case of the Senate President, David Mark, who had served for an unprecedented two terms of four years each, as Senate President, he maintained a reciprocally cordial relationship with the executive branch of government. In the case of Alhaji Aminu Tambuwal, who had also completed a single term of four years as Speaker, he actually emerged Speaker against the evident wishes of the executive branch of government. Throughout his tenure, he retained the strong support of a majority of the House Members while disagreeing most times with the policies and administrative tendencies of the Executive. Even when he (Tambuwal) decamped from the then majority party in the House, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), under which platform he became Speaker and moved to the opposition All Progressives Congress (APC), he still remained Speaker, (in contentious circumstances) but with the evident support of his colleagues in the House (across party divides). These developments in the National Assembly we submit are testaments to democratic consolidation. They refer to the independence of the legislature and typify the principle of separation of powers (in practice), as all of these are strong benchmarks of democracy. They are also benchmarks of democratic consolidation.

Freedom of Speech It is instructive to point out that this subsection of the study is not called “Freedom of Speech” in error. It was not meant to be captioned “Freedom of the Press” which is equally a necessary condition for democratic consolidation. We specifically underscore by this caption, the notion of the right of the citizen to freely express his views as his contribution to democratic consolidation. This is conceptually different from freedom of the press, even where the two concepts may overlap. Freedom of speech entails that the citizen expresses his views without being abused by the person he elected into office. We are of course already alluding to the Presidency of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo in Nigeria. According to Obafemi (2004), with regards to Chief Obasanjo, former Nigeria’s President, Olusegun Obasanjo has become an institution or rather a wild thorn that is uncontrollable ... There are many reports in the news media both locally and internationally of his convulsive and abusive tempers which is unbecoming of a leader. It is still fresh in our mind the insult he hurled on the victims and families of the Ikeja military cantonment hardware explosion. Hundreds of people died in that explosion and the President was reported to have insulted the victims and their family, calling them stupid as they attempted to find an answer to their calamities. And now in Plateau State, the Nigeria President has thrown the temper tantrum again, calling the Chairman of the state chapter of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) an idiot in an open forum.

Oduyela (2004) also has a record of Chief Obasanjo’s abusive methodologies. By 2015 however, under the Presidency of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, for a President to abuse a Nigerian citizen would be unthinkable. To demonstrate the extent to which Dr Jonathan liberalized the public space for the citizens to freely express their concerns and contribute to the democratic process, he once declared that he was the most criticized President in the world (see Chiedozie 2012). Further toour democratic consolidation thesis, the freedom of speech that is currently available to Nigerian citizens is a positive development. Another positive dimension to the freedom of speech- characterization of the current democratic tendencies in the country is that those who express some otherwise provocative views are not even molested by government, knowing that the hunting of some of such characters in the past ended in wild goose chase (see Eziukwu 2015).

**Gap in Literature**

The practice of democracy in Nigeria over a decade ago has not yielded much needed good governance. This is because democracy is practiced in such a way that responsible and competent people are scared away. Scholars and keen observers have attempted at unraveling the factors militating against translating political participation through democratic consolidation into good governance. And some of these scholars revealed that democratization in Nigeria is pervaded by electoral violence, manipulation of election results and political participation constraints. These identified challenges have made it impossible to attain consolidated democracy that can, in turn, facilitate good governance. Democracy is a catalyst for accountability, transparency and responsive government which brings about good governance. This study is thereby in the gap that lack of well organized institutional provision for political mobilization/ political participation in Nigeria democracy is reflexive of the perfunctory role of the political actors. It dwelt extensively on the synergy between democracy and political participation.

**CHAPTER THREE**

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY**

**3.1: Theoretical framework:**

A theory is a unique way of describing, analysing, interpreting and predicting phenomena. It is a set of statement or propositions that seek to explain or predict a particular aspect of life (Schrengruber, 2005). Singer (1963) on his part defined theory as a body of internally consistent empirical generalizations of descriptive, predictive and explanatory power. Johnson and Christensen (2007:7), sees a theory as that which explains ‘’how and ‘’why’’ something operates as it does. The basic function of a theory is that if offers explanations to a phenomenon and hence, it helps in the better understanding of phenomenon.

For further clarification on the research work carried out, there is need to adopt a suitable theoretical framework which will enable us make a better assessment of the subject matter. The theoretical framework adopted for research work is ‘’structural-functionalism approach’’.

**The Structural-functionalism approach:**

This work is to be anchored on the synthesis of structural-functionalism. This theory was developed by Gabriel Almond and James S. Coleman in their book ***Introduction to the Politics of Developing Area (1960).***Further development of the approach was carried out by Gabriel Almond and G.B Powell in their book ***comparative politics: A Development Approach (1966).***

Almond and his group contend that all political systems, regardless of their type, must perform a specific set of tasks if they are to remain in existence as a system in working order or in equilibrium. That is, as an ongoing system, these functions are: rule-making, rule application, interest articulation, interest aggregation, political communication, political socialization, and political recruitment. The emphasis of this approach was on structures of political system (this refers to those arrangements within the system which perform the function) and how best they performed certain functions.

While the functions are the observed consequences which make for the adaptation or readjustment of a given system, functions deal ultimately with objective consequences, but they may be perceived as objective processes or results from various point view and for various purposes.

In final analysis, there was a very close link between functionalism and political development; the idea that countries had to develop in the capacity to perform certain function.

**Applying this theory** to our research, it implies that the government function against democracy serves as a framework for political participation.

**3.2: Research design:**

Anikpo (1986) defined research design as a plan or structure of any aspect of the research procedure. Such plan according to him will be realized in the selection of the most appropriate concepts, hypotheses, analytical paradigms and also the most effective format to present research report.

The research design adopted for this work is ex-post facto design. Kerlinger (1977) averred that ex-post factor research is a form of descriptive research in which an independent variable has already occurred and in which an investigator starts with the observation of a dependent variable then studies the independent variable in retrospect for its possible relationship to and effects on the dependent variable Cohen and Menion (1980) further clarifies the phrase ‘’ex-post facto’’ which means ‘’after the fact or retrospectively’’. Therefore, the ex-post facto research is a systematic empirical study where by the research does not manipulate the independent variable because the scenario for the study is already in existence. However, the research can create a scenario which will be subjected to empirical verification. Asika (1991:24) equally noted that the ex-post facto design is also known as a single case study.

Diagrammatically, it can simply be represented as: O1 X O2

Where:

O1=n observation on the dependent variable before the occurrence of the independent variable.

