

## GLOBALIZATION AND GOOD GOVERNANCE: A STUDY ON THE ROLES OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN PROMOTING TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN SELECTED SUB- SAHARAN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

**Dr. Bayero Bukkuyum Kasim**

*Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Management Sciences, Usmanu Danfodiyo  
University, Sokoto - Nigeria*

*Email: [bayerokasim@yahoo.com](mailto:bayerokasim@yahoo.com)*

*Cell: +234-806-9679567*

### ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of Globalization resulted in the rise into prominence of civil society Organizations (CSOs) that are actively engaged in advocacy, sensitization and capacity building on a range of societal issues. This study focuses on how the emergence of civil society organizations in sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries will enhance good governance by emphasizing openness and accountability. Four sub-Saharan African countries; Nigeria, Gabon, Tanzania and South Africa were selected for this study. Attempt will be made to measure proliferation, classification and functions of CSOs in promoting good governance in selected SSA countries. A *Civil society index (CSI)* was employed to measure the degree of effectiveness of CSOs in the sampled countries in promoting good governance. On the basis of the findings this paper recommends that CSOs be strengthened and allowed freedom of action to exert positive influence on the state and to assume their primary role as agents for promoting transparency, effectiveness, openness, responsiveness and accountability which are components of good governance.

**JEL Classification: D73**

### KEYWORDS

Globalization, Good Governance, Civil Society Organizations, Sub-Saharan Africa.

### INTRODUCTION

Globalization denotes compression of both virtual and real space and time so that communities from all locations in the globe are able to interact and transact with one another. Consequently the world becomes increasingly integrated and interaction among hitherto heterogeneous communities and races assumes a homogeneous village pattern hence the term global village. Clark (1999) posits that the phenomenon of globalization refers to movement toward greater interaction, integration and interdependence among people and organizations across borders (pulling down of borders) is increasing transactions among countries in trade and investment and in the international flows of capital, people, technology and information. For over two decades now, the process of globalization has been influencing the socio-economic environment in countries. In fact, one significant area of progress over the past decade has been the growing influence of local, national and global CSOs and networks in driving policy change. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community organizations, professional associations and other civil society groups are regularly called on to help design and implement development strategies. These new approaches reflect the three roles of civil society: as participants in the design of strategies, as service providers through community

organizations and national NGOs, and as watchdogs to ensure government fulfillment of commitments. The concept of civil society goes back many centuries in Western thinking with its roots in Ancient Greece. The modern idea of civil society emerged in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, influenced by political theorists from Thomas Paine to George Hegel, who developed the notion of civil society as a domain parallel to but separate from the states (Cerethers, 1999). The 90s brought about renewed interest in civil society, as the trend towards democracy opened up space for civil society and the need to cover increasing gaps in social services created by structural adjustment and other reforms in developing countries.

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The term civil society is multi dimensional as it is defined in various ways. The World Bank (2003) uses the term civil society to refer to the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations. CSOs therefore refer to a wide of array of organizations: community groups, NGOs, labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations. Civil society is composed of the totality of voluntary civic and social organizations and institutions that form the basis of a functioning society as opposed to the force-backed structures of a state (regardless of that state's political system) and commercial institutions of the market (Wikipedia). As to the Commission of European Communities (2001: 14) civil society includes groups of trade unions and employers' organizations ('social partners'); nongovernmental organizations; professional associations; charities; grass-roots organizations; organizations that involve citizens in local and municipal life with a particular contribution from churches and religious communities.

Department for International Development (DFID) (2001: 1) used the term civil society to describe the broad range of organizations in society which fall outside government and which are not primarily motivated by profit. They includes voluntary associations, women's groups, trade unions, community groups, chambers of commerce, farming and housing cooperatives, religious or tribal-based groups, cultural groups, sports associations, academic and research institutions, consumer groups, and so on. Bratton (1994: 2) defined civil society as a sphere of social interaction between the household and the state, which manifests in norms of community cooperation, structures of voluntary association, and networks of public communication. The norms of civic community refer values such as trust, reciprocity, tolerance, and inclusion, which are the most important for the construction of civil society. The structure of associational life deals with the expression of civic life in organizational form to become institutionalized. The most common organizational structure in civil society is the voluntary association, a grouping of citizens who come together because of identity or interest to pursue a common objective. The networks of public communication refer to the necessity of citizens to communicate with one another and to debate the type of government they desire for themselves so as to be politically active.

