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CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND ELECTORAL
PROCESS IN THE 2019 GENERAL ELECTIONS
IN BENUE STATE.

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Abstract

In liberal democracy, the element of choice is one of the key tenets of democracy. This element is achievable through the electoral process. Thus, elections serve as avenue for concrete expression of the citizen's right to choose and participation in democratic governance. Based on this premise, this paper investigated the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in electoral process in Benue State particularly in the 2019 general elections. Within the context of this study and relying on the Hegelian version, CSOs are viewed as the sphere of pluralism with historically produced corporate and ethical life which includes business and professional associations. Methodologically, the study uses both primary and secondary data while group theory was adopted as a framework of analysis. Findings from the study revealed that the relevance of CSOs in the electoral process in Benue State is not in doubt as they helped in mobilization, sensitization and education of the citizens of the state about their political rights and the need to effectively participate in the process by voting the leaders of their choices. The CSOs also helped in checking the activities of government against excesses and violation of human rights. Also, CSOs helped in monitoring elections and reporting cases of electoral malpractices such as ballot box snatching, rigging and other forms of electoral flaws. In spite of these laudable achievements, CSOs in the state as revealed in this paper are faced with certain challenges. These include leadership problem in these organizations, interference by government agents and inadequate resources for effective operation. Based on these findings, the paper recommends, among other things, a total reform of the electoral system based on the values of African democracy, and a revamping of economic substructure of the society that can stimulate an

active and virile civil society and indeed promote an effective electoral system.

Key Words: *Civil Society Organizations, Elections, Electoral Process, Democracy, Political Participation.*

Introduction

Since 1999 when Nigeria returned to democratic governance, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have continued to play active roles in entrenching the country's electoral process. These roles include; voter education, election observation, campaign finance monitoring, election tribunal monitoring, electoral reform advocacy among others. These initiatives have made some impact on Nigeria's electoral process as reports of activities carried out by CSOs have become the barometer through which international organizations and governments assess the electoral process in the country (Ojo, 2011).

In Benue State which is the focus of this study, there exist CSOs that attempt to promote credible electoral process. Some of these CSOs include; Concerned Benue Youth for Good Governance, United Middle Belt Professionals, Benue Youth Alliance and Benue State chapters of Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), Nigerian Medical Association (NMA), as well as National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS), among others. These organizations are collectively grouped as Benue Non-Governmental Network (BENGONET) and they have made themselves relevant not only in terms of what they have been able to achieve for their members but also for credible electoral process. In carrying out this study, the questions that readily come to the fore are; what were the roles played by the CSOs in the 2019 elections in the State? To what extent did these civil society organizations facilitate or hamper the 2019 elections in the State? These are the issues that this study seek to address.

Objectives

The objectives that guided this study were, to:

- i. examine the various roles played by civil society groups in the 2019 general elections in Benue State.
- ii. ascertain the impact of the various roles played by the Civil Society Organizations on electoral process during the 2019 elections in Benue State.
- iii. identify the challenges encountered by Civil Society Organizations during the 2019 elections in Benue State.

Methodology

Survey design was adopted by the study as it is the most suitable design that avails us the opportunity to get first hand data from the target population. The entire population was sampled in order to draw inferences which could lead to generalizations of high empirical tests.

The population of this study comprises of members of Benue Non-governmental Network (BENGONET). BENGONET is a coalition of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working in Benue State. Therefore, the population for this study include registered members of BENGONET which was at the time of this study three thousand five hundred and ninety (3590) (field survey, 2021). A sample size of 400 was arrived at using Taro Yamane as a scientific formula as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N (e)^2}$$

n = Sample size (unknown)

N = Population of the study

I = Fixed numerical factor (constant)

e = Margin of error usually 0.005

Therefore, the sample size is determined as follows:

$$n = \frac{3,590}{1 + 3590 (0.005)}$$

$$n = \frac{3,590}{1 + 3590 (0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{3,590}{2.975}$$

$$n = 1207$$

Simple random sampling technique was used to select respondents from the target population. This technique was used because it gave each member of the group equal opportunity to be selected and included in the sample. This study employed questionnaire and interview as major instruments. This was complemented by critical survey of existing literature. The study adopts both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis.