X= the independent variable

O2= observation on the dependent variable after the occurrence of the independent variable.

This study adopts the ex-post factor research design, because the study of the events is already in existence and also it explains the relationship between the variables.

**3.3: Method of data collection:**

Data collection is a term used in describing the acquisition of material for carrying out a research. The purpose of collection is to obtain information, make decisions on controversial issues and to pass across information.

In the light of the aforementioned, data was collected through qualitative method relying on secondary sources like text books, journals and online resources.

**3.4: Method of Data Analysis:**

The data analysis adopted for this study is qualitative descriptive analysis. The adoption of this analysis is neither aimed at statistical test of hypothesis nor to established numeric or statistical relationship between variable. Although qualitative data may occur in few cases but the target here is to establish relationship and validity within the social or concrete reality.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

**4.1 To what extent has political participation enhanced political recruitment in Enugu State from 1999 and 2016?**

**4.1.1 Political Participation in Nigeria 1999 – 2011:**

Analysis Political participation involves an active interaction between citizens and government. It is a two – way process. One party initiates and the other responds. The importance of elections cannot be doubted. At the very least, they provide the public with its clearest formal opportunity to influence the political process and also help directly or indirectly to determine who will hold government power. There was an increase in the level of participation in 2003 compared to 1999. The level of participation increased by ten (10%). Factor that could be responsible for this was the fact that Nigerians electorates doubted the sincerity of the military to relinquish power in 1999. So when they noticed that the Nigerian state had really democratized, then the level of participation increased in 2003. In 2007, there was decrease in the level of electoral participation, the level of electoral participation dropped by twelve percent (12%) in 2007. The main factor responsible for this was imposition of candidates and election rigging that was the order of the day in 2003 elections and the do or die affair syndrome injected into the polity in 2007 elections by the ruling People’s Democratic Party ( PDP). In 2011 it further slipped down by 5.1% as a result of the fact that electorates had lost confidence in the electoral process because they thought the trend would continue. Apart from presidential elections, the level of citizen’s participation in elections in Nigeria since 1999 has been on a steady decline. In 1999, 57,938,945 voters were registered those who actually voted in presidential elections were 30,280,052, representing almost sixty – percent (60%) of those on the roll. In 2003, 60.82 million were on the voters register and 42,018,735 voters cast their vote during elections. Thus about 70% of those on the roll actually participated in the presidential poll. In 2007, 61 million, voters were registered while 35.41 million voted. In percentage terms, 58% of those who registered turned out for voting during the presidential elections. While in 2011, 73,528,040 voters were registered the presidential election results should that the average turn out of voters was put at 52.9%. (INEC: Election Review 2011).

According to the chairman of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Prof. Attahiru Jega, only 35% of the 70 million qualified voters participated in the general elections. This was due to the fact that the entire electoral process was shoddily handled. Apart from political apathy displayed, the elections were scuttled by problems like poor – printed ballot papers and none availability of essential materials including result sheets (Punch Newspapers June, 2011).

Social Scientists in the field of political science have explained reasons why variations exist in participation from country to country over the years. Several explanations have been offered on micro – level. Some on the macro – level. Micro – level characteristics are those that centered on political individual and his/her beliefs, altitudes and values. Such characteristics as resources including income, education and perhaps employment, transportation and psychological including political attitudes and orientations are clearly of great significance in explaining why individuals behave as they do. Macro – level characteristics affecting political participation include those factors as electoral rules/laws, opportunity cost in time, money and efforts (Mahler 2003).

**4.1.2 Political Recruitment in Enugu State**

A comparative approach indicates that decision making in the recruitment process varied along with two dimensions. First, there is the question of dispersion of power. Is the process centralised with the main decision taken by the national party leadership? Is it left to regional party officers or is it dispersed with grassroots local party members exerting most influence? Secondly, there is the question of the formalisation of decision-making. Is the process informal, a matter of tacit norms with few binding rules and constitutional regulations, or is it formalised so that the procedures at each step are standardised, rule-governed and explicit? (Norris: 2000).

Norris and Lovenduski (2002) in the book “Political Recruitment” suggested six (6) main types of selection process below:

|  |
| --- |
| **Informal process** |
| **Formal process** |
| **Decision making agencies** |

(Source: www.cambridge.org.)

According to them, in “informal-centralised” systems (such as the French Union Pour la Democratic Française-UDF) there may be democratic constitutional mechanisms, but in practice the process is characterised by leadership patronage. Rules serve largely symbolic functions. Without any established tradition of internal party democracy and with loose organisations, party members play little role in the process. In the “informal-regional” systems (such as the Italians Christian Democrats) faction leaders bargain with each other to place their favoured candidates in good positions.

In “informal-localised” systems (such as in the Canadian ProgressiveConservative), local ridings decide on the general procedures used for selection, as well as the choice of individual candidate. With established guidelines practices that vary widely, some constituencies may nominate at large-scale meetings open to all ‘members’, while patronage by a few local leaders may be significant on others. Reflecting weak organisations, this system may be open to central Regional Local manipulation by powerful small groups.

Alternatively, in “formal-centralised and formal-regional” system (such as in the Liberal Party in the Netherlands, the old Italian Communist Party (PCI) or the old Japanese Liberal Democrats), party executives or fractional leaders at national and regional level have the constitutional authority to decide which candidates are placed on the Party ticket. Lastly, the most common pattern in European parties is one of “formal-localised” recruitment. Here the constitutional rules and national guidelines are established to standardise the process throughout the party. The fairness of the system, ensuring all applicants are treated alike rests on the implementation of clear, transparent and equitable rules. Within this framework the selection of individual candidates takes place largely by local agencies at constituency level.

Based on this, it becomes apparent that in the long term the main change in recruitment within British parties has been in process rather than power. There has been a gradual evolution from an “informal-localised” system based on patronage in the 19th century towards a more “formalised-localised” system today based on more meritocratic standards. This change has gone further in some parties than others. In Nigeria; power could be used to install a candidate rather than the process of recruitment, especially in local government administration where the state governor could select candidates for elections as chairmen without following the due process of selections.

Norris (2000) in his book “Political Communication”, stated that, the previous studies established the characteristics of ‘formal-localised’ nature of the recruitment process as it operated in British parties during the 1950s and 1960s. During this period constituency associations-mainly core activist and affiliated factions-made the major decisions about the choice of individual candidates. At the same time the national leadership determined the general rules, supervised the process, and exercised formal veto powers, to ensure that the process was fair and efficient. It was commonly assumed that a formal-localised system was functional for British Party Organisations. Without some central management the process might become factionalised and divisive, since in moribund constituency associations small groups might “capture” the party label for their preferred candidate. The standard procedures for selection and appeal might help to ensure that the rules are seen as uniform and legitimacy by all participants.

