

Ideology of Civil Society Organisations in Nigeria's Democratization Process, Between Cynicism and Solidarity, 1999-2020.

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Abstract

*The docility of civil society organisations in Nigeria's democratisation process has been critiqued on grounds of extremities of either anti-democratic and elitist objectives or being driven by local anti-government objectives. In particular, evidence from Enugu State government-owned newspaper in Nigeria; **Daily Star**, substantiated that, civil society organisations in the State were mostly rationalizers of the impulses of government, notoriously elitist as praise singers. We therefore posited that the historical dualism in organizational ideology of civil society organisations in Enugu State, in the imbalance between cynicism and solidarity is a challenge to the democratisation process. In doing this we asked: How did civil society organisations' cynicism and solidarity ideologies significantly relate to the deepening of international democratic objectives in Enugu state, 1999-2020? The study made use of the Exploratory Research Design, using the Structural-Functional Analysis and the Post-Colonial State theory as frameworks for analysis. A Mixed Method of data collection and analysis was used, focusing on a sample of 312 respondents drawn from a population of 1434 members of civil society organisations. The study used the Multilinear Regression model in the Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences IBM(SPSS) version 20 to test the statistical hypothesis that: civil society organisations' need for unity and welcoming local community partners are significantly related to deepening international democratic objective in Enugu State, 1999-2020. It was recommended that civil society organisations in Enugu State Nigeria need to balance their need for internal cohesion and unity with the welcoming of the community stakeholders as partners, thereby deepening the democratisation process in the state, especially, in the areas of good governance, gender equality, rule of law and constitutionalism.*

Keywords: Civil Society Organisation, Cynicism, Democratization, Paradox, Solidarity.

Introduction

The struggle between organisational ideologies of non-welcoming of local community organisations as partners for organisational progress and organisations' internal need for unity has not been adequately used to interrogate international democratic objectives like good governance, anti-corruption measures, gender rights, privatization and trade

liberalism. The relationship between local solidarity ideologies have historically laid in dysfunction with alien liberal democratic culture of party organisations' politics in Nigeria's first republic. Then, civil society organisations in Nigeria exhibited anti-democratic advocacy, resulting to the intolerance and breakdown of the first democratic government through the army, between 1960 and 1966. Then, the country existed under a democratic rule structured under a federal system of three regions – north, east and west as left by the new post-colonial capitalist arrangement. The epoch also experienced the interplay of democratic norms when people were supposed to have clearer political opportunities. Gberevbie (2013:95) pointed out that:

The culture of intolerance of the opposition and CSOs was the hallmark of the government then to the extent that any contrary views or suggestions were seen as treasonable offence against the government, which actually earned for a number of prominent civil society activists prison terms. It was the resultant effects of intolerance of opposition and the CSOs that led to a political stalemate and a near state of anarchy in the then western region of Nigeria, and which eventually contributed largely to the first military coup of 15th January, 1966 that terminated the democratic government of the first republic.

Fernando (2011) posited that civil society organisations exist within legal boundaries established by the state, at the other hand in a manner of reinforcing relationships, the civil society organisations enhance the capacity of the state in its quest to accommodate international ideologies of capitalism. This happens through neo-liberal reforms employed by civil society organisations allowed by the state to handle emergencies, natural disasters and even humanitarian assistance. Meanwhile, at the same time, He also posited that they have not been welcoming to the challenges of ethnic and religious ideologies which are local to the people. They are more interested in expanding international capitalist ideologies in their projects. Moreover, the presence of NGOism – which is a notional occupation of civil society group presence as tantamount to value in a democracy shows disarticulation of the civil society organisations due to its inability to accommodate the ideals and processes of such civil society organisations to foster local solidarity or support in the face of any national or to international ideologies on democracy. Hence, they are ideologically diverse in strategies of contention, collaboration and collusion not being able to resolve internal crises. Self-preservation in anti-democratic representation of local interests for their solidarity going by non-accepting and representing the local democratic values from community stakeholders to show cynicism.

