

**CONTRIBUTIONS OF CENTRE FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT (CDD)
AND COMMUNITY ACTION FOR POPULAR PARTICIPATION (CAPP) TO THE
DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA [1999-2016]**

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AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,
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NOVEMBER, 2018

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE
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POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES,
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,
ZARIA, NIGERIA**

NOVEMBER, 2018

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late father and mother Mal. Muazu Adam and Late Malm. Adama Lawal

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation entitled “Contributions of Centre of Democracy and Development (CDD) and Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) to the Development of Democracy in Nigeria (1999 -2016) has been carried out by me in the Department of Political Science and International Studies. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text or a list of references provided. No part of this dissertation was previously presented for another Diploma or Degree at this or any other institution.

Abdulkarim Adamu Mu’azu

Date

CERTIFICATION

This dissertation entitled Contributions of Centre of Democracy and Development (CDD) and Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) to the Development of Democracy in Nigeria (1999 -2016) meets the regulations governing the Award of Master Degree in Political Science of Ahmadu Belo University and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning	Page
ABN	Association for Better Nigeria	50
ACE	Alliance for Credible Elections	17
ACF	Arewa Consultative Forum	50
APC	All Progressives Congress	75
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism	72
ASUP	Academic Staff Union of Polytechnics	49
ASUU	Academic Staff Union of Universities	38
AU	African Union	71
C4C	Coalition for Change	117
CAC	Corporate Affairs Commission	81
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria	17
CAPP	Community Action for Popular Participation	3
CD	Campaign for Democracy	40
CDD	Center for Democracy and Development	4
CEF	Commonwealth Education Fund	126
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	26
CFCR	Citizen's Forum for Constitutional Reform	126
CLO	Civil Liberties Organization	17
CNPP	Conference of Nigerian Political Parties	104
COWAD	Community Women and Development	17

CRC	Civil Right Congress	103
CRESNET	Conflict Resolution Stakeholders Network	126
CSACEFA	Civil Society Action on Education for All	126
CSO	Civil Society Organisation	1
DFID	Department for International Development	117
DICSO	Democracy-inclined CSO	54
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States	71
ERN	Electoral Reform Network	17
ESCR	Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	27
EU	European Union	25
EWER	Early Warning Early Response	83
FBPW	Federation of Business and Professional Women	17
FCT	Federal Capital Territory	72
FLHE	Family Life Health Curriculum	85
HYPADEC	Hydro Power Producing Area Development	
	Commission	85
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons	77
IEC	Information, Education and Communication	127
IEDs	Impoverish Explosive Devices	77
IFES	International Foundation for Election System	125
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission	49
IPOB	Indigenous People of Biafra	78
IWPR	International War and Peace Resolution	117

JDPC	Justice, Development and Peace Commission	49
LACVAW	Legislative Advocacy Coalition on Violence Against Women	126
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender	23
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation	73
MAN	Manufacturers Association of Nigeria	17
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra	17
MDAs	Ministries, Departments and Agencies	74
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals	74
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta	48
MOSOP	Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People	17
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding	17
MWAN	Market Women Association of Nigeria	17
NADECO	National Democratic Coalition	17
NANS	National Association of Nigerian Students	17
NBA	Nigeria Bar Association	17
NED	National Endowment for Democracy	125
NEEDS	National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy	73
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development	71
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation	17

NHRC	National Human Rights Commission	28
NLC	Nigeria Labour Congress	17
NMA	Nigerian Medical Association	38
NNPC	Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation	46
NPPDS	Nigerian Political Parties Discussion Series	79
NSCIA	Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs	17
NUJ	Nigeria Union of Journalists	17
NUPENG	Nigeria Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas	49
NYCN	National Youth Council of Nigeria	53
OPC	Odua People's Congress	48
OSIWA	Open Society Initiative for West Africa	126
PCC	Public Complaints Commission	126
PENGASSAN	Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria	17
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party	46
PRP	People's Redemption Party	104
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme	41
SCT	Social Contract Theory	55
SEEDS	State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy	73
TMG	Transition Monitoring Group	17
TSA	Treasury Single Account	46
TUC	Trade Union Congress	17

UAD	United Action for Democracy	17
UN	United Nations	30
UNDP	United Nations Development Programmes	117
UNMC	United Nations Millennium Campaign	75
USAID	United States Agency for International Development	78
VPF	Virtual Poverty Fund	74
WAF	Women Advancement Forum	17
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa	17
WIN	Women in Nigeria	17
WRAPA	Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative	38

Abstract

The objective of this Study is to consider and determine the contributions of Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) and Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) to the development of democracy in Nigeria from the return of Democracy in 1999-2016. This research is encouraged by the contributions of some notable Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Nigeria which are playing active role in ensuring the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria particularly CDD and CAPP. This is because of their wide spread across the country and their acceptable programme and activities by the people. The CDD effort of monitoring elected governments to ensure transparency, fundamental human right, and voter education could be regarded as contribution to deepening democracy in Nigeria. Also the Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) effort as community based NGO which aimed at encouraging popular participation in governance, promotion of rule of law, fighting corruption, fighting insecurity and promotion of free and fair election are also instances of their contribution to the development of democracy in Nigeria. The survey research was used, alongside administering of 237 copies of questionnaires and purposeful interview to the leadership of the two case studies (CDD and CAPP). Appropriate sample size was arrived at using the Yamanes formula considering a 92% confidence level of precision, thereby giving room to ± 8 or 8% error level. Respondents data was analyzed using tables, charts and percentage presentation of respondent's view. The essence of this was to enhance understanding of data presented. The study is anchored on social contract theory (SCT) as a frame work of analysis while relying on personal information and informed opinion of pundits. The study concludes that CDD and CAPP, through their activities have contributed positively to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016. The study also concludes that challenges facing CDD and CAPP as partners in progress to other Civil Society Organization if not at addressed could slow down their activities which will consequently affect the development of democracy in Nigeria. These challenges include lack of funding and lack of unity among the Civil Society Organization (CSOs). It is recommended that unity among the CSOs is very significance for them to get the desired result. It is also recommended that development partners like United State of America (U.S.Aid), Department for International Development (DFID) and others should support CDD and CAPP financially to develop democracy and good governance in Nigeria.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This study was encouraged by the contributions of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in the country which has strived to consolidate the cause of democracy. This is through combating issues that undermine the country's bid to social and political developments over the years. This is because one of the challenges facing Nigeria today is democratic consolidation. After years of prolonged military rule, Nigeria came under civil rule (again) in 1999. Nigeria's return to civil rule came after some horrifying experiences of oppression and naked violence on the Nigerian people by the military that claimed to be in office and in power. Mojibayo (2013:133) argues that opposition to military rule was quite fierce as expected, because of the dangerous plunge the society had taken into corruption, poverty, ethnic conflict, economic mismanagement, pillage and brigandage in leadership and authority.

According to Hall (1995:26), Civil Society Organisation (CSO) is defined by autonomy, plurality, participation, social-economic and political engagements and civility. Civility or "civic virtue" is crucial to the character of Civil Society Organisation. It means that Civil Society Organisation engagements embrace the values of diversity, plurality, compromise, tolerance and cooperation; adherence to rule of law; respect for rights, the freedom of action of the citizenry and the diffusion of power vested in Civil Society Organisation groups and coalitions; and accepts the values of exchanges, competition and consensus.

Major constraint to political development in developing countries like Nigeria is rooted in the lack of stakeholders' involvement in decision making. Scholars agreed that lack of stakeholder buy-in attenuates the policy process, decreases efficiency and this in-turn

affects economic growth (Walton, 2015:12, Diamond, 1994:9, Odeh 2015: 65). This is where Civil Society Organisations can play major contributions by contributing to greater transparency and accountability.

Civil Society Organisation is actually a formation of the organised social life of citizens, the sphere of social life outside the Government, in which voluntary autonomous groups compete, collaborate and cooperate over interests and preferences. It is the network of institutions by which citizens represent themselves, a realm of associational solidarity, activism and engagement, and a site of collective civic and public action. It is further a theatre of discourse, debates, deliberation and exchange of public affairs, the arena of social relations and communication between citizens informed by law and public policy but potentially critical of them (Ikelegbe 2003:39). It is the means and the organizational framework by which citizens influence and engage the State in struggles over influence, change, domination, accommodation and opposition (Ikelegbe 2005:243-244).

Civil Society Organisation is a set or system of self-organised intermediary groups that are relatively independent of both public authorities and private unit of production that is of firms and families; and are capable of deliberating about and taking collective actions in defense or promotion of their interest and do not seek to replace either the State agents or private (re)producers or to accept responsibility for governing the policy as a whole; and agree to act within pre-established rules of a civil nature that is, conveying mutual respect (Schmitter, 1997:240).

The dire need for promotion and defense of the Constitution and rule of law, the enhancement of the integrity and efficacy of the democratic institution and process, and the development of a viable democratic political culture in the polity are envisaged as contributions of Civil Society Organisation (Jega, 2007:247). These contributions could be achieved through various efforts from below such as practicing democracy internally (Seong,

2000:95).

Civil Society Organisation exists as the engine of democratization. It sets the pace to facilitate the democratic process, providing basis for limitation of State power. It also supplements the contributions of political parties by stimulating political participation, promoting the development of democratic attributes and creating channels other than political parties for the articulation, aggregation and representation of interest. It also monitors State activities and disseminates information, which can help the citizens to pursue and defend their interest and values.

With enthronement of democratic governance in Nigeria on May 29, 1999, there is no doubt that Civil Society Organisation in Nigeria has been persistent in the agitation for good governance in Nigeria considering the experience of civil dictatorship in the present dispensation arising from the long years of military dictatorship which has negatively shaped the political culture of Nigerians. Civil Society Organisation has faced the challenge of consolidation of democracy through promotion of internal democracy by political parties, promotion of civility on political conduct, Free and Fair election, encouragement of popular participation, impartial monitoring and observation of elections and fighting corruption and election rigging (Jega, 2007:245-251).

Center for Democracy and Development (CDD) and Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) as parts and parcel of other civil societies in Nigeria have contributed to the consolidation of Nigeria's political development. However, the extent to which they have made impact to improve public welfare, strengthened cultural, social, economic and political life-wire of the society needs to be critically examined.

Despite the democratic progress Nigeria has experienced since 1999, strengthened by a peaceful transition of power after the 2015 elections, Nigeria is still facing the problem of high profile corruption, insecurity, disregard to the rule of law, ethnocentrism, sectionalism,

poverty, youth unemployment amongst others.

Additionally, a consistent lack of a sustained rule of law yields a power vacuum which often means uncivil results. Furthermore, the media has been at the forefront of democratic progression since independence. However, the media, like other Civil Society Organisation actors in Nigeria and other nascent democracies, have had tumultuous path to securing political rights and civil liberties. The turbulent path to democratic development has been interrupted by periods of military rule as well as unstable civilian rule.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

One of the greatest challenges in most developing countries practicing democracy including Nigeria is over-centralization of decision making and the lack of stakeholders involvement (that is involving the people) that permit patronage of powerful special interests and high levels of corruption. Development agencies expect a lot from Civil Society Organisations – from providing social services to fighting corruption (Walton, 2015:10). Over the years there have been arguments in favour of Civil Society Organisations. The dominant view is that Civil Society Organisations are perceived as more flexible, participatory and responsive to local needs of the poor. Hence, the contributions of Civil Society Organisations such as CDD and CAPP in the development of democracy in Nigeria between 1999 and 2016 cannot be overemphasised.

Nigerian democracy is faced with various challenges which include insecurity, poverty, corruption, election rigging, cry for marginalisation, ethnicity and religious bigotry; these have slowed down the speed of consolidating democracy in Nigeria. Civil Society Organisations are expected to play different contributions at different stages of the democratisation process, democratic transition and democratic consolidation (Diamond, 1994: 5).

Relationship between Civil Society Organisations, democracy and the State poses another challenge such that various governments came with their various degrees of co-operations with Civil Society Organisations in addressing the challenges and dynamism of democratic ideals. The Civil Society Organisation which ideally should be receiving and enjoying the benefits of good governance became the most oppressed, least developed and the last to benefit from the progress of "nation-States" (Ekeh, 2002). The relationship between the Civil Society Organisations and Government is thus an enigma.

Factors militating against the success of Civil Society Organisations due to lack of funds, unity and purposeful leadership among one another and lack of funding to promote their ideals have become issues in the growth of democracy. Today, Civil Society Organisations are facing greater challenges and a more onerous responsibility in helping to entrench democracy, enhanced good governance in Nigeria and make the attained democratic governance sustainable as well as irreversible than it did in the struggle to enthrone it. Civil Society Organisations must therefore remain active and alert in the light of the threat of democratic erosion and breakdown (Alison, 2000:145).

It is based on the forgoing that this work investigated the contributions of CDD and CAPP to the Development of Democracy in Nigeria (1999 – 2016).

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study attempted to provide answers to the following questions:

1. What contributions CDD and CAPP gave to the development of democracy in Nigeria between 1999-2016?
2. Whether there any relationship between Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP), democracy and the Nigerian State?
3. What are the factors that motivated the contributions of CDD and CAPP to the development of democracy in Nigeria?

4. To what extent did CDD and CAPP influenced the development of democracy in Nigeria?

1.4 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The aim of this research was to assessed the contributions of the Civil Society Organisations in the Development of Democracy in Nigeria as case studies of CDD and CAPP between 1999 and 2016. Specifically, the objectives of the research are as follows:

1. To examine why and how CDD and CAPP contributions are critical to democratic survival and development.
2. To establish the relationship between CDD and CAPP, democracy and the State.
3. To assess the factors that necessitated CDD and CAPP effort at consolidating democracy in Nigeria.
4. To determine the extent to which CDD and CAPP have influenced the political development of Nigeria from 1999 to 2016.

1.5 THE RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

In order to understand the reasons for the contribution of both CDD and CAPP attempt was made to answer the following questions:

- i. The contributions of CDD and CAPP in the consolidation of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016 is highly significant especially when considering their mediating contribution and education between the government and the people.
- ii. There exist a strong relationship between CDD, CAPP and the State to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016 particularly when compared to the military era before 1999 handover to the present democratic administration.
- iii. CDD and CAPP, through their activities have influenced the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016. These ware achieve through sensitization, education and involving people to participate in the democratic process.

iv. Inadequate funding and others major challenges were constraints to the effectiveness of Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) and Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP).

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study focused on the contributions of CDD and CAPP to development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

The choice of the area of study and time is due to the fact that the researcher was interested in the contributions of CDD and CAPP to development of democracy in Nigeria. Also, because of the researcher's interest in promoting a just society, internal democracy free and fair election, smooth transition, and the development of the Country at various spheres.

The scope of the study also looked at the Nigerian Civil Society Organisations from historical perspective but focused CDD and CAPP due to their contributions to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

1.7 DE-LIMITATIONS OF SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The research is limited to contribution of CDD and CAPP and the work also depends on structured and unstructured Questionnaire as well as oral interviews of some scholars and political actors.

Limitations range from the un-cooperative attitude of the respondents, financial and time constrains that disabled the researcher from having access to some of the materials needed for this work.

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study evaluated the contributions of Civil Society Organisations in the development of democracy in Nigeria specifically, the contributions of CDD and CAPP in consolidating democracy in the Country from 1999-2016.

It focused on the contributions of CDD and CAPP as major partners of Civil Society

Organisations in fighting corruption, promotion of fundamental human rights and the ideals of democracy such as free and fair elections, internal democracy within the political parties which can lead to the development of the Country as a whole.

It offered suggestions on how best and efficient the Civil Society Organisations such as CDD and CAPP can address its basic challenges such as lack of unity, inadequate funding, ethno religious conflict, skill manpower, corruption and internal democracy within themselves.

The study also covers the election periods of 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 respectively, which was the longest period in the history of elections and transitions in Nigeria.

To Scholars and academia, this study adds to the existing literature on the contributions of the Nigerian Civil Society Organisations in general, in relations to the development of a credible democracy and also provides a forum for members of CDD, CAPP and general public to express their views on the performance of Civil Society Organisations particularly CDD and CAPP. The study also constitutes a buffer to other intending researchers in carrying out research on CDD and CAPP.

1.10 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

The following concepts or terms are important for understanding the basis for this research work:

Development: Broadly, it refers to the development of institutions, attitudes and values that form the political system of a society. For example; increase in political modernization and awareness, development in democratic values that leads to economic development and advanced society.

Society: A group of people involved in persistent social interaction, or a large social grouping sharing the same geographical or social territory, typically subject to the same

political authority and dominant cultural expectations. It has been applied in this study using CDD and CAPP as formal groups that exercise their functions in Nigeria.

Democracy: A system of government in which power is invested in the people who rule either directly or through freely elected representatives. Democracy is used in the study to promote free and fair election, freedom and equality between people, fight against corruption and insecurity.

Poverty: This is the State of one who lacks a certain amount of material possessions or money. In this study, poverty was used to mean living under \$1.25 which is necessitated by corruption, unemployment, insecurity and poor leadership.

Human Rights: This is related to civil rights, natural rights, people's right and civil liberties, as all of them are concerned with the rights and liberties of individuals and groups within a free society.

Good Governance: This is term is used in international development literature to describe how public institutions and government conduct public affairs and manage public resources for the betterment of the entire society. Good leadership where free and fair election is allowed, freedom of fundamental human right is practiced, accountability, freedom of information and international democracy in obtained.

Bad Governance: The opposite of good governance, where mismanagement and misconduct of affairs that would hinder development and positive growth in the society.

1.11 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This study is organised into five closely interrelated chapters. Chapter one is the introduction which mainly outlines the research problems, research questions, objectives, significances, scope, limitations, methodology and conceptual clarifications.

Chapter two deals with literature review. It covers conceptual review, empirical review and theoretical framework. The literature under review are those related to Civil Society Organisation, democracy and development.

Chapter three dealt with research methodology, research design, sampling techniques, sampling population, population of the study sample size. Source of data collection, data collection technique method of data analysis and test of validity and reliability.

Chapter four assessed the contributions of CDD and CAPP. Data collected was analysed and presented. The discussion of the major findings to either confirm or reject the research assumptions, form the concluding part of this chapter.

Chapter five as a concluding chapter deals with summary of the major findings, conclusion and recommendations on how to improve the contributions of Civil Society Organisations in general and CDD and CAPP in particular.

1.12 GAP IN LITERATURE

Although there were researchers on the role of civil societies organisations particularly on the role of Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) and Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) my study centered on the contributions of (CDD and CAPP). From 1999 to 2016. The period and its dynamics was not covered by all other works.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the past two decades, the idea of Civil Society Organisation has attracted tremendous attention in political and developmental discourse. This is because political theory presents Civil Society Organisation as a crucial agent for the development of democracy. Although the term Civil Society Organisation is widely used in academic and policy circles, it has yet to acquire a commonly accepted meaning.

Definitions of Civil Society Organisation are bewilderingly diverse and the differences between them are often rooted in alternative social and political philosophies. Political theories of Greek, Roman, Liberal and Marxist backgrounds have attempted to conceptualize Civil Society Organisation. Debates about the historical foundations of the concept of Civil Society Organisation reverberate in contemporary analysis (Dickson-Waiko, 2003).

The works and activities of Civil Society Organisations have over the years engineered several forms of development in Nigeria. Activities ranging from protection against certain government policies, organization of seminars, conferences and enlightenment programmes to educate the masses or citizens on the various human rights and how to kick against abuse on such rights. Civil Society Organisations, through protest and campaigns have over the years worked to bring about accountability in government, in the sense that the government has become more accountable and responsible as a result of the eye cast on it by the Civil Society Organisations, hence bringing about people oriented policies that further bring about development in the country.

Civil Society Organisations as relates to democratic development have been subjected to different scholarly views in an attempt to ascertain the level of relationship or disparity that exist between two (2). Democratic development can be seen or comprises of two factors; social development and political development. Social development refers to a broad term that describes actions that are taken to build positive outcomes and prevent negative social outcomes that can adversely affect a community. These outcomes includes issues ranging from crime, poverty, gang activity, drug abuse, school disengagement, teen pregnancy, addictions and substance abuse, obesity, poor health, environmental degradation etc. The aim of social development is to improve the availability of support systems in the community that prevent negative outcomes before they occur or buffer (lessen) their impact. For example rather than reacting to crime after it has already happened, preemptive measures are taken within the community to prevent crime from ever occurring.

Preemptive measure starts with parents before they have children and very directly once conception has occurred. Evidence suggest that negative environments not only affect pregnant mothers but can very directly alter the architecture of the brain of the unborn child. Social development is about creating environment that enable children and youth to thrive and not merely survive. In other words, social development refers to the ability to create an enabling environment or building an environment that is conducive for man to survive, while political development on the other hand refers to a durable shift in ideas or institutions that alters the feasible set of options open to solving political problems. The study of political development can also be understood as the study of the evolution of the structures of the State, in correspondence with the changes occurring in the economic and social dimensions of group life. Political development has been defined in many ways that reflect the passage of societies and analysts preoccupations. One formulation dwells on the emergence of national sovereignty and the integrity of the State, demanding respect and upholding commitments in

the international system. Others identify the domestic attributes of constitutional order and political stability, attained through the formation of a settled framework of government, reliable procedures for leadership succession and a consolidation of the territorial administrative reach of government.

Bratton (1994:5) has warned of the dangers in appropriating a venerable concept such as Civil Society Organisation when trying to explain contemporary African politics. The dangers arise not only from the fact that the concept evolve on a distinctly European historical and cultural Milieu, but also because its usage by political philosophers has changed dramatically overtime.

This point was undermined by Pelczynski (1984:3) when he opined that “few social and political concepts have traveled so far in their life and changed their meaning so much”. The practical dimensions of the dangers are evident on the work of analysts such as Mersha (1990:2) and Gold (1990:20) who tried to apply the concept to non-western politics (Ethiopia and China) and found it “unwieldy” and “complex” respectively. Although there is some degree of elusiveness and fugitivity in the nature and meaning of Civil Society Organisation, the difficulty in application experienced by some scholars may not be unconnected to the tendency to adopt a “Eurocentric” mind set with its emphasis on individualism and libertarianism when operationalising the concept in non-western settings, rather than conceive of the concept as but one particular example of thinking politically about conflict, how it is carried out, and who has the “right” to engage in it” (Chandhoke, 1995:40) viewed from this perspective, Civil Society Organisation as we still see after exploring the layers of perceived meanings with which the term is burdened, is a useful formula for analyzing State – society relations, not just because it embodies a core of universal beliefs and practices about the legitimation of and limits to State power, but also because “it provides a vantage point for

the study of political practices and social movements, as well as establishing the connections between power contestation and the response of the State” (Chandhoke, 1995:41).