Political recruitment in Enugu State operates in all offices at all levels, including the local governments and ward levels. This study provides a fresh exploration of the three major questions: (a) who selects and why? (b) Who gets selected, and why? (c) Does the social bias of the outcome matter? What are selectors looking for in candidates when they make their decisions? Do participants feel that selection procedures are fair, democratic and efficient? Are party members and candidates satisfied with the process? What do members feel about the relative influence of national and local party agencies?

The study of party organisations focuses on how the process operates and who has power over recruitment. This perspective can be understood as one half of the equation. It is supplemented by the extensive literature on political elites, concentrating on the outcome of the process. The traditional sociological study of political elites sought to explain how those in power reinforced and consolidated their position. Some scholars provided the richest theoretical account of how party leaders exercise control over grassroots members through the “iron law of oligarchy” even in parties like the German Social Democrats, which officially subscribed to notion of intra-party democracy (Bochel and Denver: 1981).

De Luca (2004) in his book “Political Recruitment of Presidents and Governors”, said that, in Argentina, the recruitment process of presidents and Governors are concentrated in the political parties and, within these, in their provincial sections. This centrality of the parties in the recruitment process is strongly related to a particular combination of key party and electoral variable: and institutionalised party system and a moderate party identification among voters, party monopoly of candidates, control by the provincial party leaders of the candidate selections process, and mixed and decentralised party financing.

He further stressed that, the centrality of the parties and the concentration at their provincial level as central features of the recruitment process of the top leaders has promoted the emergency of presidential and gubernatorial candidates that present the following features: they are backed by a political career (generally centred at the province) and the career is closely related to the political party to which they pertain. Consequently, the political leaders that are elected for these executive offices are mostly party insiders or party adherents.

Drawing from these premises; the explanation of political participation as dominance in the recruitment of political officeholders in existing literature ranges from social class domination, Ebeano political structure, elite domination and undemocratic electoral system or the manipulation of electoral system in favour of the incumbent. While there appears to be a general notion by scholars that recruitment of political officeholders from 1999 to date has been violently manipulated, there is still a dearth of literature on political recruitment in Local

Government administration in Enugu State. The research therefore seeks to provide a detailed analysis of political recruitment of Chairmen and Councilors in Local Government Council and its implications for democracy in Enugu State.

**4.2 Does Political Mobilization enhance effective Democratic culture In Nigeria from 1999to 2017?**

**4.2.1 Political Culture and political socialization as a Major Attribute to Effective Democratic Culture in Nigeria:**

The state comprises of the government, territory and citizenry are the most important component and it contributes the state social context. The citizen’s behavior determines to a large extent the nature of the state, its survival the nature of government and the political, economic and social process in the state. The citizenry makes inputs, objections, preferences, change, information, reaction to information, values, and judgment and compliances e.t.c. These inputs dispose the outputs of government. The nature of the citizen’s inputs, responds and reaction is determined by the political culture, the effectiveness of political socialization agent and political participation. The political culture determines the political behavior, patterns, standard and values that the citizenry in the political process and the nature of the citizens political activities and responses. Participation is again conditional by political culture and socialization.

**4.2.1.1 Political Culture:**

Political culture refers to attitude, beliefs, values and affections that are consciously held or implicit in a society in relation to its political process. Political culture refers to a people’s dominant orientation towards politics. The orientation refers to the attitude beliefs and values held in relation to seats, structures, the political authority, major politics and issues. The way the citizens related to the state in terms of level of participation, political activities and efficiency or lyricism, level of trust or mistrust of leadership, level of compliance loyalty allegiance, patriotism etc are all elements of and are governed by the political culture. In other words, political culture determines the political culture ethos of what is acceptable, prohibited and sanctioned in a nation’s political process.

It is characterized by a citizenry that participate in political process. In other words they are politically active and efficacious.

**4.2.1.2 Political Socialization:**

This refers to the process by which the citizens acquire political orientation about the state. It is determined by the social-economical and cultural environment of the society in which the citizens lives and by their interaction of the experience and personality of the individual. Political socialization ‘’is the process by which political culture are maintained and changed’’ through the performance of this functions, individuals are inducted into political culture and their orientation towards political objects one formed. In a broad sense it refers to the way the society transmit its political culture from a generation to generation. It is a lifelong process. The content of political socialization maybe transmitted deliberately or non-deliberately, directly or indirectly. In order words socialization maybe through indoctrination teaching, propaganda, political communication and other deliberate effort of the state through the school, the mass media and political activities. Political socialization also takes place through the non-formal, non-conscious, largely imperceptible and cumulative efforts of the family, peer groups, schools and work environment, community and related channels and also the political socialization process is direct when it is directly taught and learned through school, political communication and political activities. In conclusion, political socialization is acquired through the agencies of the family, peer groups, the school and the mass media. The family plays the primary role in childhood socialization. It directly transmits values, attitudes, perception and belief to children, which are transforming into political orientation. The school provides experience to authority and participative skill, which in turn makes individual political self. Furthermore, school education increase political awareness, interest and communication, which could determine the basis of effective and evaluation orientation to the state. Other agencies of socialization are groups, political parties and govern mental agencies.

**4.2.2 Party Politics as a Syndrome in Nigeria Democratic Culture:**

Party politics is simply concerned with the actualization of the aims and objectives of the parties through context and this context is election. Politics in Nigeria as a result is one that ridden with grievance and fear of isolation hence the struggle negatively affect electoral activities in the areas of malpractice like thuggery, rigging and violence, which is replete in party politics in Nigeria. In an attempt to fully understand the party politics in Nigeria, it will be pertinent to stress that any work, write up or book that analyses, explain or attempt to excruciate on party politics in Nigeria will never be completed without a trip down to memory lane, back to the beginning is the birth of Nigeria. Before the coming of the Europeans and the British colonial rule, there existed no geographical area called Nigeria.