Today, Enugu state noted as one of the most stable or peaceful cities in Nigeria, and among the 100 resilient cities according to Rockefeller comes to the limelight having more civil society organisations presence (See Vanguard, 2014, December 5). Credence to the fact that the records of human rights abuse and disregard for the rule of law still surge amidst the plethora of civil society organisations in the state, with a greater presence of society organisations, a democratic and highly decentralized political economy, still, it has been a one-party state since the transition from civilian administration in 1999,

observing the trend of the democratization process, through the activities of civil society organisations in Enugu State from 2015-2018. The point for concern from the layout of reported events showed that civil society organisations have engaged more in praise-singing and award-giving rather than being critical of the government's ineptitude towards the democratic needs of the people. Collaborating Kukah (1999), what brings civil society organisations for action is embedded in self-service, fatalism and cynicism towards the democratisation process. (Also see Appendix 5). It is important to highlight that the instances in the state-owned newspaper 'Daily Star' was a revealing light to enable inquisition into what is going on with the democratization process in Enugu State. It is on these accounts that it becomes necessary to study the civil society organisations' cynicism and solidarity ideologies and the democratization process in Nigeria, focusing on Enugu state from 1999 to 2020.

Civil society organisations in democratic countries of the world have been depicted as para-political organisations that help to make demands and give support under modern governance systems practising democracy. They could be understood as; checks against the excesses of the government, human rights violations and abuse of the rule of law; monitors of the application of the constitution; facilitators of participation and skills of all segments of the society, instilling a sense of tolerance, trust, hard work, moderation and compromise among the various parties in the society; alternatives to political parties, acting as a refuge for those who are shut out from their rights due to non-membership of given political parties; support to the bargaining power of interest organisations, providing inclusive mechanisms for them; mitigation instruments of the excesses of fundamentalists, extremists and maximalists who tend to have a very narrow view of life; and, recruiting ground for and training of prospective members of the political class for the enhancement of quality participation in government (Diamond cited in Egbe, 2004).

Meanwhile, there remains a gap in explorative studies of the democratization process and the civil society organisations in Nigeria, with regards to how existential paradoxes of civil society organisations ideologies influence the democratization process in Nigeria. The paradox of cynicism-solidarity as ideological dualism confronts civil society solidarity. These paradoxes have not been linked by existent studies to the deepening of international democratic objectives in Nigeria. It presents in the literature that, self-interestedness rather than engaging local objectives and agenda drive civil society organisations' actions in many developing countries, and this has dominated NGO and civil society group activities in the past decade, making them kowtow to bastions of international capitalist principles for funds (Kukah, 1999; Cernea, 1997). The challenges of the democratization process have not been holistically captured considering the paradox of the civil society organisations in Nigeria. It is on this note that this study seeks to find out how the democratization process influences the civil society complex paradoxes influence the democratization process in Nigeria using civil society organisations in Enugu State as a case study from 1999 to 2020. Specifically, the study tried to answer the question: How did civil society organisations' cynicism and solidarity ideologies associate with the deepening of international democratic objectives in Enugu state, 1999-2020? This would be done within the time frame from 1999 to 2020, which is to capture the longest sway of civilian administration in Nigeria. We uphold this question given the rationale that the civilian regime is

coterminous to democratic administration which its theoretical liberality allows democratization process, whereby the former allows for elections which at the core of peoples' political participation, against military regimes type of democratization processes and principles.(See appendix)

Review of related literature

Issues on dualism in principles Civil society organisations have been reflective of cynical and solidarity needfulness, due to historical political and economic antecedents of the Nigerian society. Distortions and contradictions therefore face them in the likes of liberal or Marxian ideology, socialism or democratic system, gaps of levels of trust and ethnic or religious character of isolationism and strict adherence.

Carothers (2002) posits that as democracy unfolds at different stages, civil society evolves within one of the stages. In doing this, he noted that strong civil societies were very active in the democratic transition of the country from military regimes, making a weak link of the role of the civil society in the democratization process to be ad-hoc in their contributions to reforms towards the democratization process. For him, civil society, at a point in many countries, tends to be silent and underperforming, whereas civil society is supposed to be a constant for the democratization process in any country that is stable and practising democracy as part of public policy and political participation of the people in government.