Many people employ the term NGO and Civil Society interchangeably (Bergdall, n.d: ). However, the former is only one manifestation of the later. NGOs take different organizational terms and names in different countries. Some of the terms used to describe NGO as Wikipedia states include 'independent sector, volunteer sector, civil society, grassroots organizations, transnational social movement organizations, private voluntary organizations, self-help organizations and non-state actors (NSAs)'.

The experience of sub Saharan African countries highlights a wide range of such organizations, from large registered formal bodies to informal local organizations, the latter being far more numerous and less visible to outsiders. These include traditional organizations (e.g. religious organizations and modern groups and organizations, mass movements and action groups, political parties, trade and professional associations, non-profit organizations and community based organizations). Ghaus-pasha (2004) contended that civil society should not be equated to non-government organizations (NGOs). NGOs are a part of civil society though they play an important and sometimes leading role in activating citizen participation in socio-economic development and politics and in shaping or influencing policy. Civil society is a broader concept, encompassing all organizations and associations that exist outside the state and the market.

#### **Taxonomy of Civil Society Organization**

The types of civil society organizations (CSOs) vary depending on the context used. CSOs are divided in to four broad categories. These are: (1) Non-Governmental Organizations, (2) advocacy organizations, (3) interest group institutions, and (4) community organizations. Like CSOs, the term NGO is also very broad and encompasses many different types of organizations. The World Bank tends to interact with two main categories of NGOs, operational NGOs and advocacy NGOs. Operational NGOs are those primarily concerned with the design and implementation of development-related projects, and advocacy NGOs tends to defend or promote a specific cause and seek to influence the policies and practices of the Bank.

The World Bank (2009) further classifies operational NGOs into three main groups: community based organizations, which serve a specific population in a narrow geographic area; national organizations, which operate in individual developing countries, and; international organizations, which are typically headquartered in developed countries and carry out operations in more than one developing country. National and international organizations are intermediary NGOs which are formed to serve others whereas, CBOs are normally membership organizations made up of a group of individuals who have joined to further their own interests. According to the World Bank (2009), individual operational NGOs vary enormously according to their purpose, philosophy, expertise and scope of activities. A number of different NGOs typologies exist. For instance, they can be broadly classified according to whether they are more relief or development-oriented; whether they are religious or secular; whether they stress service delivery or participation and whether they are more public or private-oriented. Bratton (1989: 571) suggested classifying NGOs according to a number of attributes such as size (big, medium, small); origin (indigenous, foreign); behavior pattern (regime conforming, regime-critical); central activity (relief/welfare, development); and orientation (secular, ecumenical). NGOs were seen as non-political, non-profit making- making and autonomous entities with potentials for positively transforming social life.

Based on functional roles ADB classifies NGOs as Operational and Advocacy NGOs. Operational NGOs are those whose primary areas of activity are directed toward the contribution or delivery of development or welfare services, including emergency relief, and environmental protection and management. Reflecting the range of issues and interests that have emerged in development and welfare and in relation to the environment, operational NGOs display a range of programs, organizational structures, operational orientations, and areas of operation, both program-related and geographical. Advocacy NGOs can be regarded as NGOs whose primary orientation is towards the advocacy of policies or actions that address specific concerns, points of view, or interests. In the context of development, advocacy NGOs work to influence the policies and practices of

governments, development institutions such as ADB, other actors in the development arena, and the public.