**4.2.3 Political Participation and Democratic Culture in Nigeria:**

Political participation can be described in simple term as the involvement of citizen of a country into politics of their country or society. Political participation can be referred also as the getting involved or taking part in activities that has to do with politics or thatdiscuss the happening of the government. This means that, it is an action which citizen should involve in as it concerns their society. It has to be voluntary because it is only by participating that the government can understand the mind of the citizen and the citizen can express their will and choose who should govern as masses cannot govern, then there has to be chosen of persons or person to oversee the affairs of the citizens. How then do they express their will? The medium of expression is election, how do they carry out this action? It is by voting during election. The 1959 federal election in Nigeria was the first nationwide general election held in Nigeria. It was conducted under a unified electoral system. Universal adult suffrage in the east west and Lagos universal adult suffrage was open to both male and female adults the north gave franchise only to male to all British subjects or British protected person of 21 years of age /who were ordinarily resident in Nigeria. At independence in 1960 the independent constitution of 1960 affected a unified electoral law for all the unit of federation. The 1960 constitution also established an electoral commission that was charged with the function of registering the names of qualified voters, the conducting of elections and counting of ballot papers after elections.

**4.2.4 The role of political parties for political mobilization in Nigeria:**

A major feature of the Fourth Republic is the proliferation of political parties, that primarily do not seek to contest elections, but which are in more ways limited and self-serving in roles and interests. Though the number of political parties was 30 in 2002, 33 in early 2006 and 50 in 2007, only 16 fielded candidates in the 2003 General Elections while only 26 contested the 2007 General Elections. Even the parties that contested the elections were merely “temporal machines for electoral contests” (TMG, 2003:18).

Thus the major parties, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Alliance for Democracy (AD), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), and All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) have been plagued by deep internal crises, disorder, recurring tensions and turmoil manifested in factional fighting, expulsions and counter-expulsions, multiple executives and dual offices. There is a high level of money politics, political vagrancy, indiscipline and in-cohesion (Omotola 2009:612). Some months into the Fourth republic, with Obasanjo as President, politicians began to clamour for the registration of more parties. The federal government initially refused to register more political parties, a development that forced the unregistered associations to seek redress in court (Simbine, 2013:4).

With Court judgment in their favour, it appeared that a floodgate was opened for parties to seek and get registered. Thus, while about 30 political parties contested during the 2003 elections, the number grew to 63 as the 2011 elections drew near. As of April 2013, only 25 political parties are recognized by the election management body (Simbine, 2013:4). With the registration of the new political parties; All Progressives’ Congress (APC) which is a product of a Merger from the three main opposition parties: Action Congress of Nigeria, All Nigerian people’s party, Congress for progressive Change and factions of two other parties) People’s Democratic Movement (PDM), Independent Democrat (ID) the number of the political parties still stand at 25.

What became the three dominant parties in 1998 viz Alliance for Democracy (AD), Peoples Democratic party (PDP) and All Peoples Party (APP) later (ANPP) had huge military presence both in their formation and membership, particularly the latter two parties. As such, from the outset the behaviour of the political parties was heavily influenced by a culture of militarism while some of the parties where preponderantly constituted by militicians. In addition, they lacked ideological rooting. However, the Fourth Republic has been characterized by numerous internal crises, godfather politics and fictionalization within political parties (Momoh, 2013:13).

At the 1999 Presidential election, Chief OlusegunObasanjo of PDP had contested against a coalition of two other parties (APP and AD) which had brought forward Chief OluFalae as presidential candidate (Momoh, 2013:13). The election was however not free and fair while traces of ethnic politics still manifested in the creation of political parties as AD had its main followership in the south west. But while the 1999 elections were not free nor fair, the 2003 General Elections were characterized by fraud, miscounting, rigging, and malfeasance. In addition, the election was not issue-oriented, the political parties lacked well-thought out programmes and manifestos, the executive lord over the other two arms through actual disrespect of ruling or threat of impeachment and blackmail, (Momoh, 2006: 71-73).

The 2007 General elections could best be described as electoral Tsunami or what have been euphemistically referred to as Direct Capture (DC), within the overall strategic framework of Primitive Accumulation of Votes (PAV). In early stages of PAV political parties rigged elections and although the state was generally not neutral, its institutions were used (instrumentalised) for the purpose of achieving PAV “In other words, state institutions were first captured by private interests, particularly political parties, and then deployed for PAV” (Ibeanu, 2009: 15).

Political parties in Nigeria are not keen about deepening democracy; rather they are more preoccupied with the crude capture of power. They have abandoned their traditional role of membership recruitment and mobilisation, and political education (Momoh, 2013:27). With the emergence of godfathers, owners and joiners, political nomads and the use of uncivil means to win elections, Nigerian political parties have continued to contribute to de-democratisation. The central challenge of party system dwells on party processes, inter-party relationship, violence, and other ecological factors (Momoh, 2013:27).

In contra-distinction, Jinadu (2013:6) rising to the defense of political parties in Nigeria especially in the fourth republic contend that this is not to say that all has been bad or that all has not been well since May 1999. It is only to point to creeping and indeed deepening contradictions, which require urgent policy action. The action is urgent, if the considerable and obvious progress the country has made towards deepening democratic transition since 1999 in the following areas is not to turn into a fleeting mirage: (i) continuing commitment to federalism; (ii) the political succession, in line with constitutional fixed term limits and/or through democratic elections, at the federal and state level, even if still problematic and controversial in several respects; (iii) the ebb and flow in the watchdog role of the legislature and judiciary especially at the federal level, under the separation of powers; (iv) the apparent subordination of the military to civilian control; (v) the vibrancy of the civil society as democratic sentinel; and (vi) the limited, though not inconsequential, success of democracy-promoting institutions, such as the independent national electoral commission, the national human rights commission and the economic and financial crimes commission

**4.3 Does the role of civil societies engender democratic governance in Nigeria from 1999 to 2017?**

The engagement of citizens in public affairs is the benchmark of the liberal democratic system. The availability of participation opportunities and the concomitant enabling process and institutional pre-requisites, allied with positive political orientations to the political system, make it possible for citizens to choose their leaders at elections and also influence the public policy process, and ultimately, the longevity of the democratic system of government.

Engagement in public affairs also serves as an important link between the government and the governed. It affords citizens in a democracy an opportunity to communicate information to government officials about their concerns and preferences and to put pressure on them to respond (Verba et al 1995). As a result, it also enables citizens to make inputs into the political system by channeling their demands and supports. Understood in this sense; therefore, participation enables the society to consciously set political goals. Verba and Nie (1972, p4) are very explicit on the relevance of participation in this context when they declared that It represents a process by which goals are set and means are chosen in relation to all sort of social issues… Through participation, the goals of the society are set in a way that is assumed to maximize the allocation of benefits in a society to match the needs and desires of the populace. Participation is not committed to any social goals but is a technique for setting goals, choosing priorities, and deciding what resources to commit to goal attainment.