Mgba (2015) appraised the liberal and Marxian schools of thought on the relevance of the civil society to democratization and found the Marxian perspective to be encompassing and firmly grasping the Nigerian consolidation democratic history with the civil society. He views civil society organisations as characterized by infightings orchestrated by the post-colonial state's environment. He noted that the tussles and fights within civil society in Nigeria emanated from the unpopular policies of the colonial and post-colonial state for the democratization process to the extent where destabilization of democratic reversal is far-fetched. This view shows that the civil society organisation in Nigeria has been historically determined by the position and role of the colonial state. Thus, it shows that disarticulation of civil society or characteristic incoherence should be expected as the norm. However, this view did not directly answer questions concerning the character of civil society organisation in Nigeria's democratization process. Akinboye and Oluruntoba (2007) identified civil society as a means of establishing a more integrated relationship between socialism and democracy. They also add media organisations, research institutes and think tanks among community organisations, professional organisations, and faith-based organisations to make up the civil society organisations. This comes in a way of regarding civil society organisations as a fulcrum and having the original normative character of serving a collectivist political arrangement. This view is a normative description and is limited in discussing the character of civil society organisations in Nigeria's democratization process. Newton (2001) asserted the interrelationship of several gaps of trust, such as; 'overlap between social and political trust; a syndrome of trust and membership of voluntary organisations; and; trusting dispositions among individuals. He posits that to mediate these trusts, there is a need to build cooperative social relations in a bottom-up process, through social and political organisations. This cooperative social

relationship of people is taken as social capital found in civil society and this is the basis for good democratic government (Newton, 2001:211). For him, civil society organisations are challenged by this overlap of trusts. The lack of civil society trust, on the other hand, has the capacity of undermining democracy. However, it was not focused on understanding this impact on Nigeria's democratization process. So for such views, the impact of civil society organisations on the democratization process in Nigeria could be regarded as negative.

Another set of literature reviewed discusses either the threats or strengths of civil society organisations' ideology as regards the international ideology of neoliberalism. Some scholars posit they are associated since they are not as dominant as faith-based organisations (FBOs) in amelioration of inequalities and factors that cause division. Others associated faith-based organisations who are financially viable to engage in international development but are evangelical against local democratic representativeness. Some of the positions agree that civil society organisational challenges of non-solidarity come from ethnicism and religious parochialism (Mbuagbuo, 2013).

As a corollary to the above, Mgba (2015) also propounded that the struggles by civil society in Nigeria arose from the unpopular policies of the colonial and post-colonial state on the democratization process to the extent where destabilization of democratic reversal was far-fetched. It could be taken that these struggles were practical roles and functions of the civil society, which had its derivative from the historical state of affairs in Nigeria. The impact was a democratic reversal. Thang (2013), in his deconstruction of the variations and meanings of civil society that was found in Myanmar, opined that religious organisations were the most obvious manifestations of people organizing themselves for a common purpose, beyond the family life and the state. Civil society organisations were for him, organisations dominated by faith-based organisations. An example was given of the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA), founded in 1906, which had fifty branches all over the country and was set to protect Buddhism and promote the political consciousness of Myanmar young men. He also basically viewed civil society as possessing the base for civilian participation in the decision making process, central to the discussions on the democratization process. This study although being focused on Myanmar still lends a notable perspective to the view on the character and inherent make-up of civil society type that was more viable in a developing country, particularly, in terms of faith-based organisations. However, the study was also limited in not focusing on Nigeria's democratization process. Singh (2012) analyzing the concept and role of civil society in India, noted that it was very difficult to classify the civil society organisations or the NGOs in the country because of the enormous diversity in organisations of/in their purpose, size, promoters of such organisations and so on. Again the study went on to point out how the Hindu nationalist challenge was resisted by the different sectors of the civil society to defend established forms of democracy and minority rights. This study although written from another country's experiences still captured the description and position given by this study on civil society organisations in developing country like Nigeria, which may later be described as a large, ad-hoc and functioning with motley crowd of people, who were best described by their distorted objectives, going by the development of this literature.