#### **African Civil Society Organizations**

During the colonial period, Africa was in harsh condition. It was remembered by minimal social service, discriminatory social policy, metropolis based social development goals, limited health and services. Although on the eve of independence, there were significant changes in the extent to which investments were made in the social sectors (Manji & O’Coill, 2002: 569). NGOs emerged in Africa on the eve of the nationalist struggles for independence. The period that followed the independence of the ex-colonies created a vacuum in the provision of public services precipitated by the withdrawal of personnel and funding from metropolitan sources. The capacity of the nascent post-colonial African states to provide services therefore steadily diminished. In many of the newly independent countries, expatriate church organizations and missionary societies tried to bridge the gap by running schools, hospitals, vocational training centers, etc. To this end, they made use of their connections with philanthropic organizations and foundations in developed countries of the North (Kassahun, 2002: 121). According to Manji and O’Coill (2002:576), the role of NGOs in the early post independence period remained marginal. While they carried out projects providing services in peripheral areas that the state was disinclined to reach, the bulk of social services were provided by the state under its social contract with the people.

At the latter stage independence, NGOs run and manned by Africans began to emerge as voluntary agencies of various denominations. As Kajese (1990: 11-13) noted, the emergence of the majority of these was not a result of a natural evolution from traditional forms of association peculiar to the indigenous societies in question. Recent African NGOs are modern phenomena, an impact of globalization deriving their motivation from foreign sources. Their rapid proliferation in several countries, simulated by a considerable flow of foreign funding, attests to this.

#### **Roles of Civil Society Organizations**

Civil society has been widely recognized as an essential ‘third’ sector. Its strength can have a positive influence on the state and the market. Civil society is therefore seen as an increasingly important agent for promoting good governance like transparency, effectiveness, openness, responsiveness and accountability. Civil society can further good governance, first, by policy analysis and advocacy; second, by regulation and monitoring of state performance and the action and behavior of public officials; third, by building social capital and enabling citizens to identify and articulate their values, beliefs, civic norms and democratic practices; fourth, by mobilizing particular constituencies, particularly the vulnerable and marginalized sections of masses, to participate more fully in politics and public affairs; and fifth, by development work to improve the well-being of their own and other communities.

Edwards (2008) attempt a comprehensive explanation of the role of civil society organizations, he stated that; the economic role of civil society centers on securing livelihoods and providing services where states and markets are weak, and nurturing “social capital” for use in economic settings. *In their social role*, civil societies can be a reservoir of co-operative values, caring, cultural life and intellectual innovation. Neo-Nazi groups in Germany or African associations bent on female genital mutilation show that civil societies harbour other attitudes too, but they rarely dominate. In general, it is civic groups that teach people the skills of citizenship and provide a framework for the expression of what they hold in their hearts. Although these economic and social roles are crucial for development, it is civil societies’ role in “*good governance*” that excites the donor imagination most of all.

Especially where formal citizenship rights are not well-entrenched, it is civic groups that provide the channels through which poor people can make their voices heard in government decision-making, thus helping to promote transparency and accountability, curb corruption, and build a social consensus in favor of economic reform.

At the national level, civil society organizations often perform a watchdog function to improve the quality of electoral and parliamentary process. This function includes electoral monitoring, voter education, the training of candidates (especially women) and ensuring that parliamentarians are responsive to the interests of minorities, the poor and marginalized groups. Furthermore, they also work for public interest law reform, enhance access of the poor to justice through paralegal services, undertake advocacy and seek the accountability of public officials by informing media about violations by public officials. Other widely recognized roles of CSOs in democratic governance relate to the promotion and protection of human rights, such as the establishment of non-governmental human rights institutions to investigate alleged violations, conduct public enquiries and promote human rights education. Between the national and global level, CSOs are increasingly leveraging the regional dimension to address issues that transcend national boundaries but do not garner sufficient global support. The rapid pace of globalization and the emergence of regional institutions with mandates to promote and protect public goods, such as human rights, democracy and access to basic services, have an influence on national democratic governance processes. This role also includes advocacy functions, whereby CSOs work to disseminate information and increase awareness of shared issues and problems.