**4.3.1 Civil Society and Democratic Governance in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic: An Appraisal**

Primarily, the role of civil society in democratic governance as highlighted by scholars revolve round advocacy, civic engagement, sensitization, election monitoring, media watch, budget tracking, provision of socio-economic services, legislative advocacy, promotion of inter and intra ethnic peace, among others(Baryart,1986,Osaghae 1997, Diamond 1999, Mercy 2012, Fadakinte 2013. This section identifies some civil society groups in the fourth republic and their roles and also examines some of the threats to Nigeria democracy even in the midst of the proliferation of civil society.

Civil society organizations in Nigeria have since 1999 tried to advocate for the delivery of certain basic dividends of democracy to the citizens. Through public protests, consultations and media research, CSOs monitor the performances of elected representatives and demands response from them on certain national or local development issues (Mercy 2012). For instance, since 1999, the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) has played immense roles in civic engagements, research and documentations. Also, it has organized seminars and symposium for elected representatives, political parties and members of the public on several issues bordering on democracy and development. The staffs of CDD also joined other civil society organizations in the December 2012 fuel subsidy snafu protests in Nigeria. Founded in 1999 in Nigeria with offices in Abuja and Lagos, it has advocated for transparency, accountability and equity in democratic governance in Nigeria. However, due to the diverse and populous nature of Nigeria comprising 170 million people with about 250 ethnic groups speaking nearly 400 different languages, reaching out to the larger rural dwellers by this organization is very difficult.

In addition, the Save Nigeria Group founded by Pastor Tunde Bakare of Latter Rain Church has helped to demand for strict adherence to constitutionalism in Nigeria. For instance, following the protracted illness and subsequent death of President Umaru Musa Ya’adua in 2009, the group through public demonstration in Lagos agitated for the immediate confirmation of the then Vice President, Goodluck Jonathan to be confirmed as acting president following the inability of the sick president to perform his duties. Similarly in 2012, the Save Nigerian Group demonstrated openly against the removal fuel subsidy in Nigeria. The group with other civil society groups like the Occupy Nigeria Group (ONG), Citizens for Good Governance (CGG), Arise for Change (AFC) and Women Arise for Change Initiatives (WACI) joined in one of the largest demonstrations in Lagos since June 12, 1993 to demand for an end to the removal of fuel subsidy by the Nigerian Government. They demanded for the revival of the nation’s moribund refineries and the fight against corruption especially in the oil sector (Smith 2015).

Civil society sector in Nigeria has also helped in the provision of basic economic and social services to Nigerians in both urban and rural areas. They provide soft loans and agricultural incentives to members of the public, provide employment opportunities and basic social amenities like schools, clinics, pipe borne water and other essential services (Shedrack 2015, Mercy 2012). In Makurdi, the Benue State capital for instance, the Women In Nigeria (WIN) provides soft loans to women (Smith 2015).WIN also provide business seminars and symposium to business women in Makurdi on how to grow their businesses and to access loans. In KogiState, North central Nigeria for instance, Some CSOs like the Akpanya Welfare Association (AWA), Justice, Peace and Development Mission (JPDM) helped to build and renovate schools, Markets and Primary health centres(PE Okwoli, 2015).

In the areas of elections, civil society has helped to promote and advocate for a free fair and credible elections in Nigeria since 1999. In the build up to the April 2015 elections in Nigeria, the civil society sector was involved in all the stages of preparations, voting and collations, declarations of election results. According to Ikechukwu, A situation Room, a coalition of 60 local civil society organizations were involved in the minute by minute observation and monitoring and analysis of trends and events of the 2015 Presidential election. Following the challenges that besieged the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) during the Presidential election in some parts of Nigeria, the Situation Room noted thus; …is unacceptable, the inability of INEC to deploy its officials and election materials on time to allow for timely commencement of polls…officials and materials did not reach significant number of poll opening. This delayed accreditation and voting and led to continuation of poll till late into light in many places..situation room wishes to draw urgent attention to three critical areas of challenges, namely;(1) late commencement of elections; (2) Challenges with accreditation process; (3) performance of security agencies and use of social media(Ikechukwu 2015:9).

Through this process of critical criticism and identifications, civil society helps to deepen democratization processes. However, one of the major defects with civil society in Nigeria democracy is their elitist nature. Most of the CSOs with interest in governance or democracy issue are usually located in urban centres while the few in rural areas lack the necessary financial and administrative savvy to entrench and promote good governance. Inability of elected representatives to deliver on campaign promises despite receiving jumbo salaries and allowances. For instance, in 2013, the former Central Bank of Nigeria Governor, SanusiLamido lamented that Nigeria spent over 25% of its annual budget on the National Assembly alone while the majority of the citizens lived in abject poverty(Fadakinte,2012). Besides, the number of bills that had been passed by the National Assembly in Nigeria since 1999 up to 2015 is not in any way commensurate with the salaries and allowances spent on them.

Corruption which has been defined as the abuse of public office for private gain; dishonesty for personal gain, dishonest for exploitation of power for personal gain, depravity and extreme immorality and also as the manipulation of conditions to attain exclusive benefits to individuals or groups at the cost of social benefits is rife in Nigeria fourth republic democracy ( Uwen and Yearoo 2009, Adeyemi 2012, Akanbi 2005 ).

Corruption and bribery in Nigeria ranks highest in Africa and cuts across social, political, economic and cultural strata. Politically, corruption has become a canker worm in the country. Many Federal and state legislators, Ministers, Local Government chairmen had in several occasion been indicted for corruption ( Ogbo 2011, Adeyemi 2012). For instance, Nigeria had about seven Senate Presidents impeached between 1999 and 2007. Their impeachments were based on corruption cases. Also, the first female speaker of the House of Representatives in Nigeria was impeached on ground of corruption. There were also, cases of grand legislative corruption involving the Hon. Herman Hembe bordering on mismanagement of pension and stock exchange funds. Others were the senator Nicholas Yahaya, and Hon. Elumelu rural electrification scandal and more recently, the petroleum subsidy scandal involving Hon. Farouk Lawal and an Oil magnet, Otedola(Shedrack,2015, Charles 2015).