Civil Society Organisation is part of the approach that appears in academic literatures today, here, it regards the society as a certain arena or area of society, the public space between the State and the households, where groups constituted at a level beyond the family engage in public political activity (Bryant, 1990:6), Bratton, 1989:417). Although such political activity may be motivated by the quest for private advantage, it is not “private in the sense of being confined to the domestic or household arena. Instead, it is considered „public“ in two senses. It entails collective action in which individuals join to pursue shared goals; and it takes place in the institutional commons that lie beyond the boundaries of the household. A characteristic feature of this public space is the normative notion of civility defined not just in terms of simple courtesy and good manners, but a readiness to moderate particular individual and parochial interests in consideration of some common good through which other’s basic rights and interest would be protected. It is the acceptance of such collectivity and responsibility to the common good and the positive value of activities meant to safeguard it that are deemed to be at the core of civility and form what is regarded as fundamental virtue of Civil Society Organisation. As John Dewey might have it:

“Only by participating in the common intelligence and sharing the common purpose, as it works for the common good, can individual human beings realize their true individualities and become truly free.” (Ofonome:21)

Since the dawn of participatory democracy the rights of citizens such as the freedoms of expression and of association are seen as sacrosanct as I further stated this rights gives individuals and members of the society the freewill to join any organization that represent their interest.

Hence in Nigeria, there are so many Civil Society Organisations, they include the following: The Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) Alliance for credible elections (ACE – Nigeria), Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS), Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN), Women in Nigeria (WIN), Community Women and Development (COWAD), Market Women Association of Nigeria (MWAN), Federation of Business and Professional Women (FBPW), Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF), Petroleum and Natural Gas Association of Nigeria (PENGASSAN), Women Advancement Forum (WAF), Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA), Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Trade Union Congress (TUC), Nigeria Bar Association (NBA), United Action for Democracy (UAD), Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), Electoral Reform Network (ERN), Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ), Civil Liberties Organization (CLO), Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) etc., But this research work will place more emphasis on its case studies - CDD and CAPP.

All these organizations mentioned above, perform various functions in making sure the government is accountable and responsible to the people by checking their policies and acting as watch –dogs on the government which will further bring about democratic development.

In view of the foregoing, literature by different scholars on Civil Society Organisation as relates to the development of democracy in Nigeria are examined thus:

2.2 CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATION IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

The term ‘Civil Society Organisation’ is broadly defined as the participatory space between the formal apparatus of the State and informal settings of families and atomised individuals, where groups emerge to forge associational ties, articulate interests and

participate in public affairs. Much has been written on the concept, yet it remains one of the most controversial concepts in social science (Usman, 1988).

The term, Civil Society Organisation, from the ancient through the modern times has several uses and has always stood for different ideas with various interpretations (Seligman, 1992: Herbeson, 1994: Hall, 1995). In the classical period, the concept meant a regime that was committed to secure the rule of law on behalf of the common good, and the common good meant the provision of basic rights, public safety, education, system of communication and roads (DeLue, 2002).

Thus, Civil Society Organisation was synonymous with good society or a political association governing social conflict through the imposition of rules that restrained citizens from harming one another (Edward, 2004). Again, Civil Society Organisation stands somewhere, between a State with the power of legitimate coercion, a host of autonomous social groups and associations that are bound to manifest their obligation to their members (Johari, 2006: Seligman, 1992).

Civil Society Organisation, in its specific meaning, excludes those groups that belong to the market place and the State and those groups that are interested in acquiring political power, which is why political parties are not usually, included among Civil Society Organisations (Rooy, 2008). In other words, Civil Society Organisation acts as a buffer against the power of the central government and in that contributions encourages an atmosphere that allows various groups to follow their own courses without the fear of central government intrusions (DeLue, 2002).

However, Civil Society Organisation is not the same as society. While society stands for the entire social practices and interactions, both public (government) and private (governed), which mark a collectivity, Civil Society Organisation is the public sphere of

society, the mediation level, between the private and the public or between individual experiences and public articulation (Chandhoke, 1995).

From the above, Civil Society Organisation can be interpreted to mean two broad ideas. First, it can be interpreted to mean a kind of social order that involves the widest possible political participation and ensuring political accountability of the rulers to the ruled. Under this situation, a regime of Civil Society Organisation is undoubtedly committed to secure the rule of law on behalf of the common good making Civil Society Organisation to be a social value. Thus, as a social value, it is a kind of well- behaved society that we want to live in and, the goal for our political and social efforts creating an ideal society that is trustful, tolerant, and cooperative, including all conditions that are held to be universal and to be universally good. In other words, Civil Society Organisation here means, a historical moment, either a real or idealized description of society that exists when a set of prerequisites was in place (Rooy 2008).

The other broad idea describes Civil Society Organisation as a space that exists between the national government and the individual, the space that consists of a variety of different groups and associations, each of which is dedicated to upholding certain values and to achieve particular ends. In its simplest form therefore, Civil Society Organisation is seen as the “third sector,” distinct from government and business, (Civil Society Organisation, 2003) i.e. those intermediary institutions like professional groups, religious groups, labour unions, citizen advocacy organizations that give voice to various sectors of society and enrich public participation in democracy. In this sense, Civil Society Organisation refers to different forms of associations, often called voluntary groups such as families, religion organizations, trade unions, self-help groups, charitable organizations, private clubs, and so on (DeLue, 2002).

It is against this background that Civil Society Organisation is seen as:

That set of diverse non-governmental institutions, which is strong enough to counterbalance the State, and, whilst not preventing the

State from fulfilling its contributions of keeper of the peace and being an arbitrator between major interests, can nevertheless prevent the State from dominating and atomizing the rest of society (Hall, 1995).

Thus, Civil Society Organisation can mean both a social value and a set of social institutions. It can mean a political society with active citizens shaping its institutions and policies. It can also mean a bridge between society and polity.

The idea of Civil Society Organisation either as a social value or the third sector comprising free organizations has always been linked with methods of government. This is why Civil Society Organisation is related to democracy and liberalism. For example, Montesquieu clearly believed, from a theoretical perspective, that Civil Society Organisation should function as a counterbalance to governments in order to inhibit their tyrannical tendencies (Harbeson, 1994). In other words, Civil Society Organisation exists for the curtailment and containment of the powers of the State and its struggle is for limited State shapers (Johari 2006).

John (1998) argue that Civil Society Organisation plays a vital contributions in aggregating private interests and concomitantly State authority, and such is different from the State in its contributions, composition, shapes and contours. This approach finds an intellectual ally in Alexi's de Tocqueville writing on democracy in 19th century North America, which emphasizes the importance of Civil Society Organisation for the creation and development of democracy. De Tocqueville claims that Civil Society Organisation is thought to be separate from the State and political parties, thus referring to largely autonomous sphere of freedom.

Broussard (1990) seeks to clarify what Civil Society Organisation means and to analyze the contributions that it has or could have in the process of democratization, and what the civil in Civil Society Organisation refers to nothing that associational life may flourish in a society. He concludes that Civil Society Organisation has the potential to play key

contributions in democratic transition, although in each phase it plays two contributions in democratization. First, it acts as a countervailing power to the government, this is a watchdog contributions. In this organization, not all of whom are democratic or trustful; nevertheless they serve a positive purpose for democracy. Second and most important to democratization, civil societies act as a proactive democracy building force.

In this second contributions, organizations are not simply valuable because they are associations, but because they explicitly have public good in mind and operate within the confines of democracy themselves.

Diamond (1995) argue that Civil Society Organisation is the real organized social life that is voluntary, self-supporting, autonomous from the State and bound by the legal order or set of shared rules. It also involves citizens acting collectively inn public sphere to express their interest, passions and ideas, exchange ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the State, and hold State officials accountable. It is an intermediary entity, standing between the private sphere and the State. He then goes on to present some of the contribution of a Civil Society Organisation as follows:

- i. An organized Civil Society Organisation serves as a check against the excesses of government, human right violation, abuse of the rule of law, monitoring of the application of constitutional provisions.
- ii. Increases the participation and the skills of all the various segments of society and installs a sense of tolerance, thrift, hard work, moderation, compromise among the various competing parties in the society.
- iii. It serves as an alternative to political parties and can offer a refuge for those who are deprived from their rights due to non-membership of political parties.
- iv. It serves as recruiting ground for, and the training of members of the political or economic classes to enhance the quality of participants in government.

According to Schumpeter (1997) there are three conditions for democratic system that enables Civil Society Organisation to thrive. These include the degree of citizen's influence and oversight, the existence of responsible and responsive leadership as well as social harmonies.

Kukah (1999) argues that Civil Society Organisations have a phenomenal contributions to play in the democratization process. According to him, Civil Society Organisation could effectively influence the attitudes of government by way of strong media that continue to ensure that governments are on their toes and uphold principles of good governance, irrespective of the myriad difficulties that face them.

According to Sandbrook (1993) "People's Organization" if well mobilized, empower and enlightened them to contribute immensely towards the enthronement of a democratic social order and Civil Society Organisation is well in position to carry out these functions.

Civil Society Organisation is a system composed of totality of voluntary civic and social organizations and institutions that form the basis of a functioning society as opposed to the force-baked structures of a State (regardless of that State's political system) and commercial institutions of the market (Wikipedia).

According to Kean (1998), Civil Society Organisation meant a real of social life, market exchanges, charitable groups, club and voluntary associations, independent churches and publishing houses, institutionally separated from territorial State institutions. It is a term that both describe and anticipates a complex and dynamic ensemble of legally protected non-governmental institutions that tend to be nonviolent, self-organizing, self-reflexive, and permanently intentions both with each other and with the government institutions that "frame", constricts and enable their activities.

In one of the best brief attempt to soot through all the definitions of Civil Society Organisation, the British Library included the following characteristics. All observers argue

that Civil Society Organisation refers to voluntary participation by average citizens and thus does not include behavior imposed or even coerced by the State. For some observers, it only includes political activity engaged in through nonprofit organizations such as NGOs. At other end of the spectrum, some observed that Civil Society Organisation includes all forms of voluntary participation, whether in the public or private sectors, political or apolitical. Civil Society Organisation also includes not just individuals who participate but the institution they participate in; sometimes called “Civil Society Organisations”. Thus Civil Society Organisation is strong to the degree that those Civil Society Organisations are large and powerful. A Civil Society Organisation is one in which most people think government is legitimate and that their institutions can be trusted.

2.3 CONTRIBUTIONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATION

Support to Civil Society Organisations is becoming an increasingly important part of the development agenda. Located on the space between the family and the State, and promoting coordinated public actions among their members and other citizens, Civil Society Organisations have been celebrated most often for their contributions in promoting and protecting democracy, firstly increasingly however their contribution to economic development and poverty reduction are also being acknowledge and supported. Secondly, a fundamental aspect of the operation of Civil Society Organisations concern the mediating contributions that they play between the individual and the State, standing as a bridge to fill the lacuna between the State and the citizens in terms of policy formulation and implementation. Analysts have demonstrated empirically how both States and citizens can benefit when a dens web of Civil Society Organisations mediates the relationship between them. The performance of government programs is improved and the impact of State policy is enhanced and made more widespread when, instead of interacting with citizens as atomized individuals, State agencies deal with relatively organized citizens groups. Citizens are also

able to derive greater benefits from government programs and from market opportunities when their individual efforts are organized and made more cohesive by Civil Society Organisations (Ofoneme, 2013).

According to Aiyede (2000), civil societies do not generally observe democratic principles in engaging the State and they do not seem to possess the civic and civic character that should differentiate them from other groups in the society. The London School of Economics Centre for Civil Society Organisation's working definition is illustrative; Civil Society Organisation refers to the arena of uncovered collective action around the shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional and distinct from those of the State, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between State, Civil Society Organisation, family and market are often complex. Civil Society Organisation here embraced a diversity of spaces actors and institutional forms varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil Societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental association, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business association coalitions and advocacy groups.

However, considering the various perspectives, there is growing agreement that Civil Society Organisation, civic culture, and social capital are all important for strengthening and the development of democracy. Civil societies work with grassroots organizations that are often comprised of poor and marginalized groups. In this respect they both widen (in social and geographical terms) and deepen (in terms of personal and organizational capacity) possibilities for citizen participation. At the same time, NGOs, represents the interests of marginalized groups within the wider public arena, campaign on their behalf and seek to influence public policy. For example, several commentators have pointed to successful NGO efforts to support indigenous people and environmental movements across Latin America and Asia. (Clark, 1991; Babington et al., 1993; Fisher, 1998). Civil societies are said to check

State power by challenging its autonomy at both national and local scales, pressing for change and developing an alternative set of perspectives and policies. A recurring theme in the literature is the important contributions played by the NGO sector in democratic transitions and democratic consolidation in a number of countries, particularly developing countries. Civil societies have contributed to the fight for and transition to democracy, and have remained a significant political force since.

The relationship between NGOs, Civil Society Organisation and democratization is often assumed to be as follows: that while NGOs are part of Civil Society Organisation, they also strengthen it through their activities which in turn support the democratic process. Such a line in reasoning is informed by a particular vision of 'democracy', 'Civil Society Organisation' and the contributions they perform in blistering them (Mercer, 2002).

Civil Society Organisation is considered to play a key contributions in the consolidation of democracy, in checking abuses of State power, preventing the resumption of power by authoritarian government and encouraging wider citizen participation and public scrutiny of the State. Such actions enhance State legitimacy, 'a vibrant Civil Society Organisation is probably more essential for consolidating and maintaining democracy than for initiating it' (Diamond, 1994:7)

There are good reasons to believe why organizations originating in society can perform these mediating contributions more effectively compared to other organizations that are initiated and controlled by the State. While analysts of development have focused traditionally on the resources and capacities that exist among State agencies, a relatively ignored resources, comprised by the talents and energies that exist among the poor themselves, is increasingly being identified by recent studies conducted under the rubric of social capital. Civil Society Organisations, these studies, are important for mobilizing social capital to serve development objectives. Social capital has been defined as those aspects of

social organization, including networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Communities and groups that are more closely united by bounds of trust and networks of mutual assistance are more likely to achieve superior development performance compared to other communities and groups where such bonds and networks are weaker. Social capital in this reckoning has both a cognitive dimension – consisting of norms, values, attitudes and beliefs that predispose people towards collective action – and a structural dimension, composed of formal or informal organizations that facilitate collective action for achieving some common objective (Ofoneme, 2013).

2.4 FEATURES OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATION

In a bid to understand why the concept of Civil Society Organisation is vital for sustaining Nigeria's nascent democracy, its common characteristics that work in that direction are worth examining. According to Diamond (cited in Kukah, 1999), the following are its basic features:

- i. An organized Civil Society Organisation serves as a check against the excesses of government, human rights violation, and abuse on the rule of law, monitors of the application of constitutional provisions.
- ii. Increases the participation and the skills of various segments of society and instills a sense of tolerance, thrift, hard work, moderation, compromise among the various competing parties in the society.
- iii. It serves as an alternative to political parties and can offer a refuge for those who are shut out from their rights due to non-membership of given political parties.
- iv. It serves to enhance the bargaining power of interest groups and provides inclusive mechanism for them.

- v. It has a contributions in mitigating the excesses of fundamentalist, extremists and maximalists who tend to have a very narrow view of life. It also provides other alternatives for negotiations within a multifaceted society.
- vi. It can serve as recruiting ground, and the training of prospective members of the political or economic classes to enhance the availability of participants in government. In effect it is a leadership recruitment field.

From a literature derived by Ikelegbe (2003), a broad and illustrative feature of Civil Societies in Nigeria is presented below with additional examples from the researcher.

2.5 CHALLENGES OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN NIGERIA

Civil Society Organisation Groups in Nigeria had over the years, been confronted with problems that have made it difficult to function effectively as agent of development. One of such a challenge is the issue of political instability that is characterised of the Nigerian polity.

While some Civil Society Organisations are struggling to sustain and promote Human Rights and Democracy, some other Civil Society Organisations unfourtunately gave tacit support to the authorities, e.g. during the military era, some Civil Society Organisations were created by State purposely to fight the progressive Civil Society Organisations, e.g Association for Better Nigeria (ABN), Afenifere, Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF), amongts others who foughth the progressive Civil Society Organisations such as CDD and CAPP e.t.c.

Political instability and the frequent changes of government with its accompanied policy inconsistencies is a major hindrance to the development and growth of the Civil Society Organisation groups. To shed more light on this, Odeh (2012: 65) identified 3 problems and challenges of Civil Society Organisation Organisations viz

1. Disconnection from Rural Organizations

Civil Society Organisations activities are mostly restricted to the federal government level. They lack national spread. Most of these organizations are concentrated in Lagos and a few other State capitals in the country. This makes it difficult for majority of the Nigerian population, which live in rural areas to appreciate the contributions they play, imbibe their doctrines and through the process, develop political consciousness and confidence to resist inducement from politician.

2. Lack of Unity

Divisions among the Nigerian Civil Society Organisation along the ethnic and regional lines have not helped its democratic advocacy. This has led to disunity and disagreement among the Nigerian Civil Society Organisation practitioners in term of decision-making and unity of purpose. The internal contradictions within the membership make it difficult to agree on common positions during the period of engagement with the State. Such inherent divisiveness weakens efficiency and makes the associations vulnerable to penetration by government agents.

3. Inadequate Funding

Most Nigerian prodemocracy Civil Society Organisations are donor-dependent and the focus of foreign donors on democracy in Nigeria have expanded from supporting prodemocracy organizations to include the support for democratic institutions like the legislature, judiciary and other democratic institutions. This fiscal factor has also reduced the activities and impacts of some prodemocracy Civil Society Organisations in contemporary Nigeria.

4. Government Patronage

Most often, the Nigerian private media, under the umbrella of the Nigerian Union of Journalist (NUJ), rely heavily on government patronage (advertisement) for survival and their independence has been seriously compromised for this reason. There have also been claims

that the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) leadership compromised with government in the recent 2012 strike/mass protests against the withdrawal of subsidy on petroleum products.

5. Lack of internal democracy

The lack of internal democracy in most of the Nigerian Civil Society Organisations makes it difficult for members of these organizations to learn democratic values/norms within their organization. Thus, they cannot adequately inculcate this principle to citizens.

6. Lack of Skills for Civil Society Organisations

The Civil Society Organisations are also faced with lack of capacity in terms of knowledge, skills and methods of advocacy. It is expected that any organizations that wish to engage the State must be well equipped with superior knowledge and articulation of stronger points. This is still absent in many of the Civil Society Organisations in Nigeria (Ojo, 2011).

7. Corruption and Personal Enrichment

There have been accusations of corruption, ranging from lack of transparency in the utilization of donor-funds to outright embezzlement/conversion of foreign donations to personal use. This tends to weaken the Civil Society Organisations' moral right to engage the State. It also hinders people of integrity and value from associating with them. The impact of their advocacy for a change is also limited, because it is stated that he who comes to equity must come with clean hands.

8. Lack of State Support and Partnership

The relationship between Civil Society Organisations and the State is largely characterized by suspicion and tension. For the most part, State officials have viewed Civil Society Organisations as competitors of power, influence, and legitimacy in the public sphere rather than as development partners.

9. The Politicisation and Weakening of the Civil Society Organisation

Many Civil Society Organisation groups in Nigeria have faced this problem through patronage or repression, making it easier to suffocate democracy. To some Civil Society Organisation leaders, the offer of lucrative jobs in government (especially labour union leaders) have resulted in what Konteh (n.d.) describes as silencing the dissenting voices, paving way for autocratic and dictatorial regimes. This was most prevalent during the military dictatorship in Nigeria. Kukah (1999) corroborates and depicts this phenomenon as “co-option, incorporation and rejection” empirically revealing that some key members of the Campaign for Democracy “had sold out by reaching to Abacha in the search for a solution to the problem of the annulled election”. This did not only rupture the organization but demonstrated the compromise that may arise in a politicized and divided Civil Society Organisation. The politicisation and paralysis of the National Association of Nigeria (NANS) and the National Youth Council of Nigeria (NYCN) are typical examples of bodies that used to lend a strong voice to the Civil Society Organisation in the cause of democracy and justice.

10. Lack of clear-cut objectives, experience and organizational discipline

According to Kukah (1999), many Civil Society Organisation movements in Nigeria emerged without any experience in the “art of the dynamics and organizational discipline” required of them resulting in disunity among the groups. He provides the reasons to this in the internal contradiction of their emergence which was without clarity of purpose and objective, making it an “all-comers job” that was uncoordinated.

11. Ethno-religious and other forms of conflicts

These conflicts have been a great challenge to Civil Society Organisations in finding lasting solutions to them within a democracy. Often fanned by the embers of poverty and unemployment, youth become ready tools for unmitigated conflicts that threaten Nigeria’s democracy and corporate existence. Linked to this is the challenge of educating the citizenry

from its growing apathy to democratic and governance issues due to the pervasive divide between those in power and the citizenry which must be bridged.

12. The challenge of a globalized world system

This, no doubt affects negatively the contributions of the Nigerian Civil Society Organisation in promoting and sustaining democracy. The challenge confronting Civil Society Organisation within this view according to Gershman (2000) is to develop new forms of international collaboration that will enable ordinary citizens to defend their interests and identities in the face of powerful global forces that often seem beyond anyone's ability to control. It can be right to say the Civil Society Organisation currently lacks the capacity to meet this challenge due to the numerous factors even affecting it locally.

13. Corruption

Although most Civil Society Organisations claim to be fighting corruption, the way and manner they expend funds and monies given to them by funders within and outside the Country leaves much to be desired. In fact, this has made a significant population of the country to conclude that some of the organisations are set up mainly to siphon funds or embezzle grants given to them by foreign organizations. In some cases the members go out in search of bribes (Ukase and Audu, 2012).

Jega (2007) identifies other challenges of Civil Society Organisations particularly the Democracy-inclined Civil Society Organisations (DICSO). These include;

- a. Wastage of inefficient use of resources;
- b. Dissipation of energy through unnecessary duplication of efforts, and petty quarrels and rivalries based on exaggerated suspicions;
- c. Urban-bias in organization and mobilization;
- d. Inadequacy of effective civic education and community development;

- e. Lack of sensitivity to the plural nature of Nigeria, and the impact of prolonged military rule on ethno-regional and religious divisions;
- f. Crass opportunism and narrow-mindedness of leading cadres and activists;
- g. Preoccupation with matters of the moment;
- h. Lack of internal democracy and transparency;

Faced with these challenges, the Civil Society Organisation in Nigeria requires options for it to deepen the task of ensuring democracy is promoted and sustained. (Makmis and Samuel, 2001:50). Although, the Civil Society Organisations are making concerted efforts in consolidating democracy in Nigeria, they must not take the challenges and the tasks of the democratic sustainability for granted or even lightly. Hence, maximum concentration must be greatly given to their positive contributions in confronting the challenges and conscientiously executing the tasks (Jega, 1993).