Ukiwo (2003) purveyed that the ethno-religious and communal conflicts in Nigeria since civilian administration deterred the democratization process. He attributed this problem to the unbridled competition for political power by ethnic and religious organisations and the failure of government to ensure the delivery of dividends of democracy. Initially, the work recognized ethnic and religious organisations as causes of intolerance but proffered good governance, accountability and transparency as remedies to the problems without properly addressing the sources of these crises or conflict which are the ethnic and religious organisations' ideologies, thereby glossing over the importance of people as solutions to conflict and moved to adapt abstract concepts as solutions. Afolabi (2015) argued that religion and ethnicity have been used negatively to advance the ambitious politics of the political class. McGinnise (2011) stated that faith-based organisations may prove very useful when members of a policy network confront intractable problems and the faith-based organisations have been part of policymaking in the United States. Also, he stated that the risk of allowing them to play essential role in the formation and implementation of public policy could potentially reinforce their hegemony over the whole society. However, in such a society, being a pluralist democracy, there will arise easily mobilized counter-pressures from other organisations. He argued that lessons should be drawn by policymakers from all types of governance, including the faith-based organisation's governance system. On the other hand, faith-based organisations in the same vein could be very efficient in limiting cut-throat and excessive 'partisanship in the struggle for political power' (McGinnis, 2011:17). This view espies the dangers civil society organisations have in the consolidation of their governance system but noted that civil society organisations have a bigger role to play in the formation and implementation of public policy. He, however, agrees that certain typology of civil society organisation tends to be strong in the political functions towards achieving democratization process even in developed societies with a practical example of the United States.

Narayan et al cited in Heist and Cnaan (2016), found that negative narratives of civil society organisations were few and one of those was the issue of extremely evangelical/fanatic organisations, whose objectives were more of proselytization than providing social welfare. Therefore, their share on the international development and funding was marginal, as their projections and character were not friendly to host local communities. Since, many civil society organisations and particularly, faith-based organisations were financially able to engage in social welfare, while the few with solely faith interests were not recommended for shares in international development funds and programmes.

Rutzen (2015) asserted that there was the emergence and surge of associational revolution in form of the civil society organisations about twenty years ago. Civil society organisations contributions to health, education, culture and economic development was remarkable. However, he noted that after the terror attack on the United States on September 11, 2001, there was a shift in discourse from human rights and positive contributions of CSOs to labelling them as NGOs aiding insidious activities. They thereafter became the targets of the governments, which was exemplified in the restrictions in aid and funding, following the pattern of Vladimir Putin's theory of 'managed democracy', selective of liberties of organisations under the government through legislated policies (Rutzen, 2015:.3). Though the work is limited in discussing the character of civil

society organisations in Nigeria's democratization process. It, however, describes it as a victim of managed democracy. Kew and Oshikoya (2014) propounded that African civil societies have tried to ensure democratic practice against the divisive mechanizations of ethnicity and domination by traditional and kin-based organisations. This could be interpreted that ethnic and traditional organisations usurpation of their positions of organisational control of communities (in the forms of community-based organisations for example) had negative impacts towards Nigeria's democratization process, while non-ethnic or non-religion-based civil society organisations promoted international democratic objectives. What we can glean from these positions are that both ethnic and religious, or faith-based organisations all suffer from their cynical representations despite their successes. This goes a long way to cast doubts on their possible positive contribution to speed up the democratisation process.

Civil society organisations and neo-liberal ideology objective for modern democracy

Dualised positions of civil society organisations possess certain distinct features when they are interfaced with issues of democracy (i.e. liberal democracy) and from what we have seen in the literature, the external influence through the paradoxes of civil society have been attempted by scholars studying the neo-liberal ideology of democracy. As a form of introduction, we see what neo-liberal democratic objective holds for civil society organisations ascertained in diverse ways. For example in themes of autocracy or authoritarian governance; through the interplay of interparliamentary unions, free economic structure, trade liberalisation and other macroeconomic reforms like the Paris declaration. Perhaps, the influence on the cynical or solidarity character of the civil society organisation in low income countries could be ascertained by these external influences.

Usman (2009) opined that since the late 1980s, African countries have been experiencing a crisis of governance and democratic change which its formation has been catalyzed by authoritarian rule which is a variant of dependent capitalism. The civil society organisations are defined by 'neoliberal interpretations of the western donors in terms of political conditionality', and this has a deleterious effect on democracy. He also criticized the civil societies in Africa and pro-democracy organisations as being urban-based, elitist and very dependent on foreign funding; who, with pseudo mobilization, lack the Africa based movements with internal cohesion (Usman, 2009:3). This view, although not directly in discussing the character of the civil society organisations in Nigeria's democratization process, was able to take note of the dialectical character of civil society development in Africa being constrained by western influences of policy conditionalities, funding and elitism.