Political corruption especially at the state and local Government levels are rife but CSO have not been able to actively confront this menace. Civil society has not been able to legally confront corrupt politicians through citizen litigations. What is common in Nigeria is mere criticisms and comments on pages of newspapers and magazines. More worrisome is the fact that some local Civil Society Organizations have in certain grand corruption cases, staged public protests against the prosecution of high profile individuals in the country. For instance, the former Governor of Bayelsea state, DSP Alamesigha who was the executive governor between 1999 and 2006 was never challenged by any CSO until he was arrested in the UK. Although he dubiously maneuvered the UK Metropolitan police and ran to Nigeria by disguising himself in female attire, he had never been tried since his return, in fact, he was later granted a state pardon by the immediate past president of Nigeria, Goodluck Jonathan. Similarly, the former governor of oil-rich Delta State, James Ibori, who is currently in jail in London, was accused of money laundering and abuse of public thrust in Nigeria. However, when Nigeria law enforcement agents particularly, the anti- graft agency- Economic and Financial Crimes Commission(EFCC), made attempts to arrest and prosecute him in Nigeria, members of the law enforcement agents were confronted by his tribal and clannish association. Ijaw Youth Movement (IYM) resisted and engaged the police and EFCC officials in violent confrontations claiming that their son had not done any wrong. With the numerous number of CSO in Nigeria between this era of turmoil, none of them openly condemned the act through advocacy or legal means. James Ibori, moved freely and even attempted to contest the 2007 presidential election until he was miraculously arrested, tried and imprisoned in London by the Metropolitan police, in UK.

In the Nigeria oil sector, there have been excessive cases of corruption and abuse of public trust by managers of the industry and the political class. Nigeria annual crude oil production average 710 million barrels with 2.36 trillion cubic gas per year of which 68, 66(bct) is flared monthly representing about 823.92 billion (bct) annually. In monetary terms, Nigeria lost $72 billion to gas flare ( Ogbo 2011). More worrisome is the poor comatose state of Nigeria four refineries located at Port Harcourt, Warri, and Kaduna. Established with an installed daily production capacity of 445,000 barrels, however, none of the refineries is presently functioning. Instead, Nigeria imports millions of barrels of refined fuel from other countries at exorbitant prices. This has led to incessant hikes and scarcity of fuel in Nigeria with attendant increase in household commodities and transport fairs ( Shedrack 2015).

Although oil has been the mainstay of the economy since 1970s, the revenues generated have not been judiciously utilized due to corruption. For instance, between 1970 to 2005, oil contributed $391.6 billion to government and the foreign exchange earnings from oil between this periods was valued at over $593.6 billion( Ogbo 2011). In spite of these huge revenues, the economy has not grown nor the standard of living of Nigerians improved significantly. The lack of transparency and existence of obsolete laws in the sector have created avenues for perpetration of corruption. For instance between 1999 and 2007, President Olusegun Obasanjo sold ten oil blocks without proper bidding process to his political allies and business associates.

This is made possible because of lack of transparency, accountability and the existence of archaic laws in the sector. For instance, the petroleum industry Act of I969 gives the authority to allocate oil blocks in Nigeria to the minister of petroleum who is under, and answerable to the president. This explains why since independence, bidding process and allocation of oil blocks had been abused by the executive, and bedeviled by corruption.

For instance, in 2004, a South African based new print reported that a former president of Nigeria awarded a $ 1 billion oil block in the Niger Delta region to his wife’s hair dresser (Business Times, October 31, 2004). Also, in 2007, the acting Director of Petroleum Resources,(DPR), Mohammad Aliyu Sabo testified before the National Assembly members on the cases of corruption in the awards and sales of oil blocks that there are cases of insensitive and sharp practices in the oil sector and that even important documents on oil blocks allocation were missing. He further declared; we can only give what we have, because we cannot find some of the documents” (Ogbo, 2011:32). The probe panel also discovered that Shell Plc had in December 2003 paid $210 million as signature bonus to the Federal Government of Nigeria but only the sum of $1 million was reflected in the records. Earlier in 2003, the sum of $2.5 million was paid for OPL 257, by vintage oil but was spent five years before it was receipted on July 8, 2008.

In terms of public re-orientations and political enlightenment and civic education, civil society organizations (CSOs) in Nigeria have not performed well. Nigeria is a populous country with thirty six (36) states and the Federal Capital territory, Abuja and further sub divided into seven hundred and seventy four (774) Local Government Areas. With over 170 million people, less than 30% of these are literate while over 75% resides in rural areas lacking access to basic social amenities. Although majority of Nigerians are domicile in rural areas, well funded and articulate CSO which can educate the masses and conduct civic education are majorly based in urban centers mainly the FCT and in states and local government capitals. The effects of this elitist character of CSO could be gleaned in the staggering proportions of invalid or blank votes, ethno- religious violence, and electoral fraud ( Shedrack, 2015, Afred 2015).

Worthy of note is the issue of invalid/ blank votes that had characterized successive presidential elections in Nigeria since 1999. For instance, in 1999 presidential election, a total of 57,938,945 registered voters, the voter turnout was 30,280,052 while invalid/ blank votes stood at 29,848,441. Similarly, in the April 2003 presidential election, a total of 60,823,022 people were registered while voter turnout was 42,018735 and invalid/blank votes was 2,538,246. In addition, in the April 2007 presidential election, registered voters were 61,567,036 while invalid vote was over 8%. In 2011, invalid and blank votes were 1,259,506(Vanguard Newspaper, April, 23 2011)

The high preponderance of invalid votes in contemporary democratic experience of Nigeria amidst multiplicity of civil of civil society groups had been linked to the passive and drifting role of civil society groups and electoral umpires in Nigeria. Majority of the invalid votes are from rural areas where there are high rates of poverty and illiteracy. Ideally, with the exponential growth in the number of CSOs and increased funding from foreign donor agencies, one would have expected that the level of political awareness and civic education from civil society will nip in the bud the incidence of invalid votes, electoral frauds and violence but this is not the case with fourth republic Nigeria according to Peter Okwori, elitist structure of majority of the CSO with heavy concentration in Abuja and state capitals and major cities to the neglect of rural areas coupled with high incidences of corruption among CSO leading to diversion of funds are responsible for this unsavory scenarios(Peter, 2015).

Closely related to this is the issue of electoral frauds which had plagued Nigeria’s nascent democracy since the return to civil rule in 29th May 1999. Although the 1999 presidential election because fairly devoid of excessive frauds, mainly because it was midwife by the military that of 2003 and 2007 was marred by irregularities. There were numerous cases of ballot box snatching and stuffing of ballot papers, under age voting, intimidation of voters, attack of electoral officials, and hijacking of electoral materials by political thugs among other electoral malfeasances. What did civil society group do as all these anomalies happened? Why should all these occur amidst charades of CSOs? In fact, after the 2007 presidential election, the late president Umaru Musa Yar’adua acknowledged that the election that brought him to power was rigged but promised to carry out electoral reforms. There were high cases of stolen mandates. In fact, civil society organizations which observed and monitored the elections with copious evidences of electoral malpractice could not go to court to challenge any of the results. For instance, following the 2007 governorship election in Nigeria, election results were upturned in Kogi, Sokoto, Edo, Bayelsa, Ogun and Ondo state by the court on the grounds of electoral frauds( Shederack 2015, Afred 2015, Peter 2015).