Conceptual Reflections

The concepts of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Electoral Process are the pivotal variables in this study and therefore the way in which they are understood here needs to be properly interrogated.

i). Civil Societies Organizations (CSOs)

The concept of civil society occupies a strategic position in political theory hence it has attracted the attention of political philosophers like Aristotle, Plato, Hegel among others. Aristotle sees civil society as a public ethical community of free and equal citizens, under a legally defined system of rule (in Odeh, 2012). From Aristotle's argument, civil societies and state are inseparable. Hegel viewed civil society as a source of conflict that can spill over into the larger society. His argument is supported by the premise that not every organization in civil society works

for the success of democracy; some actually work to undermine democracy. Like Hegel, Marx saw civil society as “a historical phenomenon” (Abdullahi, 2015), the product of the post-feudal separation of the realm of the state (public life) from the realm of the private. Again, both questioned the existence of a truly independent private realm under feudalism given its well-known determination and appropriation of the personal, and the insinuation of the monarch into the fabric of everyday life. Their argument was that it is superfluous to speak of a private realm if the will of the monarch permeated every sphere of social life as it did.

However, civil societies are not a product of the 18th century alone. Several scholars have continued to engage the concept to rigorous conceptual interrogation. For instance, Diamond (1994) sees civil society as the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, largely self-supporting, autonomous from the state and bound by a legal order or set of rules. It is distant from society in general in that it involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to exchange challenges. Diamond’s distinguishing factors are basically “interest”. It is defined interest that makes members to act collectively in actualizing their goals, aims and objectives. This interest in some cases runs contrary to government (state) policies. But, on the other hand, among civil society groups, they do try to find common ground to act; this is especially true in the developed social formation. In doing this, Diamond says they exchange information.

For Bratton (1994) civil society refers to those areas in the overall society in which there are institutions and associations that exist and function independently of the state. This view is supported by Arato and Cohen (1993) by advocating for the independence of civil society from the modern state. Taking a functional and concrete view of the concept, Osaghae (1997) contends that the CSO refers to the non-state sector of the public realm which mediates relations between the individual and the state.

From the above plethora of definitions, certain attributes or features can be deduced. The common denominator among those

views is that civil society are autonomous of the state and public to the extent that they are involved in setting the normative order for the state especially in pursuit of the common good. It is clear from the fore-going that civil society not only conflates but could cooperate with the state in realizing the goal of better citizenry and society.

ii). **Electoral Process**

Modern democracies, the world over, regard electoral practice as one of the major fundamental pillars in democratic governance. This is simply because flawed electoral practice has the capacity to mar democratic process (Nwosu, 2010). Further, Ighodalo, (2012) said elections are means of selecting representative of the people in different public positions within the polity. He noted that elections are critical aspects for democratic governance of modern political societies. They are considered as apparatus for political choice, mobilization and accountability. In the liberal democratic paradigm that has become the most popular form of democracy today, elections are expected to cushion transition from one civilian regime to another and ease in legitimizing sitting governments. Odusote (2014, p.31) rightly posited that electoral process is a pillar of democracy because it gives effect to the right to govern by consent, Ibrahim (2007) sees election as a way of selecting 'good types' of politicians who would pursue the common good instead of their factional interests.

Election therefore facilitates and shapes democracy. While democracy is considered as the best form of government due to its ideology of promoting peoples' will. It is the people's mandate to choose who should govern them in a free and fair electoral process. Therefore, electoral process constitutes an essential principle in liberal democracy. Election is highly significant in a democracy because it is a medium through which the people express their legitimacy and leadership succession. As Jibrin (2009, p.33) affirms "elections have meaning for most people only in a democratic context because they lead to the choice of decision makers by the majority of the citizens.

Elaigwu (2014, p. 24) observed that a credible electoral process must include:

...the suffrage, the registration of voters, delimitation of constituencies, the right to contest elections, electoral competition between rival parties, the body charged with the conduct and supervision of election, the method of electing candidates within the political parties, nomination of candidates, method of voting, the actual conduct of elections, the determination of results, trial and determination of election disputes, electoral malpractices and their consequences.