Table 2:1

Typology of Civil Societies

Type	Leadership	Support	Dominant Activities	Dominant Orientations	Territorial Base	Example
Trade Unions	Representative	Mass Based	Workers welfare, socio political	Radical/Progressive	Urban/major Cities	TUC
Civic Associations	Representation	Mass Based	Socio-political		Urban/major Cities	NLC
Gender Groups	Limited Representation/ Sometimes leadership perpetuation	Limited mobilization of special groups	Gender issues, socio-economic empowerment poverty alleviation civil/human rights	Rights and Claims	Urban	WRAPA, CHIBOK Activists
Non-Governmental Organizations	Founders/Board of Trustees	Special Groups	Social Services Technical support Advocacy development activities	Rights and claims. Development Orientation Radical	Urban/major Cities	CDD, CAPP, CLO
Faith Based Organizations	Religious leaders often founders	Religious Based	Social welfare human capital Humanitarian Assistance	Parochial	Urban based	NSCIA, CAN

Media	Owners of Media House	Readership/ Broad based	Information, enlightenment, outlet for diverse views, public scrutiny of governments	Governance and Development	Urban based	NUJ
Professional Associations	Representatives	Members, sympathizers supporters	Protection and projection of professional interests, public advocacy	Professional, Governance	Urban based	NBA, NMA, ASUU
Students and Youth Groups	Representatives	Support Youth, Sympathizers	Protects against misrule, advocacy, mobilizational	Mobilizational, radical, contentious politics	Urban and Community based, Educational Institutions	NANS
Business Groups	Representatives	Business Sector, Corporate Bodies	Economic governance issues, policy advocacy	Collaborations with government, Remedial Actions	Urban based	Farmers Association Chambers
Socio-Cultural Associations	Representatives Founders	Identity groups, Communities kinship groups	Articulation of socio-political and cultural interests, contentious politics public scrutiny policy advocacy	Parochial, Conservative	Community Based	Ethnic, Regions, Communities, Clan associations
Uncivil Groups	Representative Founders	Members Socio-Cultural Leaders	Militant resistance violent engagements	Militant, Aggressive, Radical	Urban based	Militias, Cult Groups, Vigilants
Clubs/Development Associations	Representatives	Members, Opinion leaders and Kins	Socio-economic interests of members and support	Social and Economic empowerment	Rural and Urban	
Constituency Groups	Representatives	Members, families, interested others	Concerns of Constituents	Mutual and Welfare	Urban, Semi Urban and Rural	Associations of Women traders, farmers, artisans, the elders etc.
Organizations of Survival	Representatives	Members, families, interested others	Socio-economic welfare interest of members	Welfare and Support	Urban Semi Urban and Rural	Mutual Savings Groups

Adopted from Ikelegbe, 2013:17

From the foregoing features, there is no gain saying that Civil Society Organisation forms the bedrock of democracy in a society and even though it is seen to have been considerably weakened and politicized in many post-independent African States (Konteh, n.d.) or even as unorganized (Kukah, 1999); its being an effective check to State power in most of those countries has been significant and acknowledged over the years. It also implies

that Civil Society Organisation can best be understood and analysed within a historical perspective which also shapes its implication for democratic growth, sustenance and the extent to which this has been achieved as examined in details in a later section. (Makmis and Samuel, 2001:5)

2.6 OVERVIEW OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN NIGERIA

2.6.1 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN NIGERIA

Nigeria has a long and strong tradition of Civil Society Organisation, which represents the diverse and pluralistic nature of Nigerian society. Civil Society Organisation groups primarily led Nigeria's history of struggle and resistance. In fact, their formation and activities date back to the colonial period when different groups, sometimes locally and territorially based, and at other times transcending clan and "tribal" boundaries, became part of the nationalist protest against the repressive colonial State. Examples are the likes of *Egbe Omo Oduduwa*, the *Jamiyar Mutanin Arewa* that later metamorphosed into political parties to contest power after Independence. In the immediate post-independence period, Civil Society Organisations engaged in community "self-help" activities, provided humanitarian assistance at the grassroots level (CIVICUS Civil Society Organisation Index, 2007).

Following this, labour organizations, student associations, and the media provided a strong leadership and organized protests against unpopular policies during the first civilian administration in 1960 to 1966. Subsequent military regimes which came to power through coup d'états resorted to mounting political transition programmes without a push from Civil Society Organisations (Young, 1997, p. 23). Under the military regimes in Nigeria, there were attempts to stop, reduce or manipulate the activities of the Civil Society Organisations. This is probably understandable, as Civil Society Organisations thrive better in free democratic and liberal society. In spite on the limitations placed on their activities, the Civil

Society Organisation under the military played a significant part (particularly in the late 1990s) in the final ouster of military rule in Nigeria. Organisations like National Democratic Coalition (NADECO), Civil Liberty Organization (CLO), and Campaign for Democracy (CD) etc. were part of the Civil Society Organisation that fought against the subversion of the will of Nigerians and entronement of democracy in the country (Wisdom, Harrison, & Ebueku, 2011, p.5).

The Civil Society Organisation groups had largely been affected by the nature and politics of Nigeria since independence. During the colonial era, the Civil Society Organisation groups were mainly concerned with the nationalist protest against the repressive colonial State. After independence, the emphasis was on social and economic development. The Civil Society Organisation groups had to adapt its basic contributions to the new challenges. With the advent of the military government in January 1966 and the suspension of the constitution, the Civil Society Organisation groups became exposed to functions essentially incompatible with its traditional contributions. This is why Mohammed Salih (2001) asserts that: “in Africa, elite and ethno-nationalists have... [developed] ethnicity into a liberating force against colonialism and, after independence, against authoritarian States”(p. 24).

After the civil war of 1967-1970, the contributions of the Civil Society Organisation groups majorly shifted to preserving national unity, nation reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction. With increase in oil revenue, emphasis shifted to the development of infrastructures and provision of social services. From early 1979 till date, the contributions of the Civil Society Organisation groups has had to adopt to modern challenges of managing an ailing economy through Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), Rationalization, Nationalization and of recent, Privatization, Poverty alleviation, empowerment etc. (CIVICUS Civil Society Organisation Index, 2007).

The 1980s witnessed the proliferation of NGOs and the emergence of greater activism by the Civil Society Organisation sector. The late 1980s was actually the beginning point of the current golden era or flowering of Civil Society Organisations. This was actually a result of and reaction to the accentuation of the State, governance and development crises, which deepened poverty, unemployment, misery, economic decline, social ferment, job losses, corruption, human rights abuses, repression and deterioration of social services. Civil Society Organisation emerged from the public disenchantment, frustration and discontent and became a new societal force of popular striving for change. Civil Society Organisation emerged as a platform for the mobilization of mass protests, riots and strikes as part of resistance to State abuses, excesses, mis-governance and structural adjustment conditionalities.

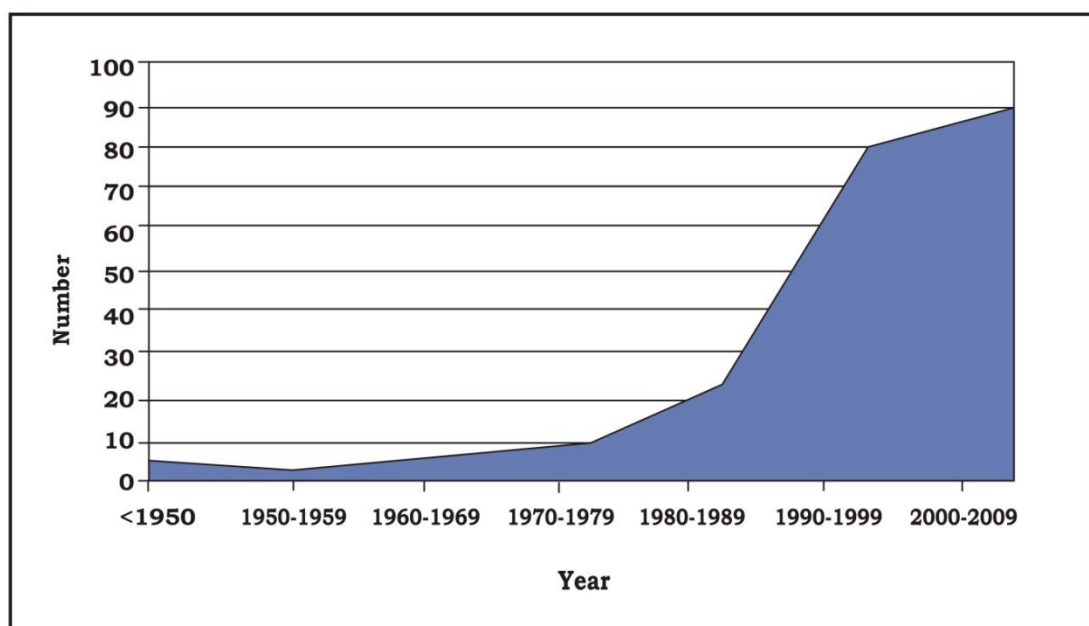
It also became a formation of dynamic arrangements of safety nets, welfare and survival options for the poor, the vulnerable, the excluded, the marginalized, the disadvantaged and the weak. The emergent Civil Society Organisation formation has been characterized with civic activism, vibrancy, mobilization, contestation, criticism and opposition in the civic engagements in the public realm. The Civil Society Organisations made huge progress as vanguards in the struggle for democratization, particularly the return of the democracy in 1999, revisions of certain economic policies, government concessions of some subsidies and cost reductions of some social services.

However, the Civil Society Organisation suffered from banning, repressions, arrests and detentions. But the experience under the military dictatorships left the Civil Society Organisations battle hardened, mobilized, vibrant and confident (Lee 2007:6). Civil Society Organisation has continued to flower since the inception of democratic rule. Apart from the rights, advocacy and environmentalist groups, civil and primary groups that articulate and express primordial and particularistic interests have blossomed. Further, nongovernmental organizations that address diverse issues ranging from human capital development, economic

empowerment, natural resource governance and conflict and peace building have proliferated. According to publication of Centre for Democracy and Development 2015, as at 2009, it was estimated that there were about 46,000 registered non State actors, particularly NGOs in Nigeria. The relevance and in fact vibrancy of the sector necessitated the appointment of a Special Adviser to the President on Civil Society Organisation during the Obasanjo presidency.

Figure 2.1

Distribution of Civil Society Organisations in Nigeria by Year Established



Adopted from Ikelegbe, 2013

2.6.2 CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AND DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

Where Civil Society Organisation is considered to be weak, underdeveloped or fragmented or where there is severe socio-economic strain, corruption, an ineffective legal system a tendency towards civil disruption is thought to be threatened. (Diamond, 1994:9)

It is important to probe into the peculiarities and complexities that have constituted a ‘road block against democracy’. The question may be posed for example; what are the

political infrastructures needed to build and sustain democracy? What are the contributions of individual groups, political associations, pressure groups, the elites and other stakeholder such as the Civil Society Organisation? Can democracy survive and develop without the active collaborations between the various interest groups? How can Africa and Nigeria in particular overcome the banners of what may aptly be ‘described as personal democracy; a democracy that is rooter in the whims and caprices of the individual tin gods. These are pertinent questions, which must be addressed if democracy is to develop and be sustained in Nigeria.

According to (Amartya, 2001) democracies enrich individual lives through the granting of political and civil rights, and do a better job in improving the welfare of the poor, compared to alternative political systems. Therefore, democracies, unlike authoritarian regimes, offer a better long term protection of property rights as well as individual and collective freedoms. In any democracy therefore, important decisions or questions of law and policy depend, directly or indirectly upon public opinion, formally expressed by citizens, the majority of whom have equal political rights. Democracy is therefore, meaningful to the extent that people participate in the political process, i.e. selecting their leaders and representatives, voicing opinions on policy and ensuring that leaders follow procedure in the process of governance. Perhaps, this is why Pericles said that democracy implies “a system in which people are powerful” (Cited in Johari, 2006).

Consequently, Civil Society Organisation is relevant in a democracy to safeguard citizens’ rights, because liberal democracy grants each citizen the right to express his passion for his interest, and pursue the interest with passion. But by the nature of the capitalist society, the State, which arose from the irreconcilable differences between the social classes, always acts in defence of the social order. Thus, laws in a capitalist society must necessarily reflect the values of the capitalist class and in that case, citizens are at the mercy of the

dominant capitalist class with the government and its coercive powers on the side of the capitalists. Also, the liberal democratic State is not for the furtherance of the interests of all. And in spite of its own pretensions, the State functions, not in the interest of all, but in the interest of the dominant capitalist class of which its welfare and not that of all is its *raison d'être*.

Thus, Haynes (1996: 106 - 107) argued that the primary function of Civil Society Organisation is that of maintaining a "check on the power of the State" or serving as "citizens" curb on the power of the State. On the issue of contributions of Civil Society Organisation, Maclean et al, (2001) argues that non State actors (Civil Society Organisation) serve as a vital instrument for containing the power of democratic government, checking their potential abuses and violations of the law and subjecting them to public scrutiny under an authoritarian regime and therefore, support to Civil Society Organisation can be one of the most effective methods for the establishment of democracy.

Maraming (2006) believed that Civil Society Organisation is a pillar of any democracy, the conscience of government, and the overseer of governmental actions. In that sense, it precedes the judiciary as the vanguard of citizens' freedom and the protector of their liberties, which makes the Civil Society Organisation a necessity in a democracy.

Thus, in order to guarantee the above and prevent the government from being a maximum ruler, that public sphere, the third sector that stands between the State (government) and society (people) needs to be active and agile.

If democracy means popular participation in the political process, a political system that grants citizens the right to freely choose their leaders and replace their government peacefully, then democracy cannot survive, if a public sphere or political society (Civil Society Organisation) is not recognized (Nnoli, 1994).

Indeed, we need Civil Society Organisations if we are desirous of practicing democracy and are ready for democratic consolidation. This is a way by which active popular participation will be achieved and it is also a way by which the revitalization of social institutions that are needed to nurture democracy will be promoted.

The current Democratic achievements obtained from 1999 to date is as result of vibrant activities Civil Society Organisations which generated the change from the then ruling party Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) to the then opposition party APC. Some of the achievements which are still counting include: Introduction of Treasury Single Account (TSA) which has brought cutting of wastages (N3tr saved), Bailout for States by the Federal Government (N629.5m) to pay salaries, a more transparent Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) - (40 number of accounts closed) and 60% of the refineries now working, placing war on corruption on top gear (\$321m) repatriated from Abacha Loot, fighting the insurgency to its knees and killing the ghost workers in civil service (34 thousand ghost workers detected) which brought a monthly saving of N2.29b(The Nation:2015).

2.6.3 FACTORS THAT MOTIVATE ACTIONS OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATION IN NIGERIA

The perversity of corruption, scourge of poverty and unemployment, the prevalence of human rights violation, poor leadership, political instability and security have been identified as driving forces of Civil societies in Nigeria. These are briefly discussed as follows:

1. Corruption

Corruption is an improbity or decay in the decision-making process in which a decisions-maker consents to deviate or demands deviation from the criterion which should rule his or her decision-making, in exchange for a reward or for the promise or expectation of

a reward, while these motives influencing his or her decision-making cannot be part of the justification of the decision (Otunba, 2016).

The pervasive corruption in the Country has been blamed on colonialism. According to this view, the nation's colonial history may have restricted any early influence in an ethical revolution. Throughout the colonial period, most Nigerians were stuck in ignorance and poverty. The trappings of flashy cars, houses and success of the colonists may influence the poor to see the colonist as symbols of success and to emulate the colonists in different political ways. Involvement in the agenda of colonial rule may also inhibit idealism in the early stage of the nascent nation's development. A view commonly held during the colonial days was that the colonist's property (cars, houses, farms etc.) is not "our" property.

Thus vandalism and looting of public property were not seen as a crime against society. This view is what has degenerated into the more recent disregard for public property and lack of public trust and concern for public goods as a collective national property.

2. Poverty and Unemployment

Poverty in Nigeria remains significant despite high economic growth, it first started sometime during the British empire. Nigeria has one of the world's highest economic growth rates (averaging 7.4% over the last decade), a well-developed economy and plenty of natural resources such as oil. However, it retains a high level of poverty, with 63% living on below \$1 daily, implying a decline in equity.

On the other hand, un-employment and under-employment were seriously confronting the Nigerian youth in all ramifications the increase in population of Nigeria is one of the challenging factors, facing the labour market which the government on its part failed to provide full employment to its citizenry. Unemployment is soaring high because some people that are employed in the formal sector are not qualified to work to the extent that some organizations employ people who do not have knowledge of the business.

3. Human Rights Violation

Abuses by members of the police and security forces remain a persistent human rights problem. There are frequent cases of harassment and extra judicial killings by law enforcement officers. Abysmal prison conditions have also been highlighted by the human rights community.

4. Poor Leadership

Clueless and bad governance culminates into a driving force that triggers civil society organisation actions in the society. Case of Chibok girls is a typical example. Lack of political will to implement policies that will shape the society positively is one of the factors that motivate CSO's involvement.

5. Insecurity and Political Instability

This is another serious factor that will ignite the struggle for change and general improvement on the life of the citizens. Nigeria is currently facing a lot of insecurity challenges such as Boko Haram, Cattle Rustling, Niger Delta Militia, Kidnapping and Farmers/Herds men. This is in addition to arm robbery, ethno-religious and election crisis, among others.

In order to consolidate democracy in Nigeria since 1999, Civil Society Organisation groups have been a lot of the dynamic contributions. From impacting on electoral reforms, legislative issues and outright condemnation of tyrannical tendencies in a democracy, the polity has attained some level of relative democratic stability. Even though affronts on democracy by groups such as the militant Odua People's Congress (OPC), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), the Boko Haram religious upheavals etc., there is an increased contributions of the articulation of ideas by more organized Civil Society Organisation groups to the extent that they consolidate and help in institutionalizing the democratic space. Obasanjo's failed 'third term' bid through a constitutional amendment

process, was but for Civil Society Organisation resistance that swayed or influenced the options of the National Assembly. Similarly, the recent political statement of a power vacuum created by Yar'adua's sickness saw the Civil Society Organisation making demands and pressures that resulted in a resolution of the problem by the National Assembly's use of its doctrine of necessity. The Save Nigeria Group (SNG), NBA, NLC, NUJ, the academia and other groups were instrumental in shaping the activities of government. In fact, the much applauded removal of Professor Maurice Iwu was a feat of Civil Society Organisation pressure while the appointment of Professor Attahiru Jega as INEC Chairman was not just informed by his past antecedents as ASUU President, but his acceptance among the Civil Society Organisation groups.

Similarly, the sustained contributions of election monitoring by the Civil Society Organisation has largely been a response to the challenges of the Nigerian electoral milieu. Under the auspices of the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG), a coalition of Civil Society Organisation groups interested in promoting and sustaining democracy, the 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 elections were under their watchful eyes as observers, with most of them noting the shortcomings and/or credibility of the processes in their reports.

The Electoral Reform Network (ERN), the Catholic Church's Justice, Development and Peace Commission (JDPC) and the Muslim League for Accountability have been involved in ensuring that credible, free and fair elections are conducted in Nigeria.

The organized labour under the umbrella body, NLC and its corollary associations have also been actively involved in pro-democracy movement activities in Nigeria. Ihonvbere and Shaw (1998) affirm that workers' contributions have been relied upon by political parties, human rights and pro-democracy movements, acknowledging them as the "popular communities and constituencies which determine the dynamics Civil Society Organisation of politics Civil Society Organisation and shape the overall character of the transition from

forms of authoritarianism to multiparty systems”. PENGASSAN, TUC, NUPENG, ASUP, ASUU etc. have spearheaded the clamour for good and acceptable electoral practices, better management of resources and general participation in governance by the citizenry.

It is essential to admit the significant activist elements of the Civil Society Organisation in Nigeria have mostly been shaped and influenced by a crop of professionals and intellectuals who believe in human rights, equal opportunity and democracy and who, by virtue of these values, according to Ake (2000) so grossly neglected in post-colonial Africa have always been outsiders to power such as the indefatigable late Chief Gani Fawehmi (SAN), Femi Falana, Late Bala Usman, Tai Solarin, Beko Ransome-Kuti, Balarabe Musa, Prof. Wole Soyinka, Pastor Tunde Bakare and a host of others. Their dogged clamour and supports have been relentless in ensuring institutional liberal democracy via multi-party elections accountability and the rule of law in securing rights, overcoming economic and political marginalization, exploitation and empowering those who are weak and making public policy responsive to social needs (Ake, 2000). All these are components that support democracy and nation building. (Makmis and Samuel, 2001:48-49). These forces of democracy actively pursue the struggle of good governance, Free and Fair election up till the election success story of 2015, when for the first time, an opposition party (APC) defeated the ruling party (PDP) after a kin contest which was widely applauded internationally.

2.7 DEMOCRACY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Adigun (1999) defined the term democracy as “a term that is used to describe an idea, process (a series of events leading to change or course of action) or a system of government”.

As an idea, a process or system, democracy entrenching and expands, or seeks to entrench and expand, the rights, ability and capacity of people, in any community, large and small from the most complex to the least complicated, to take control of their lives through participating, as fully as possible on discussion and decisions on issues and events that affect

them and their community. He further expressed by saying that democracy is by far the most popular form of government in the world today. There is hardly any leader who does not wish to be seen as a democrat or a regime that does not seek to be described as democratic. Democracy also holds a strong appeal among the ordinary people.

The word “democracy” comes from the ancient Greek thinkers, who were trying to identify the different forms of government of society in the world. They identified monarchy as government of the people by king. Of course, such a government serves the king, his purposes and the purposes of his agents. The Greek thinkers also identified aristocracy as government of the people by class privileged by birth, usually a nobility of privileged chiefs and their relatives. They identified plutocracy as government of the people by the wealthy, or course in the interest of the wealthy. They identified democracy as government of the people by the people themselves for the people. Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States of America who proclaimed the emancipation of black slaves there, at the same time democracy with original and correct Greek meaning as government of the people by the people and for the people, this is the real meaning of democracy.

Appadorai (2000) described democracy as “a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives, periodically elected by them. This means that a State may, in political science, be termed a democracy if it provides institutions for the expression and, in the last analysis, the supremacy of the popular will on basic questions of social direction and policy. Other factors, such as economic equality, fraternal feeling and the small size of the State, are describe and make for its successful working, the optimum of democracy; political liberty is the indispensable minimum.

Kaplan (1997), argue that “democracy emerges successfully only as a capstone to other social economic achievements”. The author cites many instances where democracies

are not yielding positive results for its citizens and instances where authoritarian rule has produced positive results.