#### **CSOs and Africa's Quest for Development**

CSOs are increasingly recognized as an important role-player in community or people-centered development. They are a large category of structures responsible for development. NGOs have often been viewed as important for democracy because of their strong support at grassroots level and their capacity to develop and empower poor communities. They are extremely important mechanisms in rural development and they enjoy the good will and acceptance of the community. Therefore, NGOs have become very important players in the field of social development (Nzimakwe, 2008).

Since 1990s, democracy and sustainable development have become dominant themes in discussions of development problems in Africa. Donors share the view that democracy is conducive to improved economic performance, that people's participation in the processes of government ensures a stable environment and that democratic regimes are usually more effective than authoritarian ones at economic management and more responsive to a wider range of interests in formulating and implementing policies. The same donors are keen on sustainable development as an all-embracing development strategy which takes account of a whole range of issues such as population growth, reduction of income inequities, maintenance of ecological balance, the application of appropriate technology and participation of the poor in decision making processes (Buturo n.d.).

NGOs are indispensable because of the fact that there is a limit to what governments are willing and able to do for their respective citizens. Generally, their roles range from providing relief services, conserving the environment, contributing to development projects or simply battling with governments over human rights issues. Asamoah (2003) stated that NGOs are particularly critical in circumstances where state funds are limited, political situations are fluid, natural disasters resulting from both predictable and unpredictable environmental circumstances occur, ethnic strife is rampant, and the level of per capita income severely restricts the ability to purchase needed goods and services – social, educational and economic.

In most cases, NGOs compliment government efforts and stand ready to give critical solidarity to governments in many countries. In many places, the NGO sector is a major contributor to economic development, employment and revenue, and at the centre of calling for social justice in development, challenging the global economic disorder, campaigning for debt relief for poor countries, and demanding accountability from inter- governmental institutions (Muchena, 2004).

They serve as media for intermediation between international institutions and poor communities, especially in an era of face offs in home countries. In crisis-infested societies, they are the voices of the weak and suppressed. They take initiative and provide voice for unheard interests, play monitoring role by improving accountability and reducing incentives for corruption in governments, and promote environmentally sound strategies (The World Bank, 2003). Ezeoha (2006) identified the importance of NGOs in Africa (1) to fill the gap created by the incapacity of government structure to render full services to the citizens, (2) the oppression and marginalization of certain segments of the society, and (3) emergencies in Africa such as famine, war, the outbreak of disease etc.

### **METHODOLOGY**

This study is a survey research aimed at evaluating role of CSOs in fostering good governance in selected sub-Saharan African countries. The entire sub-Saharan Africa is the population of this study. The phenomenon of CSOs appears uniform in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa which makes sampling quite imperative. Stratified random sampling was used to select four countries namely; Nigeria, Tanzania, Gabon, and South Africa. From west, east, central and southern African sub regions respectively. This study totally relied on secondary data, which was accessed from database of UNDP, World Alliance for Citizens Participation, and array of literature on the area of study. In examining the relationship between globalization and effects of CSOs on good governance in sub-Saharan Africa, civil society index (CSI) was employed. The CSI is designed to measure the following core dimensions:

1. **Civic Engagement:** The extent to which individuals engage in social and policy related initiatives.
2. **Level of Organization:** The degree of institutionalization that characterizes civil society (measured through an analysis of civil society organizations).
3. **Practice of Values:** The extent to which civil society practices some core values.
4. **Perceived Impact:** The extent to which civil society is able to impact the social and policy arena, according to internal and external perceptions.
5. **External Environment:** The above four dimensions are analysed in the context of a fifth dimension that the CSI calls the 'external environment', which includes the conditions (e.g. socio-economic, political and cultural variables) within which civil society operates.