Furthermore, since the emergence of the fourth republic in Nigeria, ethnic militia groups have negatively affected the delivery and pursuit of the dividends of good governance to the people. in contemporary Nigeria, ethnic militia groups like Odua Peoples’ Congress, Movement For the Actualization of the S overeign State of Biafra, Egbesu Boys, Ombatse, Niger Delta Volunteer Force, Arewa Peoples; Congress and other clandestine socio-cultural associational groups have by the manifestation of its activities hindered democracy. Although these groups from liberal perspective, are classified as Civil Society Organization but their incessant use of force and violence which have led to loss of lives and property in different parts of Nigeria work against democracy in Nigeria.

Vaaseh (2010) argued that some civil society groups in Nigeria have stymied the growth and consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. He poignantly pointed out that the OPC was involved in the killing of police officers and innocent Hausas in Lagos state in 2009. Danladi and Hemba(2015) using the Ombatse militia in Nasarawa State, North central Nigeria observed that while there are increase in the proliferation of militias as a result of state failure and weak civil society, consolidating Nigeria’s nascent democracy will be very difficult. This view was corroborated by that of Agbu (2011) whose study surmises that a major problem to nation building and democratic consolidation in post-military Nigeria is the rise and activities of ethnic militia groups. Danladi and Tanko (2015) had further opined that with the unregulated activities of militant socio-cultural associational groups, particularly the Ombatse in Nasarawa state, the pursuit and realization of sustainable development will be not be feasible. They advocated for the criminalization of Ombatse by the government and the punishment of promoters of such violent prone association in Nigeria.

Ombatse was for instance responsible for the death of seventy eight (78) members of the Nigeria security operatives comprising of the Police and State Security services personnel who were on their lawful assignment at Alakio village in Nasarawa state in 2013. Similarly, during this fracas, about twenty innocent citizens were killed and police vehicles destroyed. Since 2013, Ombatse had been involved in communal clashes with other non-Eggon ethnic tribes in Nasarawa state including the arrest and torture of Fulani pastoralists. Since the resurgence of Ombatse militancy, civil society organizations in Lafia and other parts of Nigeria have not made any frantic efforts toward mediating advocating for criminalization of Ombatse. Moreover, with copious evidences of grave human right abuse been perpetrated by Ombatse, no civil society has dared file a law suit against Ombatse either in Nigeria or the International criminal court. Although, the promoters or sponsors of the Ombatse had been identified by government of Nasarawa state, civil liberty organizations have not advocated for sanction or prosecution of indicted members.

Social capital is another great component of civil society which has globally been acknowledged as been critical and imperative in promotion of cooperation, trust, friendship and solidarity among members. Fukuyama observed that social capital is that common spirit of unity, trust, love and camaraderie usually associated and built by members of a civil society over a period of time (Fukuyama 2011) For instance, members of a socio-cultural associations like the theIgala Cultural and Development Association(ICDA),Christians Association of Nigeria(CAN), Muslim League of Nigeria(MLN), Federation of Muslim Women in Nigeria(FORWAN), and other tend to trust and cherish one another over a period of time. This trust, Fukuyama noted is imperative in building mutual peace, tranquility and cohesion especially in a multi-ethnic liberal democratic state.

Within the Nigeria’s democratic landscape, this has not been sustained since the emergence of the fourth republic. This is because, there are immense internal crack and disunity among member of most civil society groups especially cultural associational groups in Nigeria. for instance, there is problem in CAN as a result of its recent alignment and identification with members of political parties in Nigeria. This has made some Christian bodies in Nigeria to break away from CAN. Similarly, the onslaught of Islamic terrorist group, Boko Haram in Nigeria, which has killed many Muslims and non-Muslims in Nigeria has created a high sense of suspicious among Muslim organizations in Nigeria. in fact, corruption has negatively affected the socio-cultural and political fulcrum of modern Nigeria and this has been responsible for the high spate of intra and inter-ethnic violence in Nigeria.

**CHAPTER FIVE**

**SUMMARY OF FINDING, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

**5.1 Summary of Finding:**

According to the chairman of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Prof. Attahiru Jega, only 35% of the 70 million qualified voters participated in the general elections. This was due to the fact that the entire electoral process was shoddily handled. Apart from political apathy displayed, the elections were scuttled by problems like poor – printed ballot papers and none availability of essential materials including result sheets (Punch Newspapers June, 2011). Drawing from these premises; the explanation of political participation as dominance in the recruitment of political officeholders in existing literature ranges from social class domination, Ebeano political structure, elite domination and undemocratic electoral system or the manipulation of electoral system in favour of the incumbent. While there appears to be a general notion by scholars that recruitment of political officeholders from 1999 to date has been violently manipulated, there is still a dearth of literature on political recruitment in Local Government administration in Enugu State.

A major feature of the Fourth Republic is the proliferation of political parties, that primarily do not seek to contest elections, but which are in more ways limited and self serving in roles and interests. Though the number of political parties was 30 in 2002, 33 in early 2006 and 50 in 2007, only 16 fielded candidates in the 2003 General Elections while only 26 contested the 2007 General Elections. Even the parties that contested the elections were merely “temporal machines for electoral contests” (TMG, 2003:18). Thus the major parties, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Alliance for Democracy (AD), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), and All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) have been plagued by deep internal crises, disorder, recurring tensions and turmoil manifested in factional fighting, expulsions and counter-expulsions, multiple executives and dual offices. There is a high level of money politics, political vagrancy, indiscipline and in-cohesion (Omotola 2009:612). Some months into the Fourth republic, with Obasanjo as President, politicians began to clamour for the registration of more parties. The federal government initially refused to register more political parties, a development that forced the unregistered associations to seek redress in court (Simbine, 2013:4). However, Political parties in Nigeria are not keen about deepening democracy; rather they are more preoccupied with the crude capture of power. They have abandoned their traditional role of membership recruitment and mobilisation, and political education (Momoh, 2013:27). With the emergence of godfathers, owners and joiners, political nomads and the use of uncivil means to win elections, Nigerian political parties have continued to contribute to de-democratisation. The central challenge of party system dwells on party processes, inter-party relationship, violence, and other ecological factors (Momoh, 2013:27).