Kaplan warns that while we preach our vision of democracy abroad, it slips away from us at home. He, citing the decreasing power of corporations and the decreasing relevance of governments closes with a warning that should the west fail to ignore the challenges and the threats to our “crowning political achievement of democracy”, we are likely to face the fate of early civilizations that thought them to represent the history of the culmination of civilization.

Schumpeter (1950), is of the view that democracy entails “institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions, which realizes the common good by making the people decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assignable in order to carry out its will”. In another perspective of democracy, it also emphasizes the emergence of political leadership. In this sense, democracy is an “institutional arrangement for arriving at political reasons in which individuals acquire the power to decide vote”. This suggests that democracy, as a system of government, stresses the sovereignty of the people.

Dahl (2009), posits that democracy is system of government that meets three essential conditions, an extensive completion among individuals and groups (especially political parties) for all elective position of government power, at regular intervals and excluding the use of force; a highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies at least through regular and fair election, so that no major (adult) social group is excluded, and a level of civic and political liberties, freedom of expression, freedom of press, freedom form and join organizations sufficient to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation.

According to Adewale (2000), while democracy has many meanings there is however a general agreement worldwide that democracy should guarantee freedom from poverty, war,

ignorance and squalor. In other words, democracy is a means to an end, not an end itself, the end is the promotion of a better life for the majority of the people. This is why democracy is, to many, an instrument for development.

Mills (1961) says that democracy is capable of developing man's power and capacities and a good society is one, which permits and promotes these activities. To him, liberal democracy was important because it was an effective means for the free development of individuality, it draws people in the operations of government by giving them right to participation in political life; such as voting, involvement on local administration and jury services was vital to create interest in developing as a prime mechanism of self-development and highest and harmonious expansion of individual capacities. He however, did not accept participation in the election as an essential means to human development to which he did not favour universal franchise.

Ake (1992) also noted that the kind of democracy that would be meaningful to the downtrodden masses of Africa would be social democracy, which goes beyond abstract, political right democracies of empowerment which invest heavily in the uplift of ordinary people so that they can participate effectively in government and be more complete in promoting their material interest. Further, Ake is of the view that democracy in Africa is still a problematic issue; the African environment is apparently hostile to democracy.

Amartya (1999:9) address several issues, central to examining the spread and promotion of democracy across the globe, particularly to the so-called non-western countries. One of the most frequently expressed concerns about the "export of democracy is to what extent this is a form of western cultural imperialism and/or if the promotion of so-called western values? He addresses these questions by pointing out the traditions of democratic practices across a wide range of cultures and civilization as the domain of the west notion that

“western” culture is a direct descendant of the Greek democratic tradition, or somehow “more” descended from his tradition than so-called non-western cultures.

Sen (1993:3) suggests that one of the reasons that democracy has been inaccurately understood to be more “western” is the proliferation of a narrow understanding of democracy that is conceived of exclusively in terms of “public balloting” while voting has become an important part of a functioning democracy, he argues that democracy is best understood in much broader terms. Sen posits that, when we are sufficiently aware of the diverse and multifaceted roots of democracy, it becomes clear that far from a “western” concept, democracy is a universal value.

From the above, democracy has some regular characteristics which include; fundamental human rights, popular sovereignty, rule of law, accountability, participation, political parties, election and the likes. Thus, democracy is about people and their collective aspiration and wellbeing.

Democracy is possible only when the government is elected by the common people; when there is no influence of money or other form of wealth over the emergence of a candidate, or the running of the election, or over the victory or loss of a candidate; when the issues are those originating from the common people themselves and not those selected for the election by Aristocrats or wealthy people and when the government after election is run by common people in the interest of the people. Nothing else can be called democracy.

According to Claire (2007:12), “democracy has taken a number of forms, both in theory and practice”. The following kinds are not exclusive of one another; may specify details of aspects that are independent of one another and can co-exist in a single system.

1. **Representative** – Representative democracy involves the selection of government officials by the people being represented. If the head of State is also democratically elected, then it is called a democratic republic. The most common mechanisms

involve election of the candidate with a majority or a plurality of the votes. Representative may be elected or become diplomatic representatives by a particular district (or constituency), or represent the entire electorate proportionally proportional systems, with some using a combination of the two. Some representative democracies also incorporate elements of direct democracy such as referendums. A characteristic of representatives are elected by the people to act in their interest, they retain the freedom to exercise their own judgment as how best to do so (Wikipedia).

2. **Parliamentary** – parliamentary democracy is a representative democracy where government is appointed by parliamentary representatives as opposed to a “presidential rule” wherein the president is both head of State and the head of government and is elected by the voter. Under a parliamentary democracy, government is exercised by delegation to an executive ministry and subject to ongoing review, checks and balances by the legislative parliament elected by the people (Wikipedia).
3. **Liberal** – a liberal democracy is a representative democracy in which the ability of the elected representative to exercise decision-making power is subject to the rule of law and usually moderated by a constitution that emphasizes the protection of the rights and freedoms of individuals, and which places constraints on the leaders and on the extent to which the will of the majority can be exercised against the right of minorities.
4. **Direct** – direct democracy is a political system where the citizens participate in the decision making personally, contrary to relying on intermediaries or representative. The supporter so direct democracy argue that democracy is more than merely a procedural issue.

For Aristotle the underlying principle of democracy is freedom, since only in a democracy the citizens can have a share in freedom. In essence, he argues that this is what every democracy should make of its aim. According to him, there are two main aspects to freedom; not merit, and to be able to live as one pleases.

From the forgoing, Civil Society Organisation has a link with democracy. It is through the activity of civic society that the concepts of democracy become meaningful.

2.8 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN NIGERIA

Human rights in Nigeria are protected under the most current constitution of 1999. Nigeria has made serious improvements in human rights under this constitution though the American Human Rights Report of 2012 notes areas where significant improvement is needed, which include: Abuses by Boko Haram, killings by governmental forces, lack of social equality, and issues with freedom of speech. The Human Rights Watch's 2015 World Report state that intensified violence by Boko Haram, restrictions of LGBT rights, and government corruption continue to undermine the status of human rights in Nigeria (Wikipedia).

The extent to which countries like Nigeria are able to institutionalize a culture of human rights, on the basis of which they could promote and protect the fundamental rights of their citizens, would be greatly related to the extent to which they speed up towards good governance and democratic consolidation (Jega, 2007).

Despite its democratic progress, Nigeria's human rights situation remains problematic. The most egregious violations occur in the context of the internal fight against the Boko Haram insurgency. Other widespread patterns of human rights violations relate mainly to weak rule of law and an intricate legal system, impunity of security forces, and discriminatory social practices (Zamfir, 2016).

Zamfir (2016) revealed further that Nigeria has ratified all United Nations (UN) human rights instruments, with the exception of four optional protocols, and has made no formal reservations to them. Nigeria has also ratified all binding African human rights instruments. According to Section 12 of the Constitution, international conventions are not directly applicable, and have to be enacted through national law. At UN level, Nigeria went through its second Universal Periodic Review in 2013-2014. Nigeria accepted to address the numerous recommendations issued to it by other states, with the exception of those asking for the elimination of discrimination based on sexual orientation. Nigeria is a member of the UN Human Rights Council for the 2015-2017 periods.

Zamfir further elaborates that since 2013, Nigeria has been the stage for extensive and heinous human-rights violations, committed by insurgent Islamist group Boko Haram. The group has indiscriminately killed civilians, abducted women and girls, forcefully conscripted young men and boys, and destroyed villages, towns, and schools, targeting both Christian and Muslim communities. Boko Haram has killed more than 15,000 people since 2011. At the same time, Nigeria's security forces have often been criticised for being unable to prevent the attacks, even when warned in advance, or for being slow to respond. They have also been accused of acting with impunity and committing numerous crimes themselves. Amnesty International has collected evidence of more than 1,200 extrajudicial executions, the arbitrary arrest of at least 20,000 people, countless acts of torture, and hundreds of enforced disappearances; allegedly, since March 2011, more than 7,000 men and boys have died in detention, due to starvation and thirst, severely overcrowded cells, torture and a complete lack of medical attention. Many of those arrested have been held in indefinite military detention and only a small number have appeared before the courts. Nigeria's military has dismissed these allegations, but has taken some steps to improve respect for human rights, such as establishing a human rights office and reinforcing cooperation with Civil Society

Organisation. The Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court considers that some of the acts perpetrated by Boko Haram and the army could potentially constitute crimes against humanity.

Allegations against the security forces are not limited to the Boko Haram campaign. The army allegedly used disproportionate force against protesters belonging to a Shi'a movement in December 2015, causing numerous deaths. In Nigeria's central regions, local authorities and security forces have failed gravely to protect civilians from communal violence driven by competition for land and ethnic and religious cleavages, which has claimed over 4,000 lives since 2010. The police have also been accused of acting without due respect for human rights. According to a 2014 Amnesty International report, arbitrary arrests by the Nigerian police are a frequent occurrence; people are held incommunicado and tortured to extract confessions or to extort money. There have been no serious sanctions against police officers accused of committing torture.

Some of these Human Rights as enunciated by Zamfir (2016) include:

Freedom and citizens' rights: Nigeria is known for its vibrant and pluralistic Civil Society Organisation and mass media despite a sometimes hostile environment. According to Freedom House, the rights to peaceful assembly and association are generally respected, although federal and State governments ban public events perceived as threats to national security, including those that could incite political, ethnic, or religious tension. Nigerian media, at least private outlets, are considered independent, strong, and free, but face numerous hurdles: for instance, government officials and powerful interest groups often subject journalists reporting about corruption, human rights violations, or communal violence to intimidation, strengthening a tendency to self-censor. The government-controlled media lacks independence, as observed by the report of the European Union (EU) electoral observation mission in 2015. Given the difficult conditions in which journalists operate,

Reporters without Borders ranked Nigeria 111th of 180 countries in 2015 in terms of press freedom, criticising the government for the restrictions it imposed on information about the military campaign against Boko Haram.

Equality: According to the US International Religious Freedom Report, even if the constitution prohibits religious discrimination and provides for religious freedom, some State and local government laws discriminate against members of minority religions; Christians and Muslims report discriminatory practices by local authorities, security forces and employers, and fear societal pressure if they change faith. The Constitution prohibits gender-based discrimination, yet there is widespread discrimination and violence against women. Socio-cultural practices based on customary law (regarding (forced) marriages, inheritance and widowhood) lead to discrimination and affect women's dignity. Sharia provisions in the northern states are also considered unfavourable to women. Some states have enacted laws tackling female genital mutilation, which is on the decline, and widowhood practices. At federal level, a Gender and Equal Opportunities bill signed into law in May 2015 transposes the provisions of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). There is widespread discrimination against LGBT persons. Same-sex relationships can carry long prison terms or even the death penalty in the northern states. The Same-Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Bill, ratified in 2014, criminalises public displays of same-sex relationships, and penalises organisations facilitating such conduct.

Justice: The justice system suffers from numerous problems, even if, according to Freedom House, in practice it has achieved some degree of independence and professionalism. Proceedings are slow because of a chronic lack of resources. Judges are low paid and prone to corruption and external pressures. Police make frequent arrests without evidence for prosecution, and many persons spend long periods in pre-trial detention. A new criminal

justice act seeks to tackle some of these issues, speeding up trials and limiting the powers of the police to prosecute cases.

Jega (2007) has categorised the challenges obstructing the efforts at promotion and protection of human rights in Nigeria. They include; Systematic problems, Constitutional/Legal problems, Institutional problems and Attitudinal problems.

He further gave examples of the problems mentioned above as follows:

Systematic Problems include:

Extra-Judicial Killings;

- a. Accidental discharge by security agents;
- b. Torture aimed at extracting confessions from criminals;
- c. Denial of due process to accuse litigants in court, police stations, prisons, etc.;
- d. Illegal Detention for long periods without trial by law enforcement agencies;
- e. Extortion from the citizens such as commuters on the highways;
- f. Environmental degradation caused by industrial activities e.g. Ogoniland oil spillage, etc.;
- g. Gender based discrimination in the public sectors by public officials;
- h. Inability of State to guarantee the security of lives and properties of its citizens;

Constitutional/Legal Problems include:

- a. Non-Justifiability of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ESCR) and lack of implementation of justice;
- b. Lack of clarity in the 1999 constitutions. E.g. case of settlers versus indigenes;
- c. Minority rights not adequately and constitutionally guaranteed in the 1999 constitution which brought about the fears of marginalization etc.
- d. Civil and political rights guaranteed in the 1999 constitution are also contradictorily restricted by certain constitutional provisions which need to be reviewed, for instance,

Provisions on party formation and registration, and lack of recognition of the desirability of independent candidates.

- e. International treaties and covenants signed such as CEWDAW, have not yet been domesticated.

Institutional problems include:

- a. Institutional constraints and limitations of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), as analysed by Tabi'u (2000);
- b. Institutional constraints and limitations of the police Force;
- c. Institutional constraints and limitations of the Judiciary and the machinery of the administration of justice;

Attitudinal Problems include:

- a. Attitude of the public officials in the discharge of their official responsibilities;
- b. Attitude of the citizens to their rights, responsibilities and obligations; e.g. Corruption;
- c. Inadequacy of public enlightenment programs and campaigns.

2.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Social Contract Theory (SCT) is adopted as a framework of analysis for this study. This is chosen from among similar theories relevant to the study such as Participatory Theory, Liberal Theory and Group Theory.

There are different accounts of the SCT by its various proponents, but they all hold the view that the people, by whose governments were instituted, ought to determine how they should be govern. Alubabari D. Nbeta (2012) States:

SCT is rightly associated with modern moral and political theory and is given its first full exposition and defense by Thomas Hobbes. And continues through John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau are the best known proponents of this enormously influential theory, other proponents include; Baruch Spinoza, Samuel Pufendorf (and others) to Immanuel Kant; whilst John Rawls stands out among its contemporary proponents not only for resurrecting it from the disrepute into which it fell after Kant but, perhaps more importantly, for incorporating into it some key

elements for its adaptation to the contemporary requirements of the State and citizenship.

SCT has been one of the most dominant theories within moral and political theory throughout the history of the modern West. In the twentieth century, moral and political theory regained philosophical momentum as a result of John Rawls' Kantian version of social contract theory, and was followed by new analyses of the subject by David Gauthier amongst others. More recently, philosophers from different perspectives have offered new criticisms of social contract theory. In particular, feminists and race-conscious philosophers have argued that social contract theory is at least an incomplete picture of our moral and political lives, and may in fact camouflage some of the ways in which the contract is itself parasitical upon the subjugations of classes of persons (Vallentyne, 1991). Contracarianism and Contractualism are often generally used as synonymous terms for social contract theories, the central idea of which is that 'the legitimacy of the State and/or the principles of sound justice derive their legitimacy from a societal agreement or social contract.' (Alubabari D. Nbeta, 2012). However, the two terms are also sometimes distinguished respectively as the Hobbesian model, and the Kantian interpretations of the justificatory problem, which is a central issue in the modern conceptualizations of the theory.

M.E. Lasker (2012) gave a summary of SCT by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau as presented below:

Thomas Hobbes

- a. His version of the social contract appeared in his popular book the 'Leviathan' (1651).

Thomas Hobbes theory of Social Contract appeared for the first time in Leviathan published in the year 1651 during the Civil War in Britain. Thomas Hobbes legal theory is based on Social contract. According to him, prior to Social Contract, man lived in the State of Nature. Man's life in the State of Nature was one of fear and selfishness. Man

lived in chaotic condition of constant fear. Life in the State of Nature was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.

- b. Man has a natural desire for security and order. In order to secure self-protection and self-preservation, and to avoid misery and pain, man entered into contract. This idea of self-preservation and self-protection are inherent in man's nature and in order to achieve this, they voluntarily surrendered all their rights and freedoms to some authority by this contract who must command obedience. As a result of this contract, the mightiest authority is to protect and preserve their lives and property. This led to the emergence of the institution of the ruler or monarch, who shall be the absolute head. Subjects had no rights against the absolute authority or the sovereign and he is to be obeyed in all situations however bad or unworthy he might be. However, Hobbes placed moral obligations on the sovereign who shall be bound by natural law.
- c. Hence, it can be deduced that, Hobbes was the supporter of absolutism. In the opinion of Hobbes, law is dependent upon the sanction of the sovereign and the Government without sword are but words and of no strength to secure a man at all. He therefore, reiterated that civil law is the real law because it is commanded and enforced by the sovereign. Thus, he upheld the principle of Might is always Right.
- d. Hobbes thus infers from his mechanistic theory of human nature that humans are necessarily and exclusively self-interested. All men pursue only what they perceive to be in their own individually considered best interests. They respond mechanistically by being drawn to that which they desire and repelled by that to which they are averse. In addition to being exclusively self-interested, Hobbes also argues that human beings are reasonable. They have in them the rational capacity to pursue their desires as efficiently and maximally as possible. From these premises of human nature, Hobbes goes on to construct a provocative and compelling argument for which they ought to be willing to

submit themselves to political authority. He did this by imagining persons in a situation prior to the establishment of society, the State of Nature.

- e. Hobbes impels subjects to surrender all their rights and vest all liberties in the sovereign for preservation of peace, life and prosperity of the subjects. It is in this way the natural law became a moral guide or directive to the sovereign for preservation of the natural rights of the subjects. For Hobbes all law is dependent upon the sanction of the sovereign. All real law is civil law, the law commanded and enforced by the sovereign and are brought into the world for nothing else but to limit the natural liberty of particular men, in such a manner, as they might not hurt but to assist one another and join together against a common enemy. He advocated for an established order. Hence, Individualism, materialism, utilitarianism and absolutions are inter-woven in the theory of Hobbes.

John Locke

- a. John Locke theory of Social Contract is different than that of Hobbes. According to him, man lived in the State of Nature, but his concept of the State of Nature is different as contemplated by Hobbesian theory. Locke's view about the State of nature is not as miserable as that of Hobbes. It was reasonably good and enjoyable, but the property was not secured. He considered State of Nature as a Golden Age. It was a State of peace, goodwill, mutual assistance, and preservation. In that State of nature, men had all the rights which nature could give them. Locke justifies this by saying that in the State of Nature, the natural condition of mankind was a State of perfect and complete liberty to conduct one's life as one best sees fit. It was free from the interference of others. In that State of nature, all were equal and independent. This does not mean, however, that it was a State of license. It was one not free to do anything at all one pleases, or even anything that one judges to be in one's interest. The State of Nature, although a State wherein there was no civil authority or government to punish people for transgressions against laws,

was not a State without morality. The State of Nature was pre-political, but it was not pre-moral. Persons are assumed to be equal to one another in such a State, and therefore equally capable of discovering and being bound by the Law of Nature. So, the State of Nature was a State of liberty, where persons are free to pursue their own interests and plans, free from interference and, because of the Law of Nature and the restrictions that it imposes upon persons, it is relatively peaceful.

- b. Property plays an essential contributions in Locke's argument for civil government and the contract that establishes it. According to Locke, private property is created when a person mixes his labour with the raw materials of nature. Given the implications of the Law of Nature, there are limits as to how much property one can own: one is not allowed to take so more from nature than oneself can use, thereby leaving others without enough for themselves, because nature is given to all of mankind for its common subsistence. One cannot take more than his own fair share. Property is the linchpin of Locke's argument for the social contract and civil government because it is the protection of their property, including their property in their own bodies that men seek when they decide to abandon the State of Nature.
- c. John Locke considered property in the State of Nature as insecure because of three conditions; they are:
 - i. Absence of established law;
 - ii. Absence of impartial Judge; and
 - iii. Absence of natural power to execute natural laws.

Thus, man in the State of Nature felt need to protect their property and for the purpose of protection of their property, men entered into the Social Contract. Under the contract, man did not surrender all their rights to one single individual, but they surrendered only the right to preserve/maintain order and enforce the law of nature. The individual retained with them

the other rights, i.e., right to life, liberty and estate because these rights were considered natural and inalienable rights of men.

Having created a political society and government through their consent, men then gained three things which they lacked in the State of Nature: laws, judges to adjudicate laws, and the executive power necessary to enforce these laws. Each man therefore gives over the power to protect himself and punish transgressors of the Law of Nature to the government that he has created through the compact.

According to Locke, the purpose of the Government and law is to uphold and protect the natural rights of men. So long as the Government fulfills this purpose, the laws given by it are valid and binding but, when it ceases to fulfill it, then the laws would have no validity and the Government can be thrown out of power. In Locke's view, unlimited sovereignty is contrary to natural law.

Hence, John Locke advocated the principle of - a State of liberty; not of license. Locke advocated a State for the general good of people. He pleaded for a constitutionally limited government.

Locke, in fact made life, liberty and property, his three cardinal rights, which greatly dominated and influenced the Declaration of American Independence, 1776.

Jean Jacques Rousseau

Jean Jacques Rousseau was a French philosopher who gave a new interpretation to the theory of Social Contract in his work "The Social Contract" and "Emile"(1783). According to him, social contract is not a historical fact but a hypothetical construction of reason. Prior to the Social Contract, the life in the State of Nature was happy and there was equality among men. As time passed, however, humanity faced certain changes. As the overall population increased, the means by which people could satisfy their needs had to change. People slowly began to live together in small families, and then in small communities. Divisions of labour

were introduced, both within and between families, and discoveries and inventions made life easier, giving rise to leisure time. Such leisure time inevitably led people to make comparisons between themselves and others, resulting in public values, leading to shame and envy, pride and contempt. Most importantly however, according to Rousseau, was the invention of private property, which constituted the pivotal moment in humanity's evolution out of a simple, pure State into one, characterized by greed, competition, vanity, inequality, and vice. For Rousseau the invention of property constitutes humanity's fall from grace' out of the State of Nature. For this purpose, they surrendered their rights not to a single individual but to the community as a whole which Rousseau termed as general will'.

According to Rousseau, the original freedom, happiness, equality and liberty' which existed in primitive societies prior to the social contract was lost in the modern civilisation. Through Social Contract, a new form of social organisation- the State was formed to assure and guarantee rights, liberties freedom and equality. The essence of the Rousseau's theory of General Will is that State and Law were the product of General Will of the people. State and the Laws are made by it and if the government and laws do not conform to general will', they would be discarded. While the individual parts with his natural rights, in return he gets civil liberties such as freedom of speech, equality, assembly, etc.

Furthermore, M.E. Lasker (2012) also made the following comparison of the SCT of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau as follows:

Hobbes asserts that without subjection to a common power of their rights and freedoms, men are necessarily at war. Locke and Rousseau, on the contrary, set forth the view that the State exists to preserve and protect the natural rights of its citizens. When governments fail in that task, citizens have the right and sometimes the duty to withdraw their support and even to rebel.

Hobbes view was that whatever the State does is just. All of society is a direct creation of the State, and a reflection of the will of the ruler. According to Locke, the only important contributions of the State is to ensure that justice is seen to be done. While Rousseau view is that the State must in all circumstance ensure freedom and liberty of individuals.