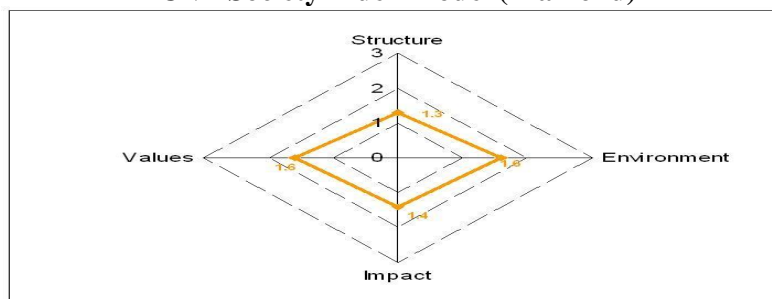
Each dimension is captured with a range of quantitative and qualitative data. The quantitative indicators are used to construct the Civil Society Diamond, one of the key components of the CSI, which is divided into sub-dimensions that in turn, are made up of quantitative indicators. By assembling the quantitative data, the CSI generates the Civil Society Diamond.

Altogether there are 74 indicators that are grouped into 25 subdivisions which are in turn grouped into the four original dimensions. Subdivisions in the Structural dimension include strength and depth of citizen participation, diversity and resources. The Values dimension

tries to measure the extent of commitment and practice of certain values within civil society organizations; subdivisions include democracy, transparency, gender equity and poverty eradication. Subdivisions in the Environment dimension include political context, basic freedoms and state-civil society relations. The Impact dimension tries to measure the level of civil society influence on public policy, responsiveness to social needs and empowering of citizens. The CSI indicators are calibrated. Each indicator was attributed a score between 0 and 3 (0 being the lowest value and 3 the highest). Each potential indicator score (0, 1, 2 and 3) was described in either qualitative or quantitative terms.

To render the abstract concept ‘civil society’ useful for empirical research, the Civil Society Diamond attempts to graphically represent the operational concepts (dimensions) that the CSI tries to measure.

**Civil Society Index Model (Diamond)**



*Source: Adopted from CIVICUS civil society index (2013).*

In essence, the civil society diamond is a visualization of the state of civil society in a country. The diamond reveals whether a civil society is particularly weak in its environment or moderately weak in structure, values and impact or vice versa. Similarly, CSOs sustainability index for sub-Saharan Africa developed by USAID was also utilized in analyzing role of CSOs in fostering accountability and transparency in selected sub-Saharan African countries.

### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Civil society organizations have taken center stage in development efforts and fostering good governance globally. Equally in sub-Saharan Africa CSOs are striving in their own pace to promote development and good governance through advocacy on transparency and accountability. Table 1.1 below depicts dimensions of civil society organizations in the four selected sub-Saharan African countries.

**Table 1.1: Dimension of CSOs in selected Sub-Saharan African Countries**

S/No	Country	Civic Engagement	Level of Organization	Practice of Values	Perceived Impact
1.	Nigeria	1.5	1.4	2	2.2
2.	Tanzania	1.84	1.61	2.01	1.57
3.	Gabon	1.4	1.5	1.82	1.48
4.	South Africa	2.2	1.87	2.06	2.4

*Source: CSI Report (2013)*

Table 1.1: Above show state of civil society organizations in sub-Saharan Africa, but the scope of this study is confined to four selected countries.

Table 1.1 presents characteristics of civil society organizations in Nigeria. On civic engagement among CSOs, this interaction was scored on the civil society index (Diamond)) as 1.5 which shows how strong and productive these relations are within the Nigerian context, looking at patterns of communication and co-operation among CSOs. The infrastructure and internal organization of CSOs in Nigeria. More specifically, the existence of umbrella organizations and networks and their effectiveness. These perceptions have an average score of 1.4 for the sub-dimension. The values promoted and practiced by Nigerian civil society was analysed and the score for the Values dimension is 2 on the index. Finally, the impact of civil society organizations' activities and actions was scored at 2.2 reflecting a moderate impact. The impact dimension on the index examines how active and successful CSOs have been in fulfilling several essential functions, including public policy influence, holding state and private corporations accountable, responding to social interests, empowering citizens, empowering marginalized people, and meeting societal needs.