In the opinion of Apam (2011, p. 36), electoral systems are the composite, of different rules regulating the access of citizens to suffrage, the number and use of votes by voters, the number and size of electoral districts, the introduction of thresholds and bonuses, and the allocation mechanisms used to transform votes into seats. Crush (2013, p. 45) in a comprehensive and all-embracing definition of the electoral process stated thus:

Electoral processes are the most powerful lever of political engineering for conflict resolution. It determines how votes translate into seats in the legislature and thereby determining many aspects of the functioning of democracy: what the parties look like, who is represented and by whom and ultimately who govern. Therefore, the electoral system is the gateway to power in a democracy. It can be manipulated to foster accommodative behaviour by ensuring that groups are included in the political process by decreasing the incidence of zero-sum outcomes. Furthermore, by changing the incentives available to those seeking election, electoral rules can make some types of behaviour more politically rewarding than others, making it possible to incentivise inclusiveness and moderation. Thus, the electoral system is fundamental to the political culture in a society.

This study agrees with all the scholars above in their robust and diverse perception of elections and electoral process. The terminologies accommodate diverse views and prejudices. The

common denominator is that a democratic rule is a government by the people of their chosen and freely elected representative. It is a government based on the rule of law, free and fair elections, and credible electoral process.

Literature Review

All the elections that have ever been conducted in Nigeria since independence have generated increasingly bitter controversies and grievances on a national scale because of the twin problems of mass violence and fraud that have become central elements of the history of elections and of the electoral process in the country (Gberie, 2011). The history of election in Nigeria has continued to be marred by extraordinary displays of rigging, dodgy, "do or die" affair, ballot snatching at gun points, violence and acrimony, thuggery, boycotts, threats and criminal manipulations of voters' list, brazen falsification of election results, the use of security agencies against political opponents and the intimidation of voters (Oni, Chidozie and Agbude, 2013). In fact, elections remain one of the leading notable sources of conflict which often result to confrontations that continue to threaten the political stability and peace of the nation (Idowu, 2010). Ibeanu, (2007, p.34) rightly argues about electoral process in Nigeria thus:

Elections in Nigeria have historically been conflict ridden. The campaigns preceding elections are invariably marked by pettiness, intolerance, and violence. Already there are several reported incidences of intra-party, as well as, inter-party violence, conflicts, including abductions and assassinations. And the elections and their outcomes have often been neither free nor fair, characterized by violations of the process (both inadvertent and willful), corrupt conduct by officials, rigging of results and so on. Again, reports indicate that incidences of these were pervasive during the party primaries, and that some candidates are busy scheming to ensure a favourable outcome for themselves, by hook or crook, in the coming elections.

Idike, (2014, p.27) also commented on electoral process in Nigeria thus: "Even, under the supervisory eyes of the British, during the 1959 elections, incidents of violence, stuffing of ballot boxes as well as obstructions and intimidations of opponents were reported here and there". Elaigwu (2007, p.18) also looks at the trends of electoral process since 1999 when he posited that:

The electoral process has been crises-ridden since 1999. It seems each successive election since then has been worse than earlier ones. The result is that governments emerge with a baggage of crises of legitimacy, which often complicates the dynamics of federalism. This was what happened after the 2003 and 2007 elections.

There are various factors responsible for flawed election and electoral process in Nigeria. Among the factors are incompetence of the Electoral Commission, which serves as an umpire in the electoral process, do-or-die syndrome of the political actors and political parties to capture political power by all means, widespread procedural irregularities, numerous incidence of violence, intimidation of the electorate, stuffing of the electoral box, as well as poverty on the part of the electorate (Idike, 2014). The outcomes of many elections have been so fiercely contested. This history of election fraud has serious implications for Nigeria's political future because the phenomenon rather than declining, keeps growing and becoming more sophisticated with every succeeding election.

The role of Civil Society Organizations in the electoral process becomes imperative. Generally, Diamond (1996 p.5) provides the significance of organized civil society in the following content:

1. An organized civil society serves as a watch dog to check the excesses of government, to expose and curtail or put a stop to human rights violation, abuse of rule of law and infringements of constitutional provision.
2. Civil society organizations can supplement the role of political parties in stimulating political participation, increasing the political efficacy and skill of democratic

- citizens, and promoting an appreciation of the obligations as well as the right of democratic citizenship.
3. Civil society is considered a crucial arena for the development of other democratic attitudes such as tolerance, moderation, a willingness to compromise, and respect for opposing viewpoints, which are better experienced in organizational participation in civil society.
 4. It serves to enhance the bargaining power of interest groups and provide inclusive mechanisms for them.
 5. It also provides alternative for negotiation and compromise in a multi-faceted society.
 6. Civil society organizations also disseminate information, thus helping citizens to collectively pursue and defend their interest and values.