Goodwin-Gill (2006) explained that the Inter-Parliamentary Union is believed to apprehend democracy (i.e representative democracy). Here, a country's internal democracy may be compromised when relating with an intergovernmental organisation such as the United Nations, with its inter-parliamentary Union which has the civil society, the UN with parliamentarians in its governing council. Muhammed (2013), equated liberal democracy to feigned oligarchy styled domination within capitalism and argued that Nigeria lacked the necessary democratic values, bringing unrest to the polity. He argued that this has been rampant since Nigeria's return to the global forms of popular governance

in 1999 which is democracy. Since the democratization process seems to continually elude the Nigerian project, especially due to the structural economic formations of the globalizing world. Moreover, for Mohammed, a good civil society organisation is also lacking in Nigeria in bringing about the democratization process. He characterizes civil society organisations as instruments of oligarchy styled domination under global capitalist formations. He doubted the general normative view of civil society as neutrally positive promoters of the democratization process. Tomlinson and Padilla (2011) described civil society organisations as partners for deepening the Paris Declaration in developing countries. In doing this, the country's government should engage developmental actors (CSO, parliamentarians and local government officials) with support for their respect for international human rights. He observed the inadequacy in the development of democracy in developing countries and recommended that governments of developing countries like Nigeria should engage civil society organisations that have support for international human rights to deepen the Paris Declaration principles.

Most of these studies argued that democratic consolidation could not be brought about by civil society organisations with local democratic content. Most scholars as mentioned above did not use the term cynic to describe the ideology of civil society organisations in Enugu state, but they depicted either their level of cynicism or solidarity of ideology in their respective inquests of civil society into the democratisation process.

Nwosu (2014) observed the cynicism aspect as de-democratiser organisations (such as Youth Earnestly Ask for Abacha (YEAA); the National Mobilization and Persuasion Committee (NMPC), the General Sanni Abacha Movement for Unity and Stability (GESAM), the General Sanni Abacha Movement for Peaceful and Successful Transition Programme (GESAM 98), Abacha Solidarity Movement (ASOMO). In his terms, he did not see any of them contribute positively to the democratization process from the ideological dualism of democratisation-de-democratisation whose solidarity was informed as militarized-civilians or civilianized-military civil society organisations in Nigeria under and post-military administrations. Ibeanu (2006) deduced in ideological parlance that since 1999 there has been a decline in civil society organization with objective to solve conflict challenges, kowtowing to the international belief of a democratic political structure as being able to solve them. Thus showing a problem of ideological fault and dependence on the part of civil society objectives with regards to democracy. It was Kukah (1999) who propounded that civil society organisations in Nigeria's relationship with democracy have been fraught with cynicism and fatalism, using other adjectives to explain the inadequacies of the civil society organisations in Nigeria in effectively initiating and leading the partway for democratic development. He posited that the civil society is suffering from 'siddon look syndrome' (p10) and 'quietism' (p.11). This is what has enshrouded the spate of political leadership in Nigeria, and from the top, flowing down to drench the other institutions and ideologies that give them focus and essence. Other attributes that contribute to the cynicism and fatalism of ideology of the civil society in Nigeria ranging from the leadership to the followership were noted to be self-destructive. These go from self-deprecation, to 'self-immolation, stone-throwing, name-calling, buck-passing, bickering, treachery, blackmail and wrangling' (p.3) without recourse to rally around themselves for

the common good. Frequent military interventions have also held onto some of these factors to rationalize their seizure of political leadership in the country.

Theoretical framework

In this study, Structural-functionalism as postulated by Talcott Parsons, and as developed for democratic societies and para-political organisations by Almond and Coleman (1960) as micro theory to understand the sub-systemic crises in levels of interest articulation, integration and aggregation into democratic governance, and the Post-Colonial State Theory as propounded by Alavi (1972), as a macro theory to capture the state dialectics influencing the civil society organisations challenges in democracy and conception of state are used as theoretical frameworks. Later, in a view to understanding political development, which is a process-viewpoint for political systems, the structural-functional analysis was further developed. Almond and Powell (1966) argued that all political systems, regardless of their type, must perform a specific set of tasks to survive as systems called functional requirements. Some of these requirements being input function and output functions were redefined with a deeper understanding of the political process. Various structures corresponding to these functions (input-output functions). Although the theory states that in a political system, political structures perform political structures, to evolve a structural-functional framework or theory, they posited that in various political systems, functions may be performed by diverse kinds of political structures and, sometimes, even by structures which are not overtly recognized as being, primarily, 'political'. These input functions are political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation and political communication. While the output functions are rule-making, rule-application and rule-adjudication. Of these, output functions, rulemaking, rule application and rule adjudication correspond to conventional governmental functions, performed by political or governmental organs such as the legislature, executive and judiciary respectively.