Hobbes theory of Social Contract supports absolute sovereign without giving any value to individuals, while Locke and Rousseau supports individual than the State or the government.

To Hobbes, the sovereign and the government are identical but Rousseau makes a distinction between the two. He rules out a representative form of government. But, Locke does not make any such distinction.

Critique of Social Contract Theory

Some criticisms have been raised against the SCT. Asirvatham and K.K Misra, (2012) categorized them into three perspectives, namely the historical, legal and philosophical. The strongest criticism from a historical perspective is that the idea of a period in time when hitherto free men came together to enter into a contract for the establishment of the State is fictitious. It is also argued that 'primitive men lacked the level of rationality which the contract theory ascribes to men in the State of Nature.

From the legal perspective, it is argued that even if, for the sake of critical argumentation, it is conceded that primitive men had attained the level of rationality and intelligence ascribed to them, the resultant contract would still lack a binding force over the parties. The nullity of the contract derives from the argument that for a contract to be valid, it requires the force and sanction of the State, and since the contract is supposedly temporally prior to the State, it logically follows that the contract operated outside of any validating legal framework. And, if the original contract is invalid, the argument further goes, then all

subsequent contracts based on it are equally invalid, and the rights derived from it have no legal foundation. The third criticism from a legal stand-point notes that a contract is supposed to be binding on only those who accept it voluntarily. Based on this fact, the question is raised concerning how the social contract can be binding on generations of peoples who were not party to the contract.

From a philosophical perspective, one criticism that has been leveled against the contract theory is that it assumes that the relation between the individual and the State is voluntary. But according to the critics, membership in a State is obligatory; hence, the obligations of an individual to the State are not contractual.

A person is born into one State or another, neither on his own terms nor based on his prior consent, in much the same way he is born into a family. Granted, one could decide, when one becomes an adult, to transfer one's citizenship to another State, but even in such a case, it is obligatory for one to accept the already established laws of that State. This view is expressed by Edmund Burke (9 vol 1981) thus:

Society is indeed a contract ... but the State ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some other such low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties....it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born. Each contract of each particular State is but a clause in the great primeval contract of eternal society.

However, this view has been criticized by others, for example Thomas Paine, who anchored the relationship between government and the governed on more liberal democratic principles.

A second philosophical criticism of the SCT concerns the assumption, inherent in it, that the 'State of nature' and whatever modes of life that preceded the contract are natural whereas all post-contract arrangements, including the institution of the State, are artificial.

Both this assumption and the contrary argument of the criticized Civil Society Organisation, that man is a part of nature and the State is an expression of his nature, are not very relevant to our present concern because it does not matter any much whether an arrangement is natural or artificial insofar as it satisfactorily resolves the problem(s) it is meant to address. It is also argued that if the State of nature was such that could allow for the emergence of a contract, then such a State must be a society that is conscious of what constitutes the common good of her members. Furthermore, it is argued that the social contract fosters a false notion that rights can exist in or outside (or prior to the establishment) of society; whereas, contrary to such a notion, social recognition constitutes the basis of political rights and obligation (Alubabari D. Nbeta, 2012).

Some scholars have also criticised the social contract theory, especially in its contemporary forms, as hinging on the idea of a hypothetical agreement rather than an actual one. However, this criticism appears to be rather otiose in the light of the distinctions made by Rawls among the perspectives of: (i) “you and me”; (ii) the parties to the deliberative model; and (iii) persons in a well-ordered society. To be sure, Rawls seems to suggest, and rightly so, that the agreement of the parties in the deliberative model is hypothetical in the two-fold sense of a hypothetical agreement among hypothetical parties. But the point of the deliberative model is to help “us” (i.e., “you and me”) solve the problem of deciding on what social arrangements we can all accept as co-equal persons. In other words, it urges us to provide reasonable and morally sound grounds for our convictions about the principles of justice underlying the social arrangements we decide on. Thus, according to Rawls, ‘the reasoning of the hypothetical parties matters to us because “the conditions embodied in the description of this situation are ones that we do in fact accept.” Unless the hypothetical models the actual, the upshot of the hypothetical could not provide us with reasons.’ (Alubabari D. Nbeta, 2012)

The third perspective, namely that of persons in a well-ordered society, underscores the element of ‘full publicity’ as a requirement for the social contract. In this sense, Rawls distinguishes three levels of publicity: (i) the publicity of principles of justice; (ii) the publicity of the general beliefs in light of which first principles of justice can be accepted (“that is, the theory of human nature and of social institutions generally”); and, (iii) the publicity of the complete justification of the public conception of justice as it would be on its own terms. All three levels of publicity, Rawls contends, are exemplified in a well-ordered society. For a contract to be justified, it must satisfy the full publicity condition, which implies that its complete justification should be acceptable to members of a well-ordered society. Thus, the hypothetical agreement itself provides only what Rawls calls a ‘pro tanto’ or ‘so far as it goes’ justification of the principles of justice. In Samuel Freeman’s analysis of Rawls, these principles become fully justified if and when actual ‘people endorse and will liberal justice for the particular (and often conflicting) reasons implicit in the reasonable comprehensive doctrines they hold.’ (Alubabari D. Nbeta, 2012).

With respect to Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau’s views on SCT, M.E. Lasker (2012), gave a summary of the critique of SCT thus:

Rousseau propounded that State, law and the government are interchangeable, but this in present scenario is different. Even though government can be overthrown but not the State. A State exists even there is no government.

Hobbes concept of absolutism is totally a vague concept in present scenario. Democracy is the need and examples may be taken from Burma and other nations.

According to Hobbes, the sovereign should have absolute authority. This is against the rule of law because absolute power in one authority brings arbitrariness.

Locke concept of State of nature is vague as any conflict with regard to property always leads to havoc in any society. Hence, there cannot be a society in peace if they have been conflict with regard to property.

Locke concept of laissez-faire is not of welfare oriented. Now in present scenario, every State undertakes steps to form a welfare State.

Relevance of SCT to this study

The emergence of Civil Society Organisations came to represent the welfare of the Citizens as people, while the rulers are the government of the day. As a third world country, Nigeria has not been particularly lucky in having political elites that are genuinely committed to the enthronement of democracy as a form of government. Thus, to the mass of the population, the State has failed to guarantee democracy. In the circumstance, they look for alternative organizational framework independent of the State. Some empirical evidence points to a close relationship between the popular struggle for democracy and the growth of such non-governmental organizations at the grassroots level.” (Dag Hammarskjold, 1992). Hence, the response to the failure of the State to meet the yearnings of the people and follow acceptable standard of democracy and its practice has led to the emergence, growth and expansion in the scope of Civil Society Organisations such as CDD and CAPP. This is in accordance with the position of Locke’s ‘contract of government which presupposes that: ‘the people had earlier given their mutual consent to the formation of society. And, then, as members of society, they later chose their rulers to form their government, each party having specific duties and obligations. The rulers hold power on fiduciary grounds and are accountable to the people. This provision wherein the people choose and can remove their rulers constitutes the source of the people’s power. (Alubabari D. Nbeta, 2012)

Flowing from the SCT as earlier discussed, and despite some criticisms leveled against it, SCT is a satisfactory framework for balancing the authority of the government and

the obligations of the citizens based on the supposition that they are parties to a pact. It is glaring the government plays an important contributions in this contract as the foundation of every government is the social acceptance by its citizenry to be governed by the appropriate authority. In Nigeria, we have a written constitution which has endeavoured to set out in clear terms what may be regarded as duties imposed on the State or those governing in order to ensure that Nigerians live a decent, prosperous, peaceful and productive life.

Like any other contract, it is important to note that the obligation to conform to the terms of social contract is strictly legal, that is, anyone living in any particular locality is obligated to follow “the law of the land”. The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in Chapter 4 sets out those rights which in their nature would guarantee a decent and happy existence for its citizens. These rights are described generally as civil rights. But whichever way one elects to describe them, they describe the rights which a citizen is entitled to and which legitimately the government of the day should deliver to the citizenry. Some of the rights are;

- i. Right to life(section 33)
- ii. Right to the dignity of citizen, personal liberty, fair hearing (see sections 34, 35 and 36 respectively). It is in everyone’s interest that the Police and Army not take advantage of their power and abuse us. This means that they must follow rules that protect us. For example, it is in everyone’s interest to have a criminal justice system that is effective at prosecuting lawbreakers while at the same time protecting rights of the accused and providing for fair trials and reasonable punishments.
- iii. Right to private and family life (section 37)
- iv. Right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion(section 38)
- v. Right to freedom of expression and the press (section 39)
- vi. Right to peaceful assembly and association (section 40)

vii. Right to freedom of movement (section 41)

viii. Right to freedom from discrimination (section 42)

Having listed the above, one cannot but remember that most oft-quoted line from Rousseau; “Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains”, Humans are essentially free, and were free initially, but the progress of civilisation has substituted subservience to others for that freedom derivable from rights conferred on the citizenry (Oguntade, 2013). The constitution of the State should thus truly be ‘The Constitution of the people. This will promote democracy. Unfortunately, the Nigerian State has deviated from this provision and the phrase ‘We the People...’ as contained in the pre-chapter of her constitution appears to be merely presumptuous. This is largely responsible for much of her political and ethno-religious crises as well as the prevalence of militant agitations across the country. Hence, SCT is indeed an Ideal model for reconstructing Nigeria into a truly united nation; a State that would be governed on the basis of commonly shared principles of justice.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the methodology chosen for the study. This include the research design, the population of the study, the sampling size and sampling technique, the research instrument for data collection as well as the pilot study.

3.2.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design adopted for this study is survey research method. This strategy was chosen because of the nature of the research topic which demands the collection of significant amount of data from a meaningful population size in an efficient manner. According to Tull and Dell (1993:329), survey research method enables a researcher to systematically gather information from respondents for the purpose of understanding and predicting some aspects of the behavior of the population of interest. Sambo (2005:108) explained that a survey research method is a type of research in which information is obtained from sample of respondents for the purpose of testing hypothesis or answering research questions concerning the States of a given problem.

Survey research method allowed the researcher to measure characteristics, opinions or behaviours of a population by studying a small sample from that group, then generalizing back to the population. The logic of survey assumes that it impossible or impracticable to observe all members of a given population. This therefore means that the method is efficient in getting information on the opinions, feelings and attitudes of the respondents, in this case, towards the contributions of CDD and CAPP in the development of democracy in Nigeria.

3.2.2 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

This study used the stratified random sampling technique to constitute the study population sample. This is considered important because of the impracticability of using the total population for the study. In this sense therefore, the stratified random sample has helped in the saving of cost, time, as well as envisaged logistic problems.

3.2.3 SAMPLING POPULATION

The researcher selected randomly a population of two hundred and thirty seven (237) respondents from CDD (78), CAPP (72) and General Public (87). This sampling is drawn from the members of both CDD, CAPP and General Public in Kaduna and Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja which were selected with knowledge of activities of both CDD and CAPP respectively.

The questionnaires were administered on the following categories of people; members of CDD and CAPP, members from the general public which are stakeholders in the civil society organizations, selected non-governmental organisations, civil servants, traders, members of political parties and other self-employed individuals.

Similarly, the researcher conducted an unstructured oral interview with prominent stakeholders to the development of democracy in Nigeria. To this end, prominent individuals like the heads of the two non-governmental organizations under study, the commissioner of information Kaduna State, selected party chairman in Kaduna State as well as distinguished academics were interviewed.

3.2.4 POPULATION OF THE STUDY

According to Ekeh (2003) population, statistically refers to the entire members of the universe being studied. This may be human being, animals, places, things or circumstance.

Sambo (2005) says population is the set of all elements, objects or events that are of interest for particular study.

Population can also be defined as the total number of people within a given territory. The population of the study refers to CDD and CAPP. But since the research does not intend to study the entire population in this case, he has resorted to use sample size of one hundred and fifty (150) from both CDD and CAPP and additional eighty seven (87) from the general public totaling two hundred and thirty seven (237). The general public refers to those with adequate knowledge of the activities of Civil Society Organization including CDD and CAPP.

3.3 SAMPLE SIZE

According to Anderson, (2010) a sample is a group of element selected from a population. Consequently, a sample size of two thirty seven (237) persons was drawn from the population using a simple random sampling method. Apart from that, questions relating to the subject of the study were asked. Respondents were required to tick right against the letters they feel is correct and to give opinions where it is required. Out of two hundred and fifty (250) questionnaires distributed, only two hundred and thirty seven (237) that is 94.8% were completed and returned. However, this is a fair figure representing 100% of the total sample size. This percentage is acceptable because the researcher expected at least 80% in his assumption. Thus certain generalizations are made in the study.

3.4 TYPES OF DATA COLLECTION

There are two major types of data collection, the primary and the secondary. The data for analysis in this work was collected from both sources. The primary type was obtained structured questionnaires administered to CDD and CAPP as well as members of the general public. The respondents provided the necessary information used to obtain the data for

analysis and interpretation to prove or otherwise, the research hypothesis. While on the other hand, data from the secondary type included information from journals, textbooks, newspapers and magazines which were used to review existing literature from the view of various authors on the topic under study to establish scientific and empirical validation authenticity.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUE

Both structured and unstructured oral interview questionnaires were used to examine the contributions of CDD and CAPP as case studies to the development of democracy in Nigeria.

Also, the researcher has justified the use of oral interview method to cover areas not covered by the structured questionnaire. This is because some respondents found it difficult to respond to questionnaire due to time constraints.

For the secondary types of data, information contained in published and unpublished materials were used. These include; pamphlets, journals, Government and organizational publications, textbooks, magazines, Newspapers periodicals, as well as online publications.

Finally, the accumulated experience of the researcher and ideas collected from academic engagements over the years serve as additional sources of information for the research.

3.6 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

This involved the use of some statistical tools such as percentage, mean score and chi-square test in order to make comparison, test the hypothesis and draw conclusion. Percentage is a statistical tool that uses 100 as its base. It is simple and makes comparison easier. Percentages are used in describing relationship.

Chi-Square test provides a means of comparing a set of observed frequencies with a set of expected frequencies. The test statistics for testing hypothesis is based on this quantity.

If the calculated value of Chi-square exceeds the table value, then the difference between the observed and expected frequency is considered as significant. Step involved in testing hypothesis.

- Statement of hypothesis. The Null (H_0) and alternative hypothesis (H_1)
- Determine the level of significance.

$$X^2 = \frac{\sum(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

Where x^2 = is the chi-square

O_i = observed frequency

E_i = expected frequency

Σ = summation

The hypothesis are tested at 5% level of significance degree of freedom (DF) = $(k-1)(r-1)$

Where;

K = number of column

R = number of row

I = constant

Decision Rule

If the calculated χ^2 value is less than the critical value at the appropriate degree of freedom, then accept the null hypothesis (H_0) at the level of significance of 0.05 and reject the alternative hypothesis (H_1).

The data resulting from the study were processed and analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. To be able to present and analyze the data, SPSS computer statistical package, tables, bar charts, pie charts and histogram were used. Frequencies and percentages of the quantitative data were subsequently analyzed and interpreted. Having done this, inferences were made based on the analysis of the data. The essence is to put the data in contextual form to enable the researcher answer the research questions as well as addresses the research objectives.

3.7 MODEL SPECIFICATION

A model is a mathematical expression of changes that would occur in one variable as a result of a given change in another. In the examination of the impact of marketing on deposit mobilization and profitability, the empirical research design here is in linear stochastic form. In this study, one equation was specified. In order to have a high degree of accuracy, random sampling model specification is to select a small segment of the whole population, so that, we can make references to the population, therefore, the model specification that is used in this study is a sampling technique.

3.8 TEST OF VALIDITY & RELIABILITY

The questionnaire, which was designed, based on the research questions by the researcher was corrected and vetted by distribution of the questionnaires to the various respondents. The reliability of the study can be traced to the response and result given by the people interviewed and supportive literature by authors and corrections made on some ideas

about the contributions of the CDD and CAPP to the development of democracy in Nigeria. The data obtained was tested using some statistical tools such as percentage, mean score and chi-square test in order to examine the validity and reliability of the data or research. The validity of this study was established through the answer from the oral interviews in conjunction with the research question therein, on the basis of the study, which is pilot test. The same questionnaires so designed were distributed to the members of these selected organizations and the public in Abuja. That is to say that the validity of the questionnaire was traced to the reaction gotten from the members and general public that responded.

CHAPTER FOUR
CONTRIBUTIONS OF CDD AND CAPP TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF
DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA (1999-2016):
ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

A total of 237 respondents' opinions on Civil Society Organisations were involved in this study. The sample was made up of 78 respondents who assessed the activities of CDD and 72 that assessed the activities of CAPP based in Abuja and other members across the country, while the remaining 87 were obtained from the general public with knowledge of the activities of Civil Society Organizations in Abuja and Kaduna respectively, such as students, lecturers and politicians etc. Their opinions on the contributions of Civil Society Organisations to the development of democracy in Nigeria is statistically analysed in this chapter. A comparative approach was used in the analysis as well as aggregate opinion on the investigated variables. The chapter is organized along the research questions and assumptions of the study.

4.2 DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The demographic characteristics selected for assessment along with the expressed opinions were sex, age, highest educational qualification, marital status and presents occupation. Each of these variables is tabulated in frequencies and percentages for the two organizations. Table 4.2.1 shows the classifications of the respondents by their gender.

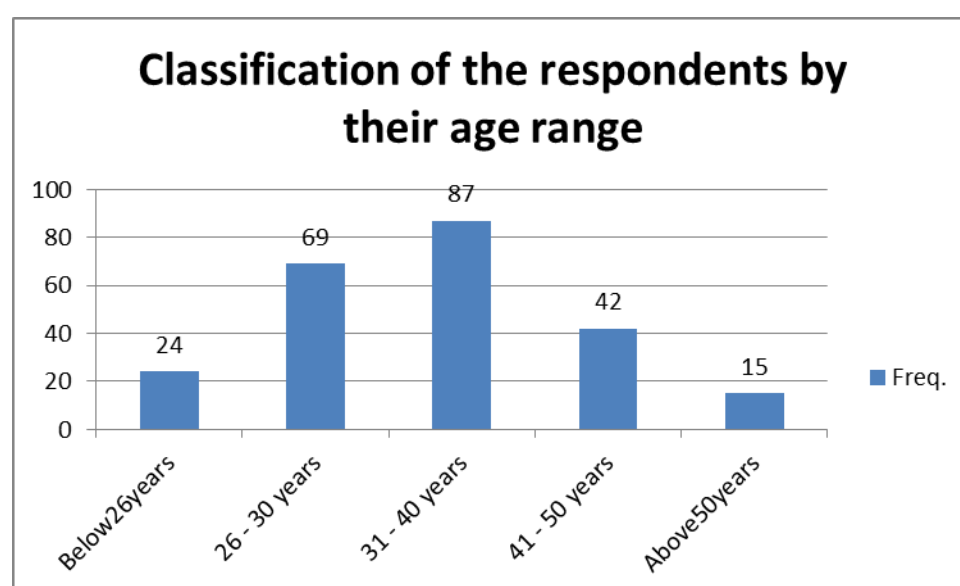
Table 4.2.1: Classification of the respondents by their sex and organizations

Gender	CAPP		CDD		PUBLIC		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Male	42	58.33	46	58.97	44	50.57	132	55.70
Female	30	41.67	32	41.03	43	49.43	105	44.30
Total	72	100.0	78	100.0	87	100.0	237	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

The distribution in the table revealed that respondents for the CAPP were made up of 42 (58.33%) male and 30 (41.67%) female. But for the CDD 46 (58.97%) were male and 32 (41.03%) were female while general public comprises of 44 (50.57%) males and 43 (49.43%) females. In the overall distribution, 132 or 55.70% were male while 105 or 44.30% were female. This distribution is expected to ensure a gender balance representation in the express opinion on the investigated variables as they are perceived to affect contributions of Civil Society Organisations in the development of democracy in the country.

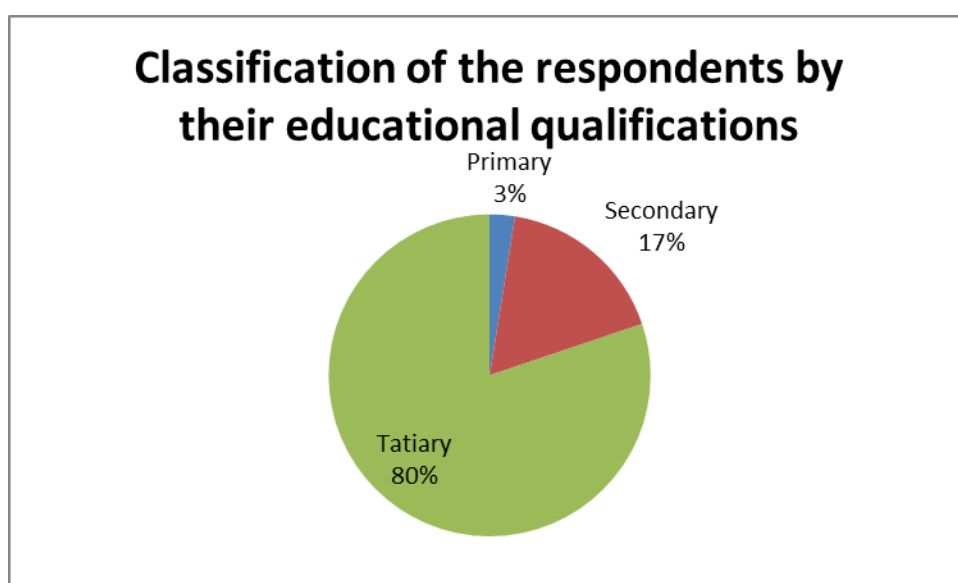
The classification of the respondents by their age ranges is presented in Table 4.2.2.

Table 4.2.2: Classification of the respondents by their age range on Column Chart

From the table, out of 237 total respondents only 24 were 26 years and below. Those within the age range of 26 to 30 years were 69. Respondents within the age range of 31 to 40 years were 87, the highest in the range. Those within 41 to 50 years were 42. Only 15 were above 50 years. This distribution clearly showed that the respondents were adults and therefore expected to have valid information as they affect the contributions of the Civil Society Organisations in Nigeria.

Table 4.2.3 shows the classification of the respondents by their highest educational qualifications.

Table 4.2.3: Classification of the respondents by their educational qualifications



The Pie Chart in the table above revealed that 6 (3%) of the total respondents were with primary school certificates as their highest educational qualifications, those with secondary school certificates were 41 (17%) and 190 (80%) respondents were with tertiary certificates. These distributions clearly show that the respondents could be considered educated enough to understand the subject matter of this investigation and therefore give valid information on the perceived contributions of the Civil Society Organisations in the development of democracy in the country.