The foregoing views of Diamond provides civil society various ways to nourish the democratic system in all ramifications including the electoral process. With particular reference to the 2019 general elections in Benue State, the civil society organizations played key roles in impartial monitoring and observation of the elections. This was to ensure that the outcome of the process actually reflects and represents the wishes and preferences of the electorate. As aptly captured by Sule, Sambo, Ahmed & Yusuf (2019) civil society is a tool of enhancing democratic good governance and it is associated with operation of democracy.

Modern democracies the world over take electoral practice as one of the fundamental pillars in democratic governance. In other words, election is considered to be a critical element of modern representative government. This is so because elections guarantee popular participation through which political representatives are chosen from competing platforms and candidates, and provide the opportunities for the citizens to play a role in the governance process. The electoral process therefore aggregates a variety of demands in society into a limited number of choices and ensures the representation of diverse opinions in the decision making arena.

Theoretical Framework

This study adopts group theory as its framework of analysis. The intellectual roots of group theory could be traced to the doctrines of pluralism as developed by a number of earlier twentieth century English writers, particularly by John Figgs, F.W. Maitland and G.H. Cole. However, in its recent form, group theory is associated with the works of Arthur Bentley. In line with his behavioural approach, Bentley defined group as "certain portion of the men of society, taken however not as a physical mass cut off from other masses of men, but as mass of activity, which does not preclude the men who participate in it from participating likewise in many other group activities" (Varma, 2006). A group therefore, represents a pattern of process rather than a static form, and as such could emerge only when the interactions among its individual members are both relatively frequent and sufficiently patterned to produce directional activity (Varma, 2006). At the heart of Bentley's analysis is the concept of interest. A group he argued is directed by interest and social system.

The group emerges from frequent interaction among its individual members which is directed by their share to proffer solutions on how best to enhance internal interest. The interest leads to the organization of the groups. Group theory suffers from number of weaknesses. For instance, while committed to maintenance of equilibrium in society, it is not able to explain satisfactorily how that equilibrium is actually maintained. Another criticism is that while goals are regarded as important for the groups, and goal attainment as fundamental to the group approach, no attempt is made to explain how these goals and the interest are determined (Varma, 2006).

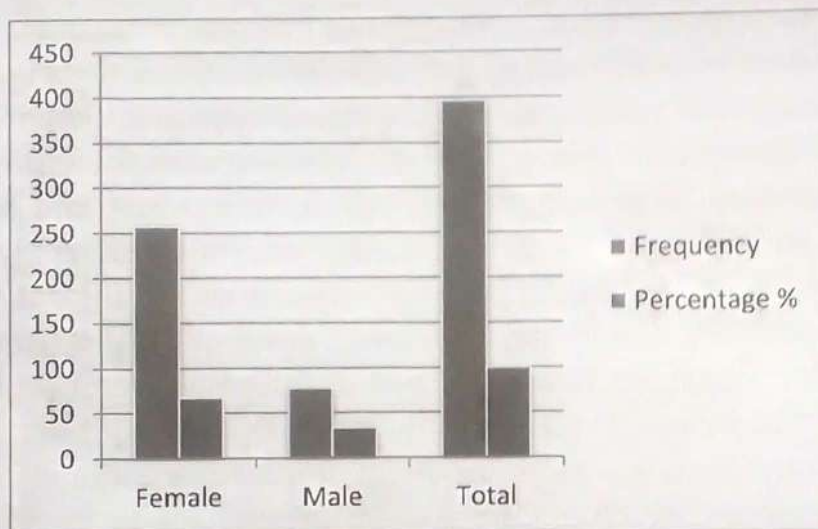
In spite of the above shortcomings, group theory offers a suitable framework for explaining the subject under investigation. Civil Society Organizations are collections of groups with defined interests. These interests range from countervailing and educative functions in a democratic setting. They balance power relation between the state and the market (the countervailing function) as well as foster democratic culture among citizens (the educational

function). In this regard, the CSOs are important tools in building a credible electoral process in the state and the country at large.

Results and Discussion of Findings

This section deals with the presentation and analysis of data collected in line with the objectives of the study.