The post-colonial state theory is the macro theory for this study. It was propounded by Alavi. This argues that firstly, the post-colonial state in Africa was overdeveloped and could not properly mediate the class struggle. As Ake (1981) reinterpreted it, "the state was highly developed (overdeveloped) in the sense that it is very repressive and historically was not able to rise above class struggle to mediate between the opposing classes", and that "the ruling classes of Africa are highly fractious: as they are juxtaposed in the different modes of production in intense quest for state power" (Ake, 1981:128-9). The application of this post-colonial theory to this study is contained in the argument of Ibeanu (2012), who took on with the particularized explanation of the nature of class struggle found within the state in Africa. He noted that with the line of the democratization process in a praetorian state. He noted that a large population of the civil society membership, in their relations (being the working class), are still locked within primordial boundaries, limiting their mobility and availability for exploitation; which is necessary for the rise in working-class consciousness and national thinking (to realize true political and economic meanings of democracy). Workers (advocates in the civil society organisations) remain largely divided. Some of their so-called leaders are now large merchants and entrepreneurs in both business and government- the petty bourgeoisie. Organisations

within the state, therefore, reproduce the character of the state that produced them, lacking the ideology, capacity and collaboration to drive the democratisation process in Nigeria. It is pertinent to assert that we view crises of dualism in ideology, as historically formed to rally behind solidarity and cynicism, which as ethnicism or religiosity are not negative attributes in themselves but could be either positive or negative in the manner of its integration by civil society organisations.

Methodology

The Exploratory Research Design was used in his study. This is because of the study's recourse to a combined method of data gathering. It also takes input from the qualitative and quantitative research typologies (Biereenu-Nnabugwu, 2018). This study used the Mixed Method for analyzing data. It involved triangulating qualitative analysis and quantitative analysis (Leege and Francis, 1974). This enabled the study to involve qualitative and quantitative interpretation of views from several documents and direct views of persons. The data was analyzed, supported by triangulation with use of inferential statistical tools like Common Factor Analysis (especially to check internal consistency within group questionnaire items and between organisations of questionnaire items for pilot study, whereby, invalid questionnaire items would be dropped in the course of the analysis). Multiple Linear Regression Analysis was used and IBM (SPSS) 20.0 was used. This was supported with the use of Qualitative Descriptive statistical tools like tables and pie charts, figures and pictures with descriptive statistical tools like mean, mean deviation, standard deviation, percentages.

The scope of this study was civil society organisations in Enugu State, Nigeria. The justification for selecting Enugu state has the highest number of registered civil society organisations according to the latest publication of civil society organisations and NGOs in Southeastern Nigeria by the Institute of Democracy for South Africa [IDASA-Nigeria]. This study followed up the latest update of NGOs and civil society organisations in Nigeria by 2007. Four (4) civil society organisations were composed of about more than 30 staff members (internal members) and more than 1404 congregants (external members) who were on specific mission arrangement. A sample of 312 respondents was drawn from the 1434 members of organisations, using the Taro Yamane formula as stated below to make it more representative of that population. Data was collected with the help of survey method and documentary techniques and observation. Primary data was collected using the contingency questionnaire and in-depth interviews, while the secondary data was collected through text materials such as journal articles, textbooks. The researcher also visited one of the organisations as a participant non-obtrusive observer.

In the administration of instruments, Purposive Sampling was implemented in the study to catch the needed number of appropriate societies for sampling. We used the quota sampling which is a non-probability sampling technique. We learned that societies in Enugu state as updated and recorded by the Institute of Democracy for South Africa [IDASA-Nigeria] were 48 in number. Both the internal paid staff of and the congregants of the selected civil society organisations were 1434 persons. About 650 questionnaires were distributed and up to 312 were returned. We achieved this following the list of civil

society organisations in Enugu State, South East Zone by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa [IDASA-Nigeria] (Marco, n.d.).