Nigeria has a long and strong tradition of civil society, which represents the diverse and pluralistic nature of Nigerian society. The typology of CSOs in Nigeria includes the following: Professional Associations, Labour and Student Groups: This broad category of associations and groups describe entities that form traditional type of pressure group. These include: The Human Rights and Pro-Democracy Groups: Civil society organizations in this category have a more recent history; primordial groups: Civil society organizations that fall into this category are those based on ethnic, regional, religious and sectarian identities; Business Groups: This broad category refers to civic groups that have proliferated within the organized business/private sector. They exist in key sectors of the economy, such as manufacturing, agriculture, banking and petroleum; and the Voluntary and Mutual Support Group.

Information glean from table 1.1 above shown that, Tanzania has an emerging civil society movement with the potential to play a key role in national policy development processes, as well as in the development of the people and country. Civil society in Tanzania dates back to the pre-colonial era.

The civic engagement dimension indicators reflect the day-to-day functions of CSOs. The overall score of the structure dimension is 1.84 out of 3, indicating a rather moderate, but growing structure of civil society in Tanzania that has potential for continued reorganization and development.

The level of organization dimension is valued at 1.61 two indicators in the sub-dimension of the level of organization, namely self-regulation and participation in umbrella bodies, are respectively also ranked low. The general implication is that Tanzanian civil society is not performing well in those indicators, thus affecting the sub- dimension and finally the civil society structure in the country.

The practice of values by CSOs, which entails positive manifestations by CSOs in their routine operations of the normative principles for which they stand. In other words, CSOs are expected to practice and adhere to the values and principles they advocate. Findings in this regard show that there are some strides made by CSOs, but more needs to be done. The overall average score, 2.01, indicates that there are significant achievements, Civil society is an active player in the social and political landscape of Tanzania, but the degree of impact varies, depending on the issues addressed. The overall score of the impact dimension is 1.57.

Civil society organizations in Gabon struggle to play their role as a third sector. From the table 1.1 above the civic engagement dimension of civil society organizations in Gabon is valued at 1.4 which is not impressive; on the level of organization, Gabonese CSOs are rated

at 1.5. Furthermore, the practice of values among CSOs stands at 1.82, while the perceived impact of the CSOs in Gabon is valued at 1.48. According to USAID (2013) many CSOs in Gabon either find it difficult to identify particular target audiences beyond their immediate beneficiaries or do not understand the importance of building wider support bases. More importantly, CSOs do not engage much in shaping policy as they are generally too focused on their day-to-day survival to work on advocacy and legal reform. Freedom house (2008) stated that; Gabon's civil society development to date has been described as "embryonic." Members of EITI local affiliate estimated that there were only about 10 independent CSOs in the country. In Gabon, the consensus is that only CSOs dealing with environmental issues are developed and have the independence and resources to fully engage in public discourse.

Civil society organizations in South Africa are the best organized in sub-Saharan African. CSOs in South Africa are as varied as the country itself. The civic engagement dimension of CSOs in South Africa is valued at 2.2, while the level of organization stands at 1.87. The practice of values among South African CSOs is put at 2.06 and the perceived impact of South African civil society organizations is valued at impressive 2.4 on civil society index.

USAID CSO Sustainability index (2013) for sub-Saharan Africa stated that civil society is a significant partner in South Africa's development. There is a growing realization that the government cannot achieve its development goals without full participation by both the business and civil society sectors. Throughout 2013, a number of CSOs sought to use South Africa's legal system to advocate for their causes.

The findings from this study show that civil society organizations in sub-Saharan Africa are diverse in terms of structure and functions as well as environment within which they operate. CSOs in Sub-Saharan Africa responded to diverse national developments—rapid democratization, anti-corruption crusade, increased citizen demands to government, humanitarian crises, and bad governance. CSOs advocated advancing democratic constitutional reform, promoting peace during elections, and pushing back against restrictions on civil liberties. All these are against the backdrop of challenges faced by civil society organizations in sub-Saharan Africa such as ineffective advocacy skills, insufficient resources to monitor and respond to government decisions, or political environments that are not receptive to CSO input. Support from the international community is needed to help build civil society capacity in Sub Saharan Africa.