The engagement of citizens in public affairs is the benchmark of the liberal democratic system. The availability of participation opportunities and the concomitant enabling process and institutional pre-requisites, allied with positive political orientations to the political system, make it possible for citizens to choose their leaders at elections and also influence the public policy process, and ultimately, the longevity of the democratic system of government.

Engagement in public affairs also serves as an important link between the government and the governed. It affords citizens in a democracy an opportunity to communicate information to government officials about their concerns and preferences and to put pressure on them to respond (Verba et al 1995). As a result, it also enables citizens to make inputs into the political system by channeling their demands and supports. Understood in this sense; therefore, participation enables the society to consciously set political goals. Verba and Nie (1972, p4) are very explicit on the relevance of participation in this context when they declared that It represents a process by which goals are set and means are chosen in relation to all sort of social issues… Through participation, the goals of the society are set in a way that is assumed to maximize the allocation of benefits in a society to match the needs and desires of the populace. Participation is not committed to any social goals but is a technique for setting goals, choosing priorities, and deciding what resources to commit to goal attainment.

**5.2 Conclusion:**

In conclusion, representative democracy is all about the emergence of political leaders through election and the relevance of political participation is that it is viewed as a source of interaction with the government as it serves as a platform for citizens to perform their civic duties or political obligations. Citizens who exercise their rights for instance by voting in elections are likely to be more satisfied with their membership of the state, and their own role in it. Civic engagement is consequently, a source of procedural utility- the valuation accorded the political process in its own right rather than its political outcomes (Stutzer and Frey, 2006). Citizens develop a sense of trust and confidence when they are involved in the political process but become disillusioned and estranged from it when there are limited participatory opportunities. Furthermore, electoral participation is viewed as “An educational device through which “Civic virtues” are learned” (Verba and Nie 1972). Through participation, citizens learn political responsibility; acquire knowledge about the political culture, the organization of the democratic system, its institutions and their functions, and roles of incumbents. It is thus related with political socialization. Increased awareness about the workings of any democratic system determines the level of affective and evaluative orientations which collectively underpin the legitimacy, stability and survival of the political system.

* 1. **Recommendation:**

1. Political participation as dominance in the recruitment of political officeholders in existing literature ranges from social class domination, internal political party membership and the financier of political parties otherwise known as political godfatherism. Hence, the study recommends that active participation of all the eligible citizens will provide general recruitment process for all citizens.
2. The 2007 General elections could best be described as electoral Tsunami or what have been euphemistically referred to as Direct Capture (DC), within the overall strategic framework of Primitive Accumulation of Votes (PAV). In early stages of PAV political parties rigged elections and although the state was generally not neutral, its institutions were used (instrumentalised) for the purpose of achieving PAV “In other words, state institutions were first captured by private interests, particularly political parties, and then deployed for PAV” (Ibeanu, 2009: 15). However, the study recommends that strong political mobilization can help in debasing the overall strategic framework of Primitive Accumulation of Votes (PAV) otherwise known as rigging.
3. In order to for the democratization process in Nigeria to be sustained and dividends of good democratic governance delivered to people, civil society need to be properly repositioned and strengthened. Strengthening civil society is therefore imperative so that they can improve upon the current poor existing structures of CSO. Thus, for Nigeria to have virile this to be achieved, the following recommendations should be adopted.

**Funding:** poor funding has been a major problem sapping the vitality of civil society in Nigeria and Africa in general (Diamond 1999, Mercy 2012, Fadakinte 2013). Majority of the civil society organizations in Nigeria depend largely on external source usually foreign donor agencies to finance their activities. In fact, virtually all the donor agencies have vested interest in certain areas of the nation and thus, money released for projects does not in many cases reflect the pressing needs of the people instead the donor goals and objectives stands clear. As a result, adequate constitutional provision on funding of civil society in Nigeria should be made. This could be achieved by creating a consolidated or national trust fund integrated in the national budget where registered civil society organizations in Nigeria can apply for fund annually. When this is done, it will help reduce over dependency of Nigeria civil society on external donor agencies with their stringent conditionality and narrow interest. As the common saying of he who pays the piper dictates the tune syndrome is not good as currently obtained in Nigeria.

**Urban and Elitist nature of CSO in Nigeria:** civil society organizations are greatly highly concentrated in urban centers with high number of educated elites as members. This has led to high rates of illiteracy and poor democratic culture among the rural poor. The effects of these can be seen in the staggering proportion of invalid votes and ethno-religious cum communal clashes in different parts of Nigeria. a way out of this ruse is to de-urbanize civil society in Nigeria by ensuring that CSO concerned with human rights, women empowerment, poverty reduction, civic education are located or headquarter in rural areas instead of urban centers. Closely related to the above is the issue of elitism of CSO. There is need for the integration of rural dwellers in civil society to actively participate in advocacy. This will help give them a sense of belonging in the civil society advocacy and engagement and coupled with the fact that most of the sensitive information needed for addressing the problems usually identified by CSO are domiciled with the people who are involved in the problem.

**Leadership:** the issue of quality and responsive leadership is one that affects the entire polity of Nigeria and not just the civil society alone. However, from the past seventeen years of unbroken democratic experience, it is clear that poor leadership is one of the banes of civil society in Nigeria. Some of the leaders of trade and labor unions in Nigeria had at critical moments abandoned their responsibilities of monitoring the activities of the state. Many had even ventured into active politics and are serving as state governors, ministers, senators and chairmen of local government councils. As Fadakinte (2013) observed, Comrade Adam Oshiomole, served as the president of Nigerian Labor Congress, (NLC), but is the governor of Edo state. Professor Pat Utomi, who founded the Value for Leadership Center in Lagos contest Presidential election in 2003 and 2007, Pastor Tunde Bakare, established the Save Nigeria foundation but contested the 2010 presidential election as a deputy to Muhammad Buhari under the defunct Action Congress of Nigeria party. The implication of the penchant by leaders of civil society in Nigeria have limited their performance and reduced the perception and attitude of the masses toward the third sector in Nigeria.

One of the ways to curtail this attitude of the leaders of CSO, especially from venturing into politics is to establish centers for training and retraining of civil society advocates and members. Such centers may be affiliated to universities or research institutes within the country where lecturers and civil society experts can teach, mentor and educate members and leaders of civil society towards making them understand in nitty-gritty the dynamic and trajectories of the third sector. This will also improve their performance and empower them with requisite skills to contribute to democratic governance in Nigeria. In addition, if this is done, it will help inculcate the ideology and philosophy of civil society activism into the members.

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