Hypothesis

H₀: Civil society organisations’ cynicism and solidarity ideologies are not significantly related to deepening international development objectives in Enugu State, 1999-2020.

Test Statistic: The Multiple Linear Regression Analysis

Significance Level: A significance level (α) of 0.05 was used in testing this hypothesis.

Statistical Computation

Table 2. MODEL SUMMARY

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted Square	R Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.252 ^a	.064	.058	.42283

a. Predictors: (Constant), Do you think your group has had a need for unity just like you do in your town unions? Does the group welcome the community organisations as partners for their progress?

Table 3. ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	3.753	2	1.877	10.497	.000 ^b
	Residual	55.244	309	.179		
	Total	58.997	311			

a. Dependent Variable: Do they partner in deepening international democratic objectives?

b. Predictors: (Constant), Do you think your group has had a need for unity just like you do in your town unions? Does the group welcome the community organisations as partners for their progress?

Table 4 COEFFICIENTS

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	.867	.115		7.540	.000
	Does the group welcome the community organisations as partners for their progress?	.015	.048	.017	.301	.763
	Do you think your group has had a need for unity just like you do in your town unions?	.226	.049	.253	4.578	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Do they partner in deepening international democratic objectives?

A multiple linear regression analysis was conducted to evaluate the prediction of partnering in deepening international democratic objectives from organisations' welcome of the community organisations as partners for their progress and having need for unity just like in town unions. The results of the multiple linear regression analysis revealed the independent variables are statistically significant predictors to the model [$p < .05$]. Although, the result showed that the model explained 6% of the variance in the dependent variable (partnering in deepening of international democratic objective) which means that 94% of the variation cannot be explained by the Organisations' welcome of community organisations as partners alone. The model was a significant predictor of the dependent variable, $F(2, 309) = 10.497, p = .000$. While having need for unity just like in town unions contributed significantly to the model ($B = .226, p < .05$), Organisations' welcome of the community organisations as partners for their progress did not ($B = .015, p > .05$). The partnering in the deepening of international democratic objectives suggests that with each increase in deepening of international democratic objectives, organisations' need for unity increases approximately by 0.226 and organisations welcome of community as partners increase by approximately .015. (See Table above). The final predictive model was:

Partnering in deepening international democratic objective = $.867 + (.015 * \text{welcome of the community organisations as partners}) + (.226 * \text{having need for unity})$. For some of the organisations under study when their projects are driven by funds from external donors, they do so without recourse to the ethnic and religious considerations, it makes democratic change slow since they are not community-wide impacts to democratic change. Issues of human rights are atomistic and slow but subtle in binging in the international liberal orientations of democracy. For the others not minding the religious and ethnic social trust backing of the society of institutions, require more funds for meeting of the people in order to usher in a democratic dividend and to give impetus for the economic path of the democratization process (See Table below).

Table 4. ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW SESSIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF CIVIL SOCIETY GROUP STAFF MEMBERS.

Orga nisati on	Cynicism	Solidarity	Context	Interpret Ation	Deeping internatio nal democrati c objective	Interpretation
A	PRESEN T	PRESEN T (they have balanced interest in internal solidarity and welcomin g local communi ty as stakehold ers)	I have not heard about any alliance with any foreign agency, maybe trying to help us, if there's any help, it will be [on] individual basis. Those that he has contact with or some of us as clergy men have contact with, who can help us in one project or the other [that] will be a personal contact, but not as a group. Even if it's a group, then that group must be sound enough, those that go in-line with the Diocesan principles of spreading the gospel. If not, even if they are.... (S. Nwankwor, personal communication, December 7, 2020).	Unity of Leadershi p and followers hip	ABSENT	ABSENT (Possibilities of mass and content on local democratic objectives)
B	ABSENT	PRESEN T Nearly a compelle d solidarity among members hip	Like I told you earlier, we are an international organization we partner with our donors and for them to come, we have their areas of interest, [so if] they adjudge [the Organisation] within the organizations, the total organization to work with. They give you their template, where they are looking at, as much as is humanly possible,	Unity of external template	PRESENT	Subsumed objective under international agreement, which indicates danger of drifting towards cynicism

			you stick to your cores. For instance, I told you about the ongoing project with OVC, Caritas Nigeria. (H.C. Onaga, personal communication, December 7, 2020).			
C	ABSENT	PRESENT Also indicative of compelled solidarity to values of organisation	Immediately we give you an assignment here, maybe a job or whatever, you sign on to some code of conduct for us....So, what is our role? Number one, is to be able to empower the people on this end of the pyramid to be able to ask government questions – relevant questions; what are you doing with our money? How are you spending it? (C. Ugwu, personal communication, December 7, 2020).	Unity of organizational template	PRESENT	Sustained objective under international agreement
D	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: Fieldwork, 2020.