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

As one of the driving force of globalization, civil society organizations are playing an increasingly important role in governance and development around the world. As no part of the world is insulated from phenomenon of globalization, sub-Saharan Africa witnessed proliferation of all kinds of modern civil society organizations, operating in an environment that is not fully conducive for blossoming of the third sector. Despite their noticeable existence in Nigeria, Gabon, Tanzania and South Africa, CSOs are operating below optimum capacity in these countries. In the light of significance of CSOs in promoting good governance, there is the need to strengthen and allowed them freedom of action to exert positive influence on the state and to assume their primary role as agents for promoting transparency, effectiveness, openness, responsiveness and accountability which are components of good governance. To achieve these goals; there is the need for sustained capacity building for CSOs to enhanced their advocacy skills, mobilization of adequate resources by CSOs to enable them monitor public policy making and respond to government decisions, in the political context in which CSOs operate, it is imperative that they receive adequate international support in order to fulfill their missions and avoid being

incapacitated by a Sub Saharan African governments “adept at the use of patronage in undermining the opposition” and there is the need for sub-Saharan African governments to open their doors up and constructively engaged CSOs in a bid to promote good governance.

#### REFERENCES

- Asamoah, Y 2003. ‘NGOs, Social Development and Sustainability’. Foreign Aid Rating.
- Bergdall, T. (n.d) *Civil Society Strengthening in Africa*, MAP Consultations.
- Bratton, M 1989. Beyond the State: Civil Society and Associational Life in Africa. *World Politics*, 41(3): 407-430.
- Bratton, M 1994. Civil Society and Political Transition in Africa. *IDR Reports*, 11(06): 1- 21.
- Buturo, J. ‘NGOs, Democracy and Sustainable Development in Africa’.
- Cerothers, T, (1999), Think again: Civil society. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment.
- Clark, I. (1999), Globalization and International Relations Theory. Oxford: OxfordUniversity Press.
- Commission of the European Communities (2001). *European Governance*. White paper, COM, 428 final, Brussels, 25.7.2001.
- Department for International Development. DFID (2001) *Civil Society Policy for DFID Nigeria*, Draft1.
- Edwards, M. (2008), Rise and Rise of Civil Society. [www.futuurepositive.org/docs/RISE.Doc](http://www.futuurepositive.org/docs/RISE.Doc)
- Ezeoha, A (2006). Can NGOs Aid Good Governance and Sustainable Development in Africa? Some Theoretical Insights. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 8(3): 128-147.
- Freedom House, “Gabon Country Report (2008),” <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=22&year=2008>.
- Ghaus – Pasha, A. (2004), Role of Civil society organizations in Governance. Seoul: 6<sup>th</sup> Global Forum on reinventing Government, toward participatory and transparent Governance.
- Kajese, K (1990). *African NGO Decolonization: A Critical Choice for the 1990s*. Critical Choices for the NGO Community: African Development in the 1990s, CAS, University of Edinburgh.
- Kassahun Berhanu (2002.) The Role of NGOs in Promoting Democratic Values: The Ethiopian Experience. In Bahiru Zewde and Siegfried Pausewang (Eds), *Ethiopia: The Challenge of Democracy from Below*. Nordiska Afrikainstitute and Forum for Social Studies.
- Manji, F and O’Coill, C 2002. The missionary position: NGOs and development in Africa. *International Affairs*, 78(3): 567-583.
- Nzimakwe, T 2008. South Africa’s NGOs and the quest for development. *International NGO Journal* Vol. 3 (5): 090-097.
- World Bank C.S.T. (2009), World Bank – Civil society engagement, Fiscal years 2007-09. . Washington DC: WorldBank