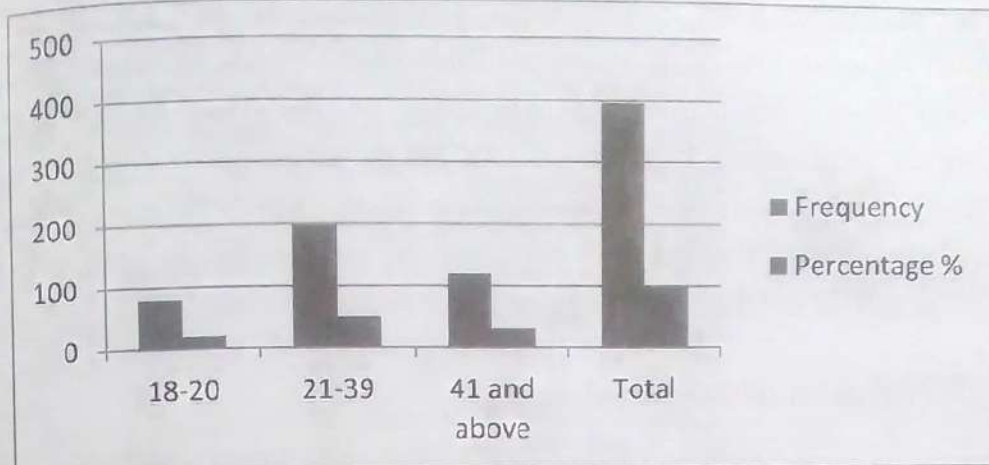
Fig. 1: Gender Distribution of Respondents



Source: Researcher's Field Work, 2021

Fig. 1: shows that 258 respondents which represented 65.15% are females, while 138 of the respondents which represented 34.85% are males. It shows also that, the number of female respondents that participated in the exercise was greater than male respondents.

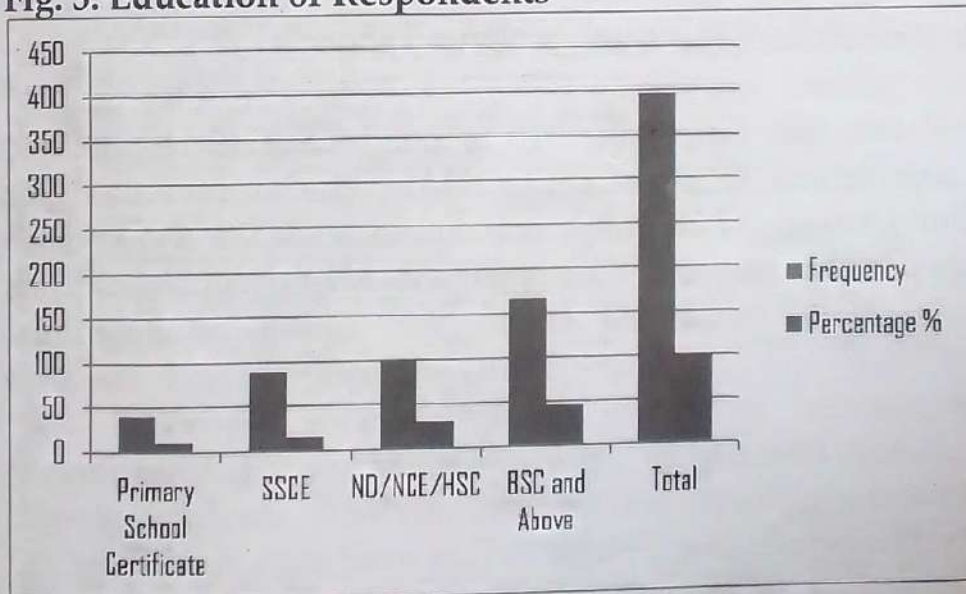
Fig. 2: Age Composition of the Respondents



Source: Researcher's Field Work, 2021

Fig. 2: shows that the number of respondents that fall within the ages of 18-21 is 198 respondents which represented 49.5%. Those that fall within the ages of 21-39 are 119 respondents which represented 29.75%, while those that fall within 41 and above are 79 respondents which represented 19.75%.