The interviewee for the first organisation agreed that the civil societies are more interested in solidarity and also in welcoming local communities, showing unity of ideology in leadership and followership, but with the absence of deepening international democratic objectives. There were the possibilities of mass support and content on local democratic objectives. The second organisation interviewee also agreed to the solidarity, but with a nearly compelled solidarity among membership due to the unity of external template to be used, therefore welcoming local community was not so much an issue of interest to be discussed. It showed objectives are subsumed objectives under international agreement, which indicates danger of drifting towards cynicism. Meanwhile, the third organisation response was also indicative of compelled solidarity to values of organisation, with the unity of organizational template which is a sustained objective under international agreement (See Table 4 above). These responses also collaborate with the literature that there tends to be disconnect within the trinity of solidarity, cynicism and deepening of international democratic objectives.

Summary of the findings

One could observe that solidarity ideology was associated with international liberal democratic objective while its unbelieving, self-focused and preserving cynical nature against welcoming the local community was not associated. The literature pinpoints that welcoming the local community as partners by civil society organisations was outbalanced by their need for solidarity considering the international democratic objectives. However, the survey data showed that they were gauged by their principles

which were not solely informed by the local democratic factors like ethno-religious factors. The paradox of cynic-solidarity came into play in the sense that most civil society organisations were acting very patriotic and dedicated to achieving their goals for survival without asking the questions that may include the interest of the community stakeholders and solidarity drives of the public of their locality. Thus the paradox was complete in this sense. The literature shows, since the serving of the modern government under new states practising democracy promotes only the capitalist values and cultures, still, the underplay of the galvanizing religious and ethnic peculiarities for democratic practice is untapped for the local meaning of democracy and they are skated over. Because such issues may bring up realities of the citizenry which are class and labour based (See Fernando 2011).

In conclusion, it could be gleaned from the study that civil society organisations have levels of existence that they interface with the democratization process in Enugu State which is positive, but bedeviled and hindered by negative aspects of the civil society organisations or organisations. This is the ideological historical dialectic or organisational paradox which was a key instrument for determining the functionality of the civil society in bringing about the needed democratic change in Enugu State, Nigeria or any country as a whole. Although there was an identification of a significant relationship between solidarity ideology and international democratic objectives, the cynicism was found in the qualitative reports. Both were associated in the sense that; while some organisations' admit to being influenced by international democratic objectives by particularly working with international bodies whose objectives reflect in their template others did not. At the same time, they all showed the desire for solidarity as found in community and faith-based organisations. On the other hand, many congregational members which formed the greater part of the respondents did not admit to welcoming the local community as partners to their progress, which could be said to be self-preserving.

Recommendations

On a general note, having seen that civil society organisations ideological paradox affected the democratization process in Enugu State, Nigeria, 1999-2020, there is a need to harness the strengths of civil society organisations where influences could be utilized for speeding up the democratization process. To achieve this, it is recommended that: civil society organisations or organisations should ensure that they form local support in their diverse religious and ethnic ideologies, incorporating the cultural and historical factors of their community hosts as bases of operation for internal solidarity, to question issues concerning debilitating class and labour positions in the society. For example, solidarity would be present when ethnocultural and religious identities which have formed most of the Nigeria mobilizing forces or factors are used to critique and ask economic questions concerning labour and class relationships and independently and patriotically catalyze the democratic process. This reiterates what Kukah (1999) had noted that democracy has been failed by cynical and fatalistic civil societies and that hope is left not on governmental non-governmental human rights associations, trade unions or even professional associations but in the salvific and soul reaching virtues found in the religious associations and community associations (Town Unions), who at times have also engaged in developmental

projects and speaking truth to power.[4] We recommend forming Inter-faith and inter-ethnic civil society organisations to mobilize support for the democratization even in their areas of interest to synergize with some international democratic objectives of Nigeria.

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