The classification of the respondents by their marital statuses is presented in Table 4.2.4.

Table 4.2.4: Classification of the respondents by their marital statuses and organisations

Marital status	CAPP		CDD		PUBLIC		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Single	17	23.60	21	26.92	15	17.24	53	22.36
Married	40	55.56	47	60.26	60	68.97	147	62.03
Divorced	12	16.67	9	11.54	8	9.20	29	12.24
Widow/Widower	3	4.17	1	1.28	4	4.59	8	3.37
Total	72	100.0	78	100.0	87	100.0	237	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

Respondents who were singles among the CAPP group were 17(23.60%), while CDD were 21(26.92%) and 15(17.24%) of the public were also singles. For the total respondents 53 (22.36%) were singles. Those who were married were 40(55.56%) in CAPP, 47(60.26%) in CDD and 60(68.97%) from general public totaling 147(62.03%) of the total respondents. 12(16.67%) said they were divorced among the CAPP, 9(11.54%) among the CDD respondents and 8(9.20%) among the public. But 3(4.17%) of those in the CAPP, 1(1.28) in CDD and 4(4.59) among the public were widows or widowers. These distributions implied that the respondents represented the broad spectrum of marital statuses in the Nigerian society and thus would be expected to reflect in their opinions on the investigated variables of the study.

4.3 SOLUTIONS TO RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The broad objective of this study is to assess the contributions of Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) and Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) to the development of democracy in Nigeria. This objectives were devolved into specific objectives and investigated with research questions as follows:

What contributions aid CDD play to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016?

This critically assessed the contribution of CDD to the development of democracy in Nigeria. The assessment provided solution to the first research question which sought to identify why CDD contribution is critical to the survival of democracy in Nigeria. The respondents opinion are presented in frequencies and percentage in table 4.3.3.

Table 4.3.1: The respondents' opinion on the importance of CDD to the development of Democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016

Contribution of CDD is considered very critical to the development of democracy in Nigeria	CDD	
	Freq.	%
Yes	61	78.21
No	17	21.79
Total	78	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

From the expressed opinion of the respondents CDD contribution is considered very significant as 78.2 respondent positively while only 21.8% reacted negatively. This clearly shows that the contribution of CDD is generally accepted as significant to the development of democracy in Nigeria. (1999-2016).

Table 4.3.2: The respondents' opinion on CDD's activities towards the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

If yes, how?	CDD	
	Freq.	%
Advocacy of human right	17	21.79
Check excesses of government	31	39.74
Enhance democracy	7	8.97
Intermediary	8	10.26
Pressure group	6	7.69
Sensitization	9	11.55
Total	78	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

Activities embarked by CDD according to the respondents opinion as shown in table 4.3.2 above include: sensitization, checking of government excesses, enhancing democratic ideals, serving as intermediary between the people and government to ensure development of democracy in Nigeria.

What were the relationships between the CDD, Democracy and the Nigerian State from 1999-2016?

The aim was to assess the relationship between CDD, Democracy and the Nigerian State towards the development of democracy in Nigeria.

Table 4.3.3: Opinions of the respondents on the relationship between CDD, Democracy and the Nigerian State to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016

Would you say that CDD, Democracy and the Nigerian State had strong relationship towards the development of democracy in Nigeria?	CDD	
	Freq.	%
Yes	63	80.77
No	15	19.23
Total	78	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

Respondents opinion in table 4.3.3 above has shown that 80.77% of respondents agreed that the relationship between CDD, Democracy and the Nigerian State is very strong. While only 19.23% disagreed. The survey conclude that there is a strong relationship between CDD, Democracy and the Nigerian State between 1999-2016.

How have CDD influenced development of democracy Nigeria from 1999-2016?

Table 4.3.4 shows the opinion of the respondents on the CDD's influence to the development of democracy in Nigeria in 1999-2016.

Table 4.3.4: Opinions of the respondents on how CDD influenced development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

How have the CDD influenced the development of democracy in Nigeria?	CDD	
	Freq.	%
Positively	66	84.62
Negatively	12	15.38
Total	78	100

Source: Field Survey 2018

In the table 84.62% of the respondents were of the view that CDD has contributed positively in shaping and influencing the development of democracy in the country while only 15.38 responded negatively. This clearly indicated that CDD has positively influenced the development of democracy in Nigeria 1999-2016.

Table 4.3.5: Opinions of the respondents on the extent to which CDD influenced the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

Have CDD influenced and shaped the development of democracy in Nigeria?	CDD	
	Freq.	%
Yes	67	85.89
No	11	14.10
Total	78	100

Source: Field Survey 2018

From the respondents opinion on table 4.3.5 above, 67 (85.89%) accept that CDD influenced the political development of Nigeria from 1999-2016. While 11 (14.10%) respondents disagreed. It therefore concluded that CDD influenced the Political Development in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

What were the constraints to the effectiveness of CDD to the development of democracy in the Nigeria (1999-2016)?

The aim here is to identify the constraint faced by CDD towards development of democracy in Nigeria. Why the CDD has not perform to their expectations nationwide to the development and sustenance of democracy in Nigeria. The opinions of the respondents on this issue is tabulated in frequencies and percentages in Table 4.3.6.

Table 4.3.6: Opinions of the respondents on Constraints of CDD in their bid to consolidate democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

Were there constraints to the activities of the CDD towards the development of democracy in the Nigeria?	CDD	
	Freq.	%
Yes	63	80.77
No	15	19.23
Total	78	100

Source: Field Survey 2018

The expressed opinion of the respondents accept that there re constraint to the activities of CDD which hinders development of democracy in Nigeria. This is because 80.77% of the respondents accept that there are major challenges to the development of democracy in Nigeria while only 15 (19.23%) disagreed. It is therefore agreed that there are major challenges that hinders the activities of CDD towards development of democracy in Nigeria.

Table 4.3.7: Opinions of the respondents on constraints to the activities of the CDD in contributing to the development of democracy in the Nigeria from 1999 to 2016.

If no, why do you think they have not been effective?	CDD	
	Freq.	%
Inadequate funding	78	100.0
Not applicable.	0	0.0
Total	78	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

From the frequencies and percentages in the table, inadequate funding of the activities of CDD by members, development agencies (both local and international) is the major constraint to their effective contribution to the development of democracy in Nigeria. This was asserted by all the 78 respondents.

Table 4.3.8: Opinions of the respondents on the effects of failure of CDD's contributions to the development of democracy in the Nigeria from 1999-2016.

What were the effects of failure of CDD to the development of democracy in Nigeria?	CDD	
	Freq.	%
No human right advocacy	21	26.92
Inadequacy in democracy processes	6	7.69
Low enlightenment	41	52.56
Low source of leadership recruitment	10	12.83
Total	78	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

The absence of CDD in the country is perceived to have major adverse effect to the development of democracy in the country. Table 4.3.8, shows that the absence of no human right advocacy, inadequacy in democracy processes, low enlightenment, and low source of leadership which are embarked by CDD could slow down the development of democracy in Nigeria.

Table 4.3.9: Respondents' suggestions on ways through which CDD can helped the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

In your opinion, suggest possible ways through which CDD can help the development of democracy in Nigeria.	CDD	
	Freq.	%
Advocacy	21	26.92
Assessment of leadership	5	6.41
Create awareness	31	39.74
Development, advocacy, mobilisation and research	7	8.97
Education	14	17.96
Total	78	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

Table 4.3.9 above shows the expressed respondents opinion suggested that advocacy, assessment of leadership, creation of awareness, development, advocacy, mobilization, research and education will lead to development of democracy in Nigeria.

4.4.1 What Contributions Did CAPP Play To the Development of Democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016?

This survey assessed the contributions of CAPP to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016. The assessment provided solutions to questions that identified the contribution of CAPP as critical to the survival of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

Table 4.4.1: The Respondents Opinion on the Contributions of CAPP to the Development of Democracy in Nigeria

Contribution of CAPP is considered very critical to the development of democracy in Nigeria	CAPP	
	Freq.	%
Yes	64	88.89
No	8	11.11
Total	72	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

The expressed opinion of the respondents in table 4.4.1 above showed that 88.89% accept that CAPP's contribution to the development of democracy in Nigeria is very significant, while only 11.11% respondent negatively.

Table 4.4.2: The respondents' opinion on CAPP's activities towards the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

If yes, how?	CAPP	
	Freq.	%
Advocacy of human right	12	16.67
Check excesses of government	27	37.50
Enhance democracy	9	12.50
Intermediary	11	15.28
Pressure group	4	5.55
Sensitization	9	12.50
Total	72	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

The expressed opinion of the respondents showed that CAPP has contributed to the development of democracy in Nigeria through its activities mentioned in table 4.4.2.

Table 4.4.3: Opinions of the respondents on the relationship between CAPP, Democracy and the Nigerian State to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016

Would you say that CAPP have contributed to the development of democracy in Nigeria?	CAPP	
	Freq.	%
Yes	59	81.94
No	13	18.06
Total	72	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

Expressed opinion on the relationship between CAPP, Democracy and the Nigerian State showed that 59 out of 72 respondents representing 81.94% accepted that there exists relationship between CAPP, Democracy and Nigerian State based on the fact that every stakeholder is working towards enhancing democratic ideals particularly from 1999-2016 when the civilians took over power from military regime.

Table 4.4.4: Opinions of the respondents on how CAPP influenced development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

How have the CAPP influenced the development of democracy in Nigeria?	CAPP	
	Freq.	%
Positively	63	87.50
Negatively	9	12.50
Total	72	100

Source: Field Survey 2018

Opinion of the respondents were positive that CAPP influenced the development of democracy in Nigeria as shown in Table 4.4.4 above.

Table 4.4.5: Opinions of the respondents on the extent to which CAPP influenced the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

Have CAPP influenced and shaped the political development of Nigeria?	CAPP	
	Freq.	%
Yes	62	86.11
No	10	13.88
Total	72	100

Source: Field Survey 2018

Expressed opinion in table 4.4.5 above on the extent to which CAPP influenced the development of democracy in Nigeria revealed that 86.11% of the respondents agreed that

CAPP has significantly shaped and influenced the development of democracy in Nigeria through its activities of mobilization and sensitization of the citizens.

Table 4.4.6: Opinions of the respondents on Constraints of CAPP in their bid to consolidate democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

Were there constraints to the activities of the CDD towards the development of democracy in the Nigeria?	CAPP	
	Freq.	%
Yes	59	81.94
No	13	18.06
Total	72	100

Source: Field Survey 2018

Based on the above mentioned responses in table 4.4.6, 81.94% believed that there exists major constraints to CAPP's effort at consolidating democracy in Nigeria.

Table 4.4.7: Opinions of the respondents on constraints to the activities of the CAPP in contributing to the development of democracy in the Nigeria from 1999 to 2016.

If no, why do you think they have not been effective?	CAPP	
	Freq.	%
Inadequate funding	67	93.06
Not applicable.	5	6.94
Total	72	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

Expressed opinion of respondents in table 4.4.7 above accepted that inadequate funding slowed down the activities of CAPP towards development of democracy in the country.

Table 4.4.8: Opinions of the respondents on the effects of failure of CAPP's contributions to the development of democracy in the Nigeria from 1999-2016.

What were the effects of failure of CAPP to the development of democracy in Nigeria?	CAPP	
	Freq.	%
No human right advocacy	22	30.56
Inadequacy in democracy processes	0	0.0
Low enlightenment	37	51.38
Low source of leadership recruitment	13	18.06
Total	72	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

Opinion of the respondents on the effect of failure of CAPP's contributions to the development of democracy in the Nigeria could lead to lack of human rights and advocacy, low enlightenment, low source of leadership recruitment and inadequacy in democratic processes.

Table 4.4.9: Respondents' suggestions on ways through which CAPP can help the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

In your opinion, suggest possible ways through which CAPP can help the development of democracy in Nigeria.	CAPP	
	Freq.	%
Advocacy	13	18.06
Assessment of leadership	4	5.56
Create awareness	39	54.17
Development, mobilization and research	13	18.06
Education	3	4.15
Total	72	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

Respondents suggested that the following activities will enhance the development of democracy in the Nigeria, advocacy, assessment of leadership, creation of awareness, development, mobilization, research work and education.

4.5.1 Views of the General Public on the Contributions of CDD and CAPP to the Development of Democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016?

The survey on the general public is conducted to consider and understand the views of 87 members of the general public in Kaduna and Abuja on the contributions of both CDD and CAPP towards the development of democracy in Nigeria 1999-2016.

Table 4.5.1: The General Public Opinion on the Contributions of CDD and CAPP to the Development of Democracy in Nigeria

Contribution of PUBLIC is considered very critical to the development of democracy in Nigeria	PUBLIC	
	Freq.	%
Yes	72	82.76%
No	15	17.24%
Total	87	100.0%

Source: Field Survey 2018

From the expressed opinion in table 4.5.1 the respondents accepted that both CDD and CAPP are considered very significant to the development of democracy in Nigeria. 82.76% were positive while only 17.24% respondents were negative.

Table 4.5.2: The General Public opinion on the activities of CDD and CAPP towards the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

If yes, how?	PUBLIC	
	Freq.	%
Advocacy of human right	16	18.39
Check excesses of government	40	45.98
Enhance democracy	7	8.06
Intermediary	11	12.64
Pressure group	5	5.74
Sensitization	8	9.19
Total	87	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

The public opinion are positive on the contribution of both CDD and CAPP to the development of democracy in Nigeria based on their response in the above table 4.5.2 this is because both the CDD and CAPP were engaged in the following activities advocacy, checking of government excesses, serving as intermediary, pressure group sensitization in order to enhance democracy.

Table 4.5.3: The General Public Opinions on the relationship between CDD, CAPP, Democracy and the Nigerian State to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016

Would you say that CDD and CAPP have contributed to the development of democracy in Nigeria?	PUBLIC	
	Freq.	%
Yes	72	82.76
No	15	17.24
Total	87	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

The table showed that the general public opinion of the relationship between CDD, CAPP, Democracy and the Nigerian State is smooth particularly from the beginning of 1999-2016 when power was returned to electoral democracy.

Table 4.5.4: Public Opinions on how CDD and CAPP influenced development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

How have the CDD and CAPP influenced the development of democracy in Nigeria?	PUBLIC	
	Freq.	%
Positively	65	74.71
Negatively	22	25.29
Total	87	100

Source: Field Survey 2018

The general public opinion accepted that CDD and CAPP influenced the development of democracy in Nigeria this is because 74.71% of the responded were positive while only 25.29% responded negatively.

Table 4.5.5: The General Public Opinions on the extent to which CDD and CAPP influenced the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

Have CDD and CAPP influenced and shaped the political development of Nigeria?	PUBLIC	
	Freq.	%
Yes	81	93.10
No	06	06.89
Total	87	100

Source: Field Survey 2018

From table 4.5.5 above 81 out of 87 respondents representing 93.10% accepted that both CDD and CAPP influenced and shaped the development of democracy in Nigeria this is based on their positive programmes of activities such as sensitization, mobilization, monitoring and promotion of internal democracy.

Table 4.5.6: The General Public Opinions on Constraints of CDD and CAPP in their bid to consolidate democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

Were there constraints to the activities of the both CDD and CAPP towards development of democracy in the country?	PUBLIC	
	Freq.	%
Yes	68	78.16
No	19	21.84
Total	87	100

Source: Field Survey 2018

Expressed opinion on the above table showed that there are constraints hindering the activities of both CDD and CAPP towards enhancing democracy in Nigeria. 78.16% accepted that opinion while only 21.84% of the respondents were negative.

Table 4.5.7: The General Public Opinions on constraints to the activities of the CDD and CAPP in contributing to the development of democracy in the Nigeria from 1999 to 2016.

If no, why do you think they have not been effective?	PUBLIC	
	Freq.	%
Inadequate funding	85	97.70
Not applicable.	2	2.30
Total	87	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

The General Public expressed opinion in table 4.5.7 above believed that inadequate funding is one of the major constraint hindering the performance of CDD and CAPP towards enhancing democracy in Nigeria.

Table 4.5.8: The General Public Opinions on the effects of failure of CDD and CAPP contributions to the development of democracy in the Nigeria from 1999-2016.

What Were the effects of failure of CDD and CAPP to the development of democracy in Nigeria?	PUBLIC	
	Freq.	%
No human right advocacy	27	31.03
Inadequacy in democracy processes	5	5.75
Low enlightenment	46	52.87
Low source of leadership recruitment	9	10.35
Total	87	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

The public expressed opinion on the consequence of failure of both CDD and CAPP was that there will be low enlightenment, low recruitment, low human right and advocacy. This is based on the opinion presented above in table 4.5.8.

Table 4.5.9: Public suggestions on ways through which CDD and CAPP can help the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

In your opinion, suggest possible ways through which CDD and CAPP can help to the development of democracy in Nigeria.	PUBLIC	
	Freq.	%
Advocacy	15	17.24
Assessment of leadership	13	14.94
Create awareness	21	24.14
Development, advocacy, mobilisation and research	19	21.84
Education	19	21.84
Total	87	100.0

Source: Field Survey 2018

General public opinion in table 4.5.9 above were positive that advocacy, creation of awareness, mobilization, education and research work are paramount in enhancing the development of democracy in Nigeria.

4.6 DISCUSSION ON FINDINGS

The thrust of this work was to consider the contributions of Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) and Community Action for Action Participation (CAPP). This was achieved by evaluating the contribution of CDD and CAPP to the development of Democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

(i) Significance of the contributions of CDD and CAPP to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016

The major findings of this research as indicated in the data analysis from tables 4.3.1, 4.3.2, 4.4.1, 4.4.2, 5.5.1 and 5.5.2 CDD, CAPP and General Public agreed with this opinion that both CDD and CAPP are giving significant contribution to the development of democracy in Nigeria, this is because 78.21% from CDD, 88.89% from CAPP and 82.76% from General Public responded positively while only 21.79% from CDD, 11.11% from CAPP and 16.88% of the General Public responded negatively. It is therefore both CDD and CAPP contributed significantly to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

(ii) Relationship between CDD, CAPP and the Nigerian State to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016

The study as shown in tables 4.3.3, 4.4.3 and 5.5.3 revealed that there is a strong relationship between CDD, CAPP and the Nigerian State to the development of democracy in Nigeria. This is because 80.77% from CDD, 81.94% from CAPP and 82.76% from General Public responded positively on that position, while only 19.23% from CDD, 18.06% from CAPP and 17.24% from the General Public rejected the view. This is linked to the remarkable contributions of the organisations to the development of the democracy in the Country. Based on the foregoing, it could be concluded that the analysis has validated the researcher's assumption that there is a strong relationship between CDD, CAPP and the State to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016.

(iii) The activities of CDD and CAPP influenced political development of Nigeria

The study validates the assumption that CDD and CAPP through their activities have positively influenced the political development of Nigeria. This is shown on the tables 4.3.4 and 4.3.5, 4.4.4 and 4.4.5 and 5.5.4 and 5.5.5 where 84.62% and 85.89% from CDD, 87.50% and 86.11% from CAPP, and 74.71% and 93.10% from General Public accepted that both

CDD and CAPP shaped and influenced democratic development in Nigeria through their activities.

(iv) Constraints to the effectiveness of CDD and CAPP to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016

The study validates the researcher's assumption on the constraints to the effectiveness of CDD and CAPP. This was revealed in tables 4.3.6 and 4.3.7, 4.4.6 and 4.4.7 and 4.5.6 and 4.5.7 where 80.77% and 100.0% from CDD, 81.94% and 93.06% from CAPP and 78.16% and 97.70% from General Public admitted that there were challenges affecting the performances of CDD and CAPP, particularly in adequate funding only 19.23% and 0.0% from CDD, 18.06% and 6.94% from CAPP and 21.84% and 2.30% from the General Public believe that there was no constraints affecting CDD and CAPP and inadequate funding is not hindering the activities of CDD and CAPP.

It is concluded therefore that there exists challenges facing both CDD and CAPP and also inadequate funding by members and development agencies slowed down the effectiveness of CDD and CAPP.

4.7 CONTRIBUTIONS OF CDD AND CAPP TO DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

Further research in addition to the field survey which added information obtained from secondary data like interviews with head of both CDD and CAPP, and people with knowledge of the activities of CDD and CAPP, also from other relevant materials like publications on both CDD and CAPP. The result are summarized below.

4.8 CENTRE FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT (CDD)

The Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) with Head Office at Duplex 16, A7 Street, Mount Pleasant Estate (CITEC), Jabi Airport Bye Pass - Mbura district, Abuja was established in the United Kingdom in 1997 and formally registered in Nigeria in June,

2001 with registration number; Rc:414767 as an independent, not-for-profit, research training, advocacy and capacity building organization. The organization aims at mobilizing global opinion for democratic development and provides an independent space to reflect critically on the challenges posed to the democratization and development process in West Africa. CDD envisions a West Africa that is democratically governed, economically integrated - promoting human security and people centered development. Since its inception, the Centre has remained focused on capacity building work, policy advocacy, and as a research reference point on democratic governance, human security, people-centered development and human rights (www.cddwestafrica.org). (See Appendix II)

Mission:

To be the prime catalyst and facilitator of strategic analysis and capacity building for sustainable democracy and development, CDD set out to generate dialogue on alternative pathways that are universally relevant and context sensitive. The first activity of the centre was a round table organized in London in 1997 on the democratic future of Nigeria (then under military dictatorship). CDD activities have since grown not only in Nigeria but in the entire West African sub-region and the rest of the continent. The centre remains focused on capacity building work policy advocacy as a research reference point on democratic governance, human security.

Goal:

The CDD's goal is to serve as ultimate catalyst in the transformation of the west African sub-continent into an integrated economically vibrant and democratically governed community that assures holistic security to the population and is capable of permanent peaceful conflict management.

Programmes and Activities

Since 1997 when it was established in the United Kingdom out of the need to mobilize global opinion for democratic development, CDD provides an independent space to reflect critically on the challenges posed to the democratization and development process in West Africa and generates dialogue on alternative pathways that are universally relevant and context sensitive. Its activities started same year with a round table organized in London on the democratic future of Nigeria (then under military dictatorship). It has since been active, not only in Nigeria but in sub-region and the rest of the continent for its capacity building work, its policy advocacy and as a research reference point on governance, security, human rights and environmental work. The mission of the CDD is to be the prime catalyst and facilitator for strategic analysis and capacity building for sustainable democracy and development in the West African sub-region.

CDD advances its mission in two broad programme areas:

1. Governance, Security and Development Programme area:

The Coordination of a research, training and advocacy programme in governance, regional security, conflict prevention and peace building as a means of enhancing human security and human development, e.g.

- i. Promoting Constitutionalism in Africa
- ii. Promoting Security Sector Governance in Africa
- iii. Engaging African Union (AU) and New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) from Civil Society Organisation perspective
- iv. Promoting Dialogue in Countries in Conflict and Building the Capacity of Security Actors, Oversight Bodies and Civil Society Organisation
- v. Promoting Civil Society Organisation Engagement at ECOWAS

2. Human Rights, Gender and Environment Programme:

Work in this crosscutting programme area has enabled CDD to combine research with public policy advisory work in sectors and that have traditionally been neglected and marginalized. Working with local partners, CDD's work has focused on:

- i. Capacity Building in the area of environmental assessment and conservation. Peace Building
- ii. Information and Database Management. Civic Education and Leadership Training for Women and Youths in the Delta
- iii. Research and Public Policy Intervention to Environment and Security
- iv. Resource Control and Development, Training and Public Policy Leadership Empowerment Initiative for Women
- v. Lawyers and NGO Leaders, Gender Budget Initiative: aimed at demystifying budgeting and building a critical mass to engage with government from a gender perspective
- vi. Capacity Strengthening for ECOWAS' Parliament Committees on the Environment and Rural Development.

CDD interest/work around the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), dates back to 2001 when the NEPAD was launched in Abuja. The body have always been interested in how best to articulate issues involved in the NEPAD process and promote active involvement of Africans in general through 'people input' Between 2001 and 2003, CDD worked actively with Messrs Wiseman Nkhulu (then chair of NEPAD steering committee) and Sumunda Mokena (chief operating officer) to articulate a framework for relating issues in political governance and democracy clusters into monitorable benchmarks for NEPAD's farm.

CDD also worked with ECOWAS and AU secretariats to translate the four priority areas into specific policies in a manner that would ensure their effective implementation. The four priority areas agreed upon are:

- i. Prevention/management/resolution of conflict
- ii. Peacemaking, peace keeping and peace enforcement
- iii. Post conflict reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction
- iv. Combating the illicit proliferation of small arms land mines and light weapons

Currently in Nigeria, CDD activities include the following:

- i. Promotion of political stability
- ii. Campaign for free and fair election/Mandate Protection
- iii. Campaigned against corruption
- iv. Promotion of Gender Balance and Woman States Participation
- v. Promotion of De-radicalization
- vi. Campaign against third term of agenda
- vii. Addressing issue of cattle rustling/farmers and herdsmen clash
- viii. Campaign against inequality
- ix. Sensitization on Early Warning of Conflict

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs): The Eight Millennium Development Goal which were adopted by world leaders in 2000 have been widely acclaimed as a global compact to reducing human deprivation and achieving sustainable development, Nigeria was among the countries that accepted the declaration over the years and has committed resources towards the achievement of the goals.

CDD's projects on deepening democratic governance through raising capacity for MDG's have been so far supported by the European Union, DFID, through the coalitions for change, office of the Senior Special Assistant to the President on Millennium Development Goals key activities of the MDG's implemented from inception in 2007 till date include:

1. Monitoring and Evaluation of Nigeria's Dept. Relief Gains on the Millennium Development Goals.

This Programme has been implemented for the past last eight (8) years funded by the SSA on MDG. CDD has produced 5 national reports and submitted same to the Nigerian Government. CDD is the appointed National Civil Society Organisation since 2007. The contributions of CDD include coordination of 45 Civil Society Organisation organisations. Civil Society Organisation's engaged in Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) of DRG's funded projects and programmes in Nigeria under the auspices of the SSA of the President on MDG's.

2. Strengthening Budget Transparency through Public Participation: Monitoring the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) and State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (SEEDS).

The Project was implemented in the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria with specific focus on the following States; Osun, Kano, Cross River, Anambra, Borno, Jigawa States and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). As part of the project implementation CDD engaged policy makers and technical staff members of the National Planning Commission and their State counterparts and Civil Society Organisation allies in the development of the NEEDS and SEEDS economic policies blue print. Specifically the research and advocacy work mainly in three (3) sectors, health, education, and water resources. The CDD and the State Civil Society Organisation partners carried out quarterly analysis of budget implementation to ascertain whether it is in line with the commitments made in NEEDS and SEEDs document. This process was further enhanced through advocacy and dialogues around issues that underpin sustainable development in the focal States and nationally. The quarterly analysis done on the projects are published in a newsletter called Public Finance Watch.

3. Monitoring of the virtual poverty fund (focal States include Enugu, Gombe, Benue, Kano and Lagos).

The project monitoring the virtual poverty fund was aimed at monitoring the implementation of projects by the Debt Relief Gains in the country. The intermediaries' intervention is at two levels. Firstly, working towards strengthening institutional capacity within the MDAs in three critical sectors – Education, Health and Water resources for delivery of the MDGs. Secondly, Tracking/Monitoring the virtual poverty funds to ensure accountable, transparent and effective use of the fund as a strategy for enabling the government achieve the MDGs.

4. Can Nigeria meet the MDGs in 2015?

An assessment of the progress of the MDGS and whether it is possible to achieve the goals by 2015, conducted by scholars and activities with experience in planning and policy process.

5. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) progress prospect and policy implementation

This was informed by the need for Nigeria to rethink framework as it enters the last phase of the MDGs.

6. Breaking Point a review of progress towards the attainment of the MDGs in Nigeria.

It was prepared with breaking as usual: Perspective from Civil Society Organisation in the commonwealth of the MDGs and was funded by the United Nations Millennium Campaign (UNMC) the research was conducted to x-ray the prevailing situation on the achievement of the MDGs with a view of the approaching deadline of 2015.

7. Partnership that works: Monitoring the implementation of the MDG in Nigeria.

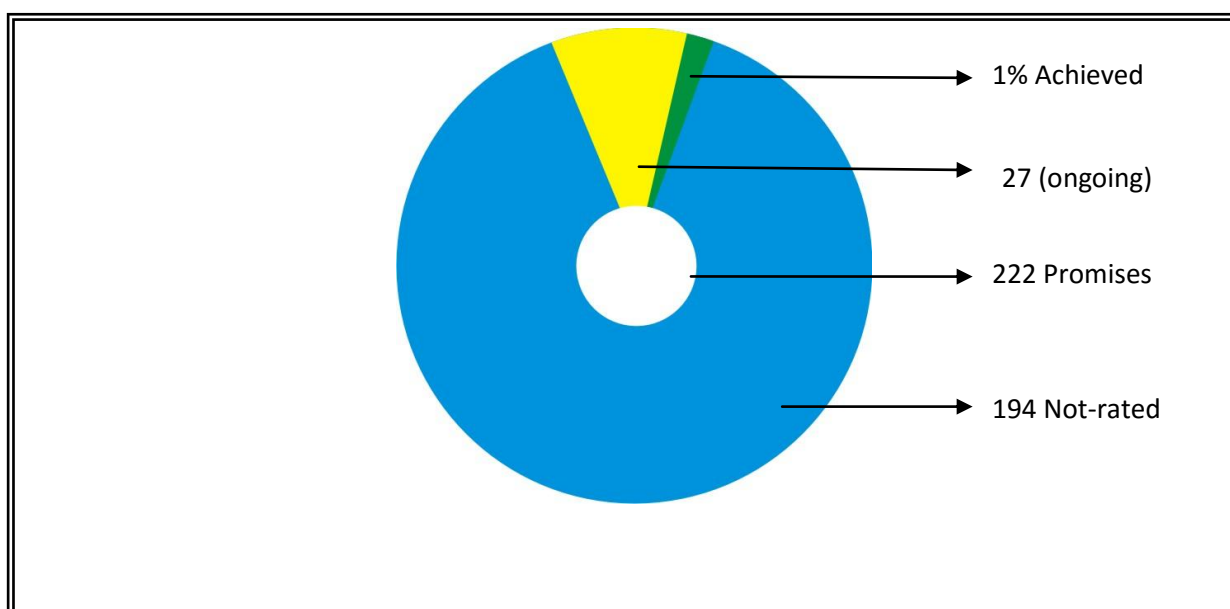
This is a publication with the account of CDD experience in promoting people oriented development agenda, fostering partnership for attaining the MDG exercise. It also offers a reflection on the lessons learnt that if sustained, might be helpful to scaling of effort towards attainment of the Millennium Development Goals.

8. Buhari-meter

Synergy with citizens' contributions, media partnership, monitoring of media reports, periodic survey and spot check, and working with Ministry, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) to monitor policy implementation.

It is a monitoring tool that enables Nigeria around the globe to keep tab on the status of implementation of 222 campaign promises of President Muhammadu Buhari and the All Progressive Congress (APC). The initiative aims to address the challenges of governance, civil participation and effective service delivery in Nigeria by ensuring that the current is held accountable to its campaign promises. It is an independent, unbiased and nonpolitical monitoring platform and provides alternative opinion about government policy, where necessary. By analyzing data gathering through tracking of media reports: policy analysis, opinion polling and rating government performance. CDD hope to empower Nigerians to take an active contributions in making the APC led government to live up to its campaign promises. For example, Seven (7) months assessment of Buhari's campaign promises is presented in fourth report below:

Figure 4.8: Buharimetre Pie Chart



Source: Buharimetre 2016

The forth report above focused on insecurity, the economy, oil and gas sector, corruption, agricultural sector and social sector, and also policy of some ministries. The project focused on President Muhammadu Buhari intervention to address long standing development problems. Also provide into graphic of challenges. It also focused on number of committees' sets and Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed within business first seven (7) months as at the end of 2015. The project report also gave recommendations. The report touches on:

1. Security:

Nigeria is grappling with security challenges such as Boko Haram insurgency, conflict between herdsmen and farmers, rural banditry, ethno-religious conflict, armed robbery, piracy, secessionist movements, citizenship crisis, military, cattle rustling and kidnapping.

The Nigerian military gradual progress in the war against terror by recovering territories, rescuing abducted citizens, the administration claimed a technical victory because "they can no longer carry out conventional attack" (Nigerian Army). "I think technically we

have won the war. Boko Haram has reverted to using Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs). They have now been reduced to that... Boko Haram is an organized fighting force. I assure you (but) we have dealt with them". President Buhari on BBC 23rd December, 2015. However Boko Haram is the world's deadliest terrorist group. In 2014 they had killed 6,664. Boko Haram in seven months of President Muhammadu Buhari killed so far 1,949 with hundreds of thousands becoming internally displaced. Boko Haram members now continue their nefarious activities by killing horses, donkeys, by poisoning water when fleeing villages, using young girls. They also carried out attacks around Nyanya and Kuje on the outskirts of capital city.

Recent pledge of allegiance to ISIS (Islamic State) is disturbing showing Boko Haram dynamism on regular basis.

However, the challenges created by Boko Haram like the over 2 million Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are not adequately taking care of, their living conditions are in serious danger of disease attack like cholera, etc. Most of them are generally poor. Also there is report of human trafficking and sexual violence in camps. The recent attacks of some IDPs by Boko Haram are of serious concern. Another serious concern is the estimated refugees in other countries that stood at 164,715 as at October, 2015 with 34% in Cameroon, 9% in Chad and 57% in Niger. Most of the camps are overcrowded.

Another challenge is that government is yet to announce its accountability plans resolving the Boko Haram insurgency as well as the issue of crimes against humanity by the Amnesty International observers such as extra-judicial killings of citizens and suspected Boko Haram. The air clash with military is another case of extra-judicial killing. Amnesty's publication of "stars on their shoulder and blood on their hands" indicted some military officers for crime against humanity.

Measures by government welcomed by CDD to address the above IDP challenges are:

1. Recently inaugurated Presidential “Rehabilitation” for North East.

The Federal Government also recently signed \$2.3 billion assistance agreement with USAID to re-dedicate poverty in the country especially in the North East. It is important to note that the remote and immediate causes of violent extremism are very much around in the polity. For example the “Yanlabaiku” in Kebbi State is preaching against western education. Niger State is also perverted by different radical Islamic groups and most of the groups live in seclusion. Example of Darrus Salam group displaced in Mokwa, and Ibrasiyya Huda Islamic sect displaced in Niger State may regroup if not checked. Other criminal activities that require serious security attention presently include rural banditry, cattle rustling, raping, kidnapping, highway robbery. In September, 2015, 119 deaths were recorded from rural banditry alone. States attacked were Kaduna, Zamfara, Plateau, Taraba, Benue, Niger, Nassarawa, Bauchi and Katsina.

Agitations for the Biafra currently spearheaded by (IPOB) led by Nnamdi Kanu “Director” is another serious security challenge for the country with a private station “Radio Biafra” operating from London. Although arrested but street protests continued to pose a serious threat to security of the country in part of the South East States and Lagos.

The research underscores the importance of obtaining succinct understanding of the correction of incidences between rural banditry and conflict in Northern Nigeria. CDD moved toward addressing the challenges. CDD sort to generate data that will enrich the effort of Government in formulation of practical policies and programmes that will address the security challenges in the country. These include:

- i. Monitoring the implementation of the ECOWAS Counter Terrorism Strategy;
- ii. West Africa Travels to Influence Positively;
- iii. Perspective on West Africa Towards 2015-2017

- iv. Voter Education Project in Kano State
- v. The Nigerian Political Parties Discussion Series (NPPDS)

4.9 COMMUNITY ACTION FOR POPULAR PARTICIPATION (CAPP)

Motto: ...helping communities to help themselves

Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) is a progressive and pro-democracy and membership based organization. Established in 1993 as a voluntary, community focused, non-partisan, non-religious, non-ethnic and not-for-profit making organisation that shall partners with grass roots communities to bring accountable leadership, community driven dialogue, peace building and participatory development to the people of Nigeria. (www.cappnigeria.org) (See Appendix III)

CAPP was founded under some circumstances that were considered agitatorial, owing to the inability of CLOs/NGOs to transform Nigeria into an egalitarian society and thus put an end to bourgeois dominance of the economy and political oppression. CAPP is determined to practice real human and people's rights, and directly mobilized and empowers the masses to change their atypical principles. "Having discovered that majority of the Civil Society Organisations in Nigeria are portfolio groups; that are operating mainly in urban areas; focusing on formal right, with undemocratic leadership And internal practice; and rights, with undemocratic leadership in the country is still steep in military mentality and is not likely to accede to the wishes of the people without bottom up pressure;...we being progressive individuals, gender sensitive and of democratic disposition do hereby agree to establish a voluntary, country community focused, non-partisan, non-religious, non-ethnic and nonprofit organization that shall partner with grassroots communities to bring about accountable leadership and participatory development by transforming our people from passive followers to empower participants." (www.cappcommunity.org).

CAPP was conceived to address two fundamental shortcomings in the early human rights movement in Nigeria; legalistic and activist outlook as well as membership and non-participatory outlook. The founding of CAPP came through the initiative of some visionary personalities which include: Tony Akika, Chima Ubani, Emma Ezeazu, Labaran Maku, Attahiru Jega, Akin Fadahunsi, Ehi Ogbe, Hassan Sunmonu, Ali Chiroma, Glory Kilanko, Igbuzo Otive, Hajia Najatu Mohammed, John Odah and Chom Bagu among others.

The founding members of CAPP being part of the early movement believed that Nigeria's problem is developmental and political which could not be addressed by concentrating attention only on issues that are enforceable in courts but a strategy that combines both the legal protection of rights and a mechanism for political engagement. They conceived an organisation that is not elitist but all-inclusive and participatory in its approaches to building a just and democratic society. CAPP therefore believes that the development and governance problem of Nigeria can only be addressed through the conscious activities of the people.

The charismatic leadership of CAPP started with Alhaji Chiroma, former Nigerian Labour Congress President with board members that included Kabiru Yusuf of Trust Newspapers, Rufai Ibrahim, renowned journalist, Najatu Mohammed, woman politician, Dr. Festus Iyayi and Yima Sen. Among others. Its Board of Trustees is also headed by Hassan Sunmou, General Secretary of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity. After Ali Chiroma, there have been three other presidents: Y.Z Yau, Chom Bagu and now Yakubu Aliyu.

The secretariat has also seen changes in leadership. The founding Executive Director was Emma Ezeazu who laid the foundation of the organization. He was succeeded by late Joseph Mamman, then by Clement Shekogaza Wasah and now Kyauta Giwa. There have

been also been a rich crop of staff that have made their contributions to the growth of the organization.

CAPP like other similar organizations settled for advocacy for law reforms, constitutional review and campaign for transparency and accountability in governance as well as sensitizing citizens on their rights and responsibilities in a democracy.

Registration with Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC)

The attempt by CAPP to register with CAC was fret with difficulties which was attributed to its refusal to hand over CAPP to the government. All IGPs and SSS Directors minuted on the CAPP file opposing its registration. However, after 9 years of unrelenting effort, CAPP was able to register with CAC in the year 2000, having its registration number as: RC 13039.

Mission

To empower communities to take active contributions in democratic and development processes through partnership, capacity building, evidence based advocacy and Right Based Approach.

Vision

A society whose democracy and development is community driven

Goals

- a. To enable communities become aware of their political and economic power
- b. Focus communities on developing and managing their natural and human resources.
- c. Enhance internal democracy and resilience, management capacity, gender and humanistic practices and processes of communities.
- d. Empower communities to be dynamic, self-organized and adaptive
- e. Facilitate the positive assertion of community power and perspectives on national governance and development.

Objectives

- a. Promote and defend of democratic norms and human rights at the community level to ensure that the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government.
- b. Encourage the poor and powerless to take part in the governance of their communities and country.
- c. Empower Nigerians through Education on critical national issues, Rights, responsibilities and policies.
- d. Promote equitable access of communities to national institutions and resources.
- e. Promote of community and grassroots perspective in national development policies.
- f. Promote dialogue, understanding and collaboration across communities to eliminate inter-communal violence and hatred.
- g. Promote women equality and participation in public affairs
- h. Campaign against corruption and abuse of office, especially at the community and local government levels
- i. Monitor implementation of peoples projects especially at the grassroots
- j. Provision of legal aid to the needy
- k. Campaign against degradation of community environment.

Methodology

- a. Participatory research and documentation
- b. Facilitative processes, experiential activities retreats, volunteer service, visitations and seminars
- c. Educational trainings
- d. Advocacy meetings, consultations and campaigns
- e. Networking and coalitions building
- f. Media and community outreach

g. Participatory Dramatisation

Other significant projects and programmes of CAPP are discussed under the following sub-headings:

1. Conflict Resolution & Peace Building

CAPP is a resource centre for conflict experts and conducts trainings on early warning signs, conflict mitigation and peace building in conflict prone and affected areas such as plateau State where there is ethnic animosity, as well as Yobe and Borno State both of which are facing challenges of Boko Haram. Training on conflict resolution & peace building, for communities' groups and promotion of community driven peace building initiatives;

2. Organizing Seminar to Train Citizens on Conflict; Early Warning Early Response (EWER):

This is in collaboration with Mac Arthur Foundation. It is a programme under the peace building initiatives. It is designed as manual to be used in training the trainers as step down training workshop for selected communities' stakeholders. The training is focused on:

- a. Understanding Early Warning signs
- b. Early warning analytical framework
- c. Mainstreaming Gender in Early Warning

A training manual was developed for guidance on how to convey the training and at the end of the training, participants are expected to understand the concept of conflict, broad perspective of the causes of conflict, types and stages, and will have an understanding of conflict management, resolutions and transformation.

Specific methodologies include; lecture format, group work, plenary, brainstorming, question and answer session.

3. The Fight against Third Term of Former President Obasanjo:

CAPP joined other Coalition of Civil Society Organisation against the Third Term of President Obasanjo in 2006. CAPP and other Civil Society Organisation Coalition believed that the so called third term agenda was immoral, corrupt, an evidence of failure, geared political uncertainty and unconstitutional. The CAPP approach was through press release, advocacy and protest

4. Education

CAPP works with stakeholders in the sector both at governmental and community levels to build capacity of teachers, pupils and students to have quality education. CAPP is equally involved in assisting schools with small grants to enable School Based Management Committees and improvise some school necessities which will encourage pupils to enroll and stay in school to finish their education. CAPP is equally involved in education policy advocacy and training for all stakeholders. These include:

- a. Partnership with stakeholders in basic education.
- b. Girls empowerment through girls' club.
- c. Teacher training on Participatory modules.
- d. Policy advocacy.
- e. Promoting community participation in Education.
- f. Seed grant support to Schools

5. Promotion of Gender Balance

CAPP promotes affirmative actions and encourages activities that promote gender equality in all activities. CAPP equally participates in gender policy advocacy and ensures that women actively participate in all activities. Such as: Cross-cutting, Promote affirmative action, Gender policy institutionalized

6. Promotion of Good Governance

Since Good Governance is the backbone of development, CAPP engages policy makers at different levels to ensure accountability and transparency in governance. This is done through empowerment training for Community Based Organizations especially at the third tier of government. Civic education and human rights enlightenment programmes are integral part of our activities in this area. CAPP is also involved in training and deploying election observers during elections. Policy advocacy and project monitoring is an integral part of this activity includes: civic/voter education, election observation, accountability in governance, economic/budget literacy and monitoring, and Policy advocacy/monitoring.

7. Campaign against HIV/AIDS

This includes the following:

- a. Awareness raising on HIV/AIDS, preventive measures for school clubs and Community Based Groups.
- b. Advocacy for adaptation of Family Life Health Curriculum (FLHE).
- c. Teacher training to promote FLHE.

8. Human Rights Education

CAPP's vision is about partnering with community based organizations to build their capacity to drive their development. Promoting the fundamental human rights of the communities is therefore necessary. CAPP has been doing this in addition to pursuing legislations like the Hydro Power Producing Area Development Commission (HYPADEC) for dam communities as well as conduct trainings for community based groups in riverine communities. CAPP equally works with human rights institutions like the Human Rights Commission and the Public Complaint Commission to document human rights violations.

This encapsulates the following:

- a. Promoting communities rights.
- b. Pursuit of peoples centered legislation.
- c. Fact-finding/ documenting human rights violation.

9. Research

CAPP engages in quantitative, qualitative baseline surveys for planning through Focused Group Discussion, observations, structured questionnaires, key information interviews etc. It also covers; baseline surveys, utilize baseline data for planning and producing documentaries.

10. Fight against Corruption

The Organization is also involved in fight against corruption which has become a phenomenon at both national and international arena. This is achieved through sanitization, advocacy and group discussion.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focused on the summary of major findings on the contributions of Civil Society Organisations in the development of democracy in Nigeria particularly on CDD and CAPP as case study between 1999 and 2016. The chapter offers recommendations that will help improve the participation Civil Society Organisations in consolidating democracy specifically after reviewing the performances of both CDD and CAPP.

5.1 SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

In view of the enormous challenges facing the Civil Society Organisations such as lack of unity, inadequate funding, ethno-religious conflicts, politicisation and weakening of the Civil Society Organisations, lack of government support amongst others, it has become necessary to offer recommendations that will enhance the performance of the Civil Society Organisations to consolidate democracy and ensure government compliance to fundamental human rights. It is argued that unless these challenges are addressed, consolidating democracy will be difficult. Once Civil Society Organisations are united and are given all the required support the problems of internal democracy, lack of clear-cut agenda by political parties, ethno-religious politics, insecurity, corruption and other forms of anti-democratic practices would be greatly minimised .

Reforming the Civil Society Organisation would be made easier once they are united and transparent. Consolidating democracy in Nigeria would be enhanced with the current advancement in technology that facilitates social media, increased proliferation of privately owned electronic, mass and print media, improved scientific mode of elections (PVC) and the recently acquired freedom of information (FOI) Act.

The findings of the research revealed that the contributions of CDD and CAPP are considered very critical in the process of consolidating democracy in Nigeria (see table 4.3.1). Also through their activities for instance CDD from 1997 has initiated various programmes to facilitate governance, security and development not only in Nigeria but in some parts of African countries. In the same vein, CAPP has facilitated through its resource center training programmes on conflicts resolution and peace building, capacity building, promoted voter education and gender balance, fought corruption and third term agenda of former President Olusegun Obasanjo amongst others.

Researcher's findings also reveal that CDD and CAPP have greatly facilitated the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999 to 2016. This is achieved through their activities on human right advocacy, checking of excesses of government and sensitisation of citizens (see table 4.3.2).

The research also shows that the contributions of CDD and CAPP have contributed positively to the development of democracy in Nigeria which had confirmed that there is a strong relationship between the Civil Society Organisations, State and democracy (see tables 4.3.3, 4.3.4 and 4.3.5).

Furthermore, it was also found that the major constraint to the contribution of the CDD and CAPP towards the development of democracy in Nigeria rest with inadequate funding of their activities by members and donors. This is in addition to other challenges which include; lack of unity, ethno-religious conflicts amongst others (see tables 4.3.6 and 4.3.7).

The study also reveal that failures of CDD and CAPP as major partners to Civil Society Organisations could lead to low enlightenment, low human right advocacy, low source of leadership for recruitment (see table 4.3.8). While it was also established that that contributions would enhance the development of democracy in Nigeria because both CDD

and CAPP promote advocacy, assess leadership, create awareness and promote development of advocacy, education mobilisation and research (table 4.3.9)

Purposive interviews with political actors like Alh. Abdulkadir Musa, former Governor of Kaduna State and Chairman of both People's Redemption Party (PRP) and Conference for Nigeria Political Parties (CNPP), maintained that Nigeria's democracy without the active contributions of Civil Society Organisations such as CDD and CAPP would lead to Fascism and the Country will continue under a civilian dictatorship. Also their contributions in monitoring and evaluating elections, promote credible elections as maintained by Dr. Ahmad Gummi whose NGO "My Vote, My Pride" monitored and observed the last 2015 elections. He argued that both PDP and APC have the tendencies of committing election rigging at their various strongholds if were allowed without the intervention of Civil Society Organisations.

5.2 CONCLUSION

The researcher investigated the contributions of CDD and CAPP in the Development of Democracy in Nigeria (1999-2016) in areas of consolidation of democracy, free and fair election campaign, human rights advocacy and solutions to problems bewildering the effectiveness of civil society organisations.

From the analysis of the data of this study, the researcher concludes as follows:

The CDD and CAPP contributed positively to the development of democracy in Nigeria. Going by the analysis, the general opinion is that their existence and activities were vital to effective democratic system in Nigeria. Among other CSOs, the organisations helped in the sensitisation of the citizens, advocacy of human right.

Secondly, the compared to military era the return of democracy in 1999 has improved the relationship between CDD and CAPP and government to some extent this is because the agencies CDD and CAPP are allowed to participate in the promotion of various democratic

processes through enlightenment, advocacy and intermediary. However the organisations are constrained in their effectiveness due to low level of funding of their activities by members and donors alike.

Lastly, the general opinion of the respondents was that failure of the CDD and CAPP would lead to ineffective sensitization, entronement of arbitrariness and excessiveness of government functionaries along with entronement of dictatorship.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Having considered the findings from the research the following measures are recommended for improving the performance of CDD and CAPP in particular and Civil Society Organisation in general:

1. CDD and CAPP among other Civil Society Organisations should be more united in order to confront squarely the issues of corruption, insecurity and election rigging. They should also encourage internal democracy, transparency and peace building.
2. True democracy should be allowed to take its course through Free and Fair election, transparent budgeting and successful transition of power from one regime to the other through the participation of CDD and CAPP
3. CDD and CAPP should acquire basic facilities and equipment which are necessary for organizational efficiency, effectiveness and measurable output.

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Appendix I: Questionnaire

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY,
ZARIA, NIGERIA**

STRUCTURED RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondent

The Researcher is a post-graduate student of the above school and department conducting a study on “The Contributions of Civil Society Organisations in the Development of Democracy in Nigeria: A case study of Centre for Democracy (CDD) and Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP). The Researcher is partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a M.Sc Degree in Political Science. You are assured of your anonymity as information supplied will be committed strictly to academic usage; hence it will be treated in confidence.

Please tick { ✓ } the appropriate box and explain where necessary

SECTION A

BIO DATA

1. Gender: (a) Male { } (b) Female { }
2. Age: (a) 16-25 { } (b) 26-30 { } (c) 31-40 { } (d) 40-50 { } (e) 50 and above { }
3. Educational qualification: (a) Primary { } (b) Secondary { } (c) Tertiary { }
4. Marital Status: (a) Single { } (b) Married { } (c) Divorced { } (d) Widow/Widower { }

SECTION B

RESPONDENTS VIEW ON CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATISATION

5. Civil Society is generally considered as important to the development of democracy. Do you agree? (a) Yes { } (b) No { }
6. If yes to the question above, please briefly explain how

7. In what ways Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) and Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP) shaped and influenced the development of democracy?
(a) Positively { } (b) Negatively { }
8. If positively, how? -----
9. If negatively, why? -----

10. Would you say that CDD and CAPP have contributed to the development of democracy in Nigeria 1999-2016? (a) Yes { } (b) No { }

11. If no in (11) above, why do you think they have not been effective?

12. Have CDD and CAPP as CSO's impacted positively to the development of democracy in Nigeria? (a) Yes { } (b) No { }

13. If no in (12) above, please add a brief comment.

14. How smooth is the relationship between CDD and CAPP and the current government?

15. In your opinion, in which ways CDD and CAPP contributed to the development of democracy in Nigeria from 1999-2016?

16. What do you think were challenges facing CDD and CAPP in Nigeria?

17. What do you think were consequences of their failures (CDD and CAPP)?

18. Suggest ways you think CAPP and CDD can address the above mentions challenges in (17) above

Appendix II: Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD)

Core Values

CDD core values include; Inclusion, Pluralism, Diversity, Transparency, Accountability, Humanity, Openness, Freedom of Expression, Social Responsibility, Commitment to Feminist, Principle and Culture of Collegiality without compromising professionalism.

Registration with Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC)

In June, 2001 CDD as a body got registered with CAC as number: **RC:414767**

Trustees

CDD has the following as Trustees:

1. Kole Shettima
2. Kayode Fayemi
3. Abubakar Momoh
4. Ms. Idayat Hassan

Governing Council

The governing council members include:

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|----------------------|
| 1. KoleShettima | - | Elected Chair |
| 2. DzodziTsikata | - | Elected Deputy Chair |
| 3. Paul Okojie | - | Chair of PSC |
| 4. OtiyeIgbuzor | - | Elected Treasurer |
| 5. Musah Abdel-Fatau | - | Member |
| 6. Thomas Jaye | - | Member |

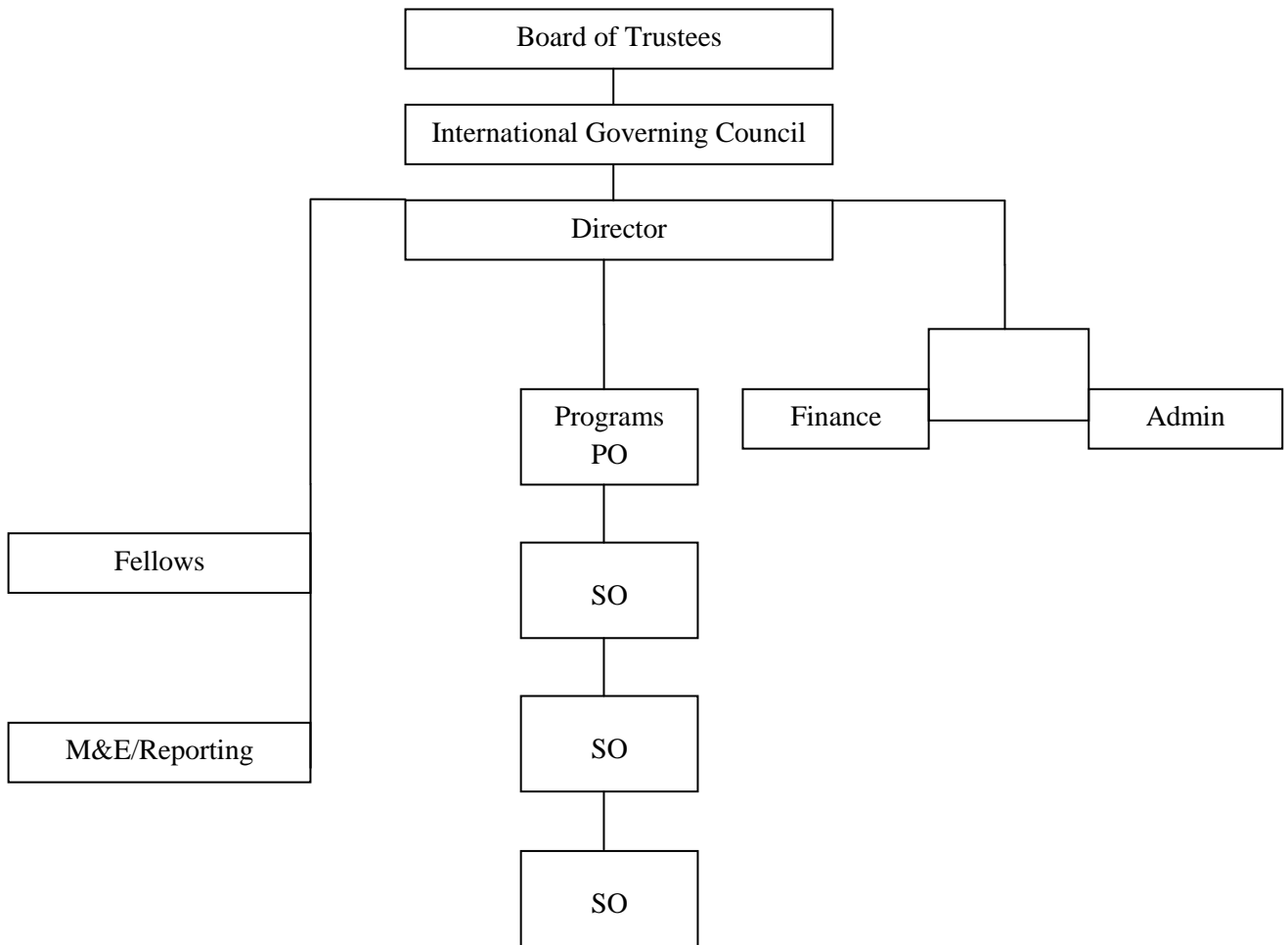
7. Jeanette Ebo	-	Member
8. Katy Wone	-	Member
9. BoubakarNalayi	-	member
10. Ibrahim Abdallah	-	Member
11. Ms. Idayat Hassan	-	Secretary

Links/Funders

CDD has links and partners with the following bodies for funding and other support:

1. United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP)
2. Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA)
3. United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
4. Department for International Development (DFID)
5. International War and Peace Resolution (IWPR)
6. Coalition for Change (C4C)

Organogram



PO = Principal

SO = Senior Officer

O= Officer

AO= Assistant Officer

Publications

CDD has published books, pamphlets of magazine on Governance, security and development, on gender, environment, human right, working papers, etc. Some of these publications are listed below:

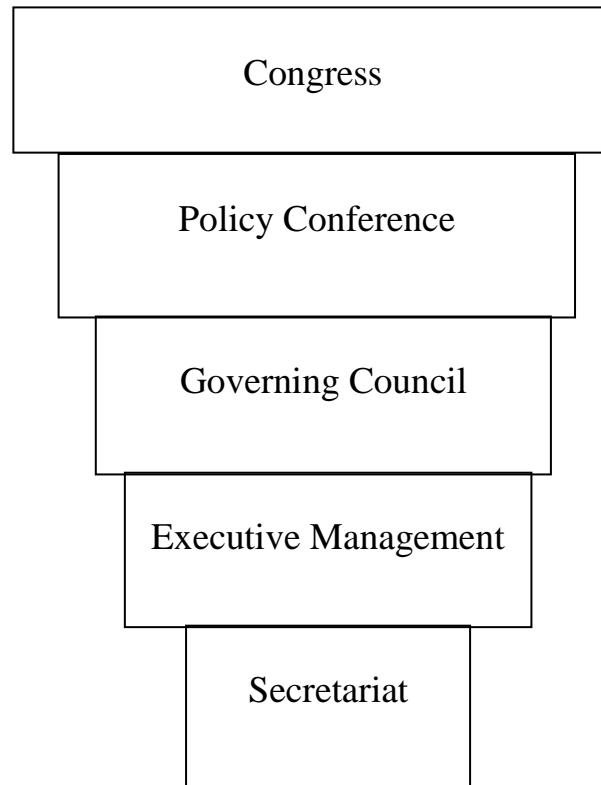
1. Niger-Delta: Political Violence, Governance and Corporate Responsibility in a Petro-State; 2006
2. The Niger Delta Issues of Justice and Development Agenda; 2007
3. Popular Perceptions of Democracy and Political Governance in Nigeria; 2007
4. CAN Nigeria Meet the MDGs in 2015?; 2008
5. Resolving West African Conflicts: Early Warning Early Response; 2008
6. Civil Society Organisation and Conflict Prevention in Senegambia; 2010
7. Constitutional Reform Dialogue Mechanism and the Constitutional Review Process in Nigeria: Lessons Learned; 2011
8. Citizenship and Indigeneship Conflicts in Nigeria; 2012
9. A Partnership that Works: Monitoring the implementation of MDGs in Nigeria; 2013
10. From Direct Capture to Mandate Protection: Field Experiences from the 2011 Nigeria General Elections; 2014
11. The Millennium Development Goals: Progress, Prospects and Policy Implications; 2014
12. Salafi Narratives Against Violent Extremism in Niger; 2014 and 2015
13. Rural Banditry and Conflicts In Northern Nigeria; 2015
14. Towards and Integrated Development of the Niger Delta; 2015
15. The State of Inequality in West Africa; 2016
16. “Policy Brief” Pamphlets on topics such as; Addressing Rural Banditry in Northern Nigeria, The Political Economy of Rural Banditry in Contemporary Nigeria, etc.

17. West Africa Insight Magazines on varieties of topical issues and State of the Nation such as; Terrorism and Trafficking, Gender Awareness, ECOWAS Activities, Transportation, Education, etc.

Appendix III: Community Action for Popular Participation (CAPP)

Structure/Organogram

- h. CAPP has a five-tier structure with National Secretariat, State Branches and Local Government Chapters for sen
as shown in the diagram below



Congress

The Congress is the highest decision-making body of the organization. It meets every four years to elect the Governing Council.

Policy Conference

This is the second highest decision making organ of the Organization. It comprises all members of the Governing Council and Chairpersons and Secretaries of all State branches.

Governing Council

The Governing Council formulates general policy guidelines and supervises the management of the Organization.

Executive Management Committee

The Management Committee chaired by the President is responsible for the day-to-day running of the organization and implements the decisions of the Council.

Secretariat

The secretariat headed by the Executive Director is located in Abuja and has branch offices in Bauchi, Gombe, Niger, Kaduna, Katsina, Plateau and Kebbi States. CAPP has States, local and unit level chapters in all the States where they have members.

Board of Trustees

Alhaji Hassan Sunmonu

Mallam Shehu Abdullahi

Engr. Ehi Ogbe

The Governing Council Members

SylvanusDangoji	-	President
Mary Yakubu	-	Vice President
Optimist Habila	-	Treasurer
Gaius Mark	-	Internal Auditor
Mohammed Gambo	-	States Representative
Samuel Yisa	-	Local Government Rep.
Dr Francis K. Wasa	-	Advocacy Unit Representatived
DorcasAzi	-	Women's Representative
Kyauta A. S. Giwa	-	Executive Director Secretary

Offices of CAPP and Their Addresses

Head Office	-	Plot 556A, No 24, Borno Street, Area 10, Garki, Abuja. P.M.B 10100, Garki Abuja
Bauchi Office	-	1, Shira Close, Federal Low Cost, Bauchi State
Kaduna Office	-	1st Floor, Federal Inland Revenue Building, Former Habib Bank Building, C17 Kachia Road, Kaduna South, Kaduna
Katsina Office	-	14, YahayaMadaki, Katsina State
Kebbi Office	-	26, Emir Haruna Road, BirninKebbi, Kebbi State
Niger Office	-	33, Afam Winners Plaza, Paiko Road, Tunga, Minna, Niger State
Plateau Office	-	11, Shira Street Crescent by Township Primary School, off TafawaBalewa, Plateau State

Staff

• Kyauta A. S. Giwa	-	Executive Director (Abuja)
• Mohammed Adamu Adangba	-	Project Manger (Kaduna)
• Eunice Yali	-	Admin Officer (Abuja)
• Nelson Ananze	-	Programme Manager (Plateau)
• Umar Haruna Musa	-	Programme Officer (Kebbi)
• Akintunde Rowland	-	Programme/IT Support (Abuja)
• Aisha Abdullahi	-	Programme Officer Niger (Niger)
• Maurice Dazahur	-	Programme Officer (Plateau)
• Fatima Yusuf Sadiqq	-	Programme Officer (Katsina)
• Muiyiwa Lasaju	-	Accountant (Abuja)

- Tanko Zhiku - Office Assistant (Abuja)
- Kato Alhamdu Adams - Project Coordinator (Kaduna)
- Nkemjika Kanwanye - Finance Support (Abuja)
- Esther Bature - Programme Officer (Kaduna)
- Olawumi Ayandele - M&E Officer (Abuja)
- Kamal Ahmed - Programme Officer (Kaduna)
- Christy Sambo Atsi - Office Assistant (Plateau)
- Duniya Onaja - Volunteer (Abuja)
- Christy Williams - Volunteer (Kaduna)
- Ebuka Menkiti - Programme Support (Abuja)
- Tina Yamba Yoila - Office Assistant (Kebbi)
- Darlington Umar - Driver (Abuja)
- Magnus Nwosu - Office Security (Abuja)
- Donatus Anayo Iwundu - Office Security (Abuja)
- Rosemary Samuel - M&E Officer (Kaduna)

Members

- Joseph Enejo - Kogi State
- Shafiu Abdullahi Muhammad - Kaduna State
- Charles Ofodile - FCT
- Adams Zipporah - Plateau State
- Anunobi Ifeoma - FCT
- Onyuma Hyacinth - FCT
- Braimah Theophilus Osoke - Ondo State
- Ekeleme Celestine Chibuzo - FCT
- James Solomon Tumba - Kaduna State

• Oladipupo Mariam	-	Lagos
• Maryjane Onyenweli	-	FCT
• Aliyu El-yakub	-	Kano
• Nankling Maurice Gupar	-	Plateau State
• Abutu Joy	-	FCT
• Ruth EguonoOkugbeni	-	FCT
• Nanchin Sarah Zakka	-	Plateau State
• Bella Akhagba	-	Edo State
• Benjamin Yunana Maigari	-	Kaduna State
• Akinbobola Abdulhakeem Balogun	-	Ekiti State
• Benedict Hassan Borash	-	Plateau State
• Usman Jibrin O.	-	Lagos State
• Joyce Azuma Lawrence	-	FCT
• Ejiogu Uche Austin	-	FCT
• Emesakoru Donatus Enifome	-	Bayelsa
• Ajayi Grace Olaoluwatoyosi	-	Lagos State
• Uwakwe Rositer	-	Niger State
• Andrew Danghai	-	Oyo State
• Hannah Ajayi	-	Oyo State
• Ishaku Vivan	-	Kaduna State

Funders:

CAPP is being financially supported both locally and internationally by the following organizations:

- i. International Foundation for Election System (IFES)
- ii. National Endowment for Democracy (NED)

- iii. International Human Rights Law Group
- iv. MacArthur Foundation
- v. Heinrich Boll Foundation
- vi. Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA)
- vii. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- viii. United States Agency of International Development (USAID)
- ix. Commonwealth Education Fund (CEF)
- x. Action Aid Nigeria

Links:

CAPP is a member of national civil societies coalitions that may include the following:

- i. Legislative Advocacy Coalition on Violence Against Women (LACVAW)
- ii. Electoral Reform Network (ERN)
- iii. Transition Monitoring Group (TMG)
- iv. Citizen's Forum for Constitutional Reform (CFCR)
- v. Civil Society Organisation Pro-Democracy Network
- vi. Conflict Resolution Stakeholders Network (CRESNET)
- vii. Civil Society Action on Education for All (CSACEFA)

Activities

Since its inception in 1993, CAPP has blazed a progressive trail. The organization has touched the lives of people across the North and several communities in the south. Some of its remarkable contributions and projects include the following:

- a. Organisation building, leadership training and issue campaigns in Niger State, Federal Capital Territory and 55 riverine local government areas across Nigeria

- b. Accountably, transparency and participation workshops (Town Hall Meetings) in Abuja, Plateau, Kano, Jigawa and Niger States
- c. Human rights education and organization building amongst social welfare workers in Nigeria
- d. Strengthening National Human Rights Institutions like the Public Complaints Commission (PCC)
- e. Focus Group Discussions on the perception of Nigerians over registration in 40 local government areas in the six geo-political zones
- f. Publishes two journals; **Community and Legislative Mandate**
- g. several Information, Education and Communication (IEC) materials and training manuals
- h. CAPP Head Office in Abuja hosts Conflict Management Resource Centre supported by United States Agency for International Development (USAID)

Publications

The body has contributed a lot in promoting the course of democracy in Nigeria by producing quarterly publications on topical issues such as:

- a. Deepening Participation in Public Affairs; 2005
- b. Towards 2007 Election What Electoral 2006 Says; 2006
- c. Participatory Baseline Survey Report: Community Driven Peace Building in Plateau State; 2011
- d. Conflict Early Warning Early Response (EWER) Training Manual; 2012
- e. Conflict Early Response Training Manual (Jointly with MacArthur Foundation); 2012
- f. Peace Building: Community Driven Approach; 2012