Fig. 3: Education of Respondents

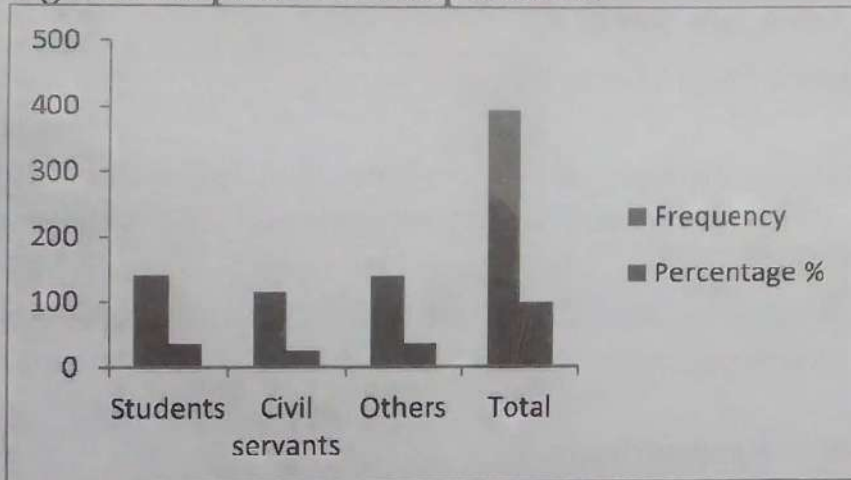


Source: Researcher's Field Work, 2021.

Fig. 3: shows that out of the 396 respondents, 40 respondents which represented 10% were Primary Certificate holders, 90

which represented 22.5% were holders of senior school certificate. 100 which represented 25% were holders of ND/ NCE/ and HSC, while, 166 respondents, which represent 41.5% were holders of First Degree and other higher educational qualifications such as M.Sc and PhD holders. This implies that, holders of higher qualifications form the largest number of respondents and who are sufficiently knowledgeable about the subject matter.

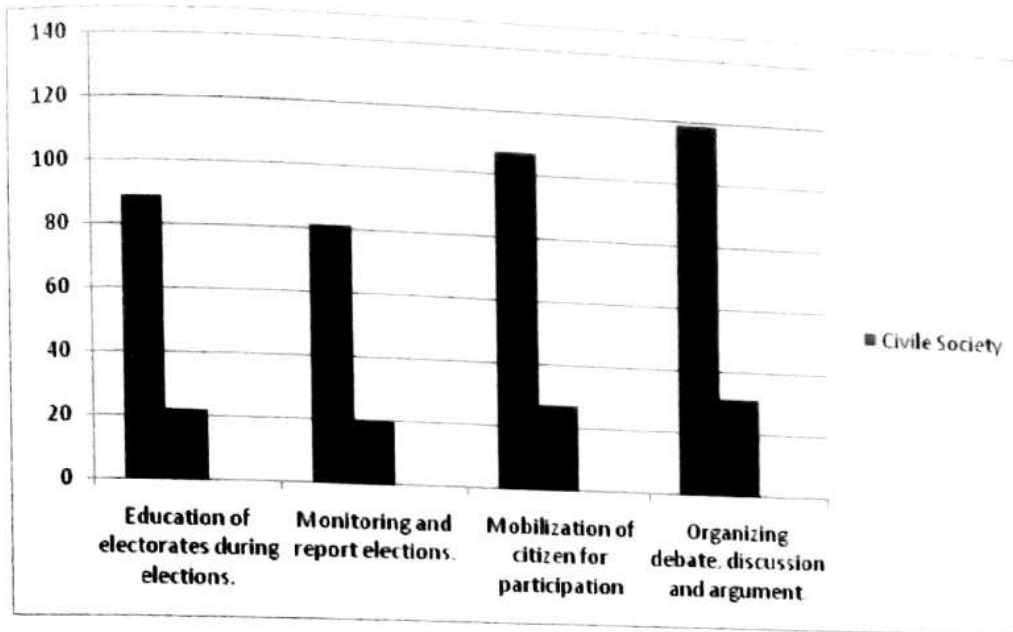
Fig. 4: Occupation of Respondents



Source: Researcher's Field Work, 2021.

Fig. 4: shows that out of the 396 respondents, 140 respondents which represented 35% were students, 116 which represented 29% were civil servants, while 140 which represented 35% were neither students nor civil servants, they engage in other occupations.

Fig.5: Graph showing the roles played by CSOs during the 2019 elections in Benue State



Source: Researcher's Field Work, 2021

The result in Fig.5: above shows that 89(22.25%) of the respondents argued that CSOs contributes to the 2019 elections in Benue State by enlightening of electorates during elections, 81(20%) contends that CSOs monitored and reported elections. Furthermore, 59 (15%) of the respondents stated that CSOs mobilize the Benue electorates to participate in the 2019 elections and 167(42%) said CSOs organise debates, discussion and arguments to inform the Benue electorates to enable them objective choices during the 2019 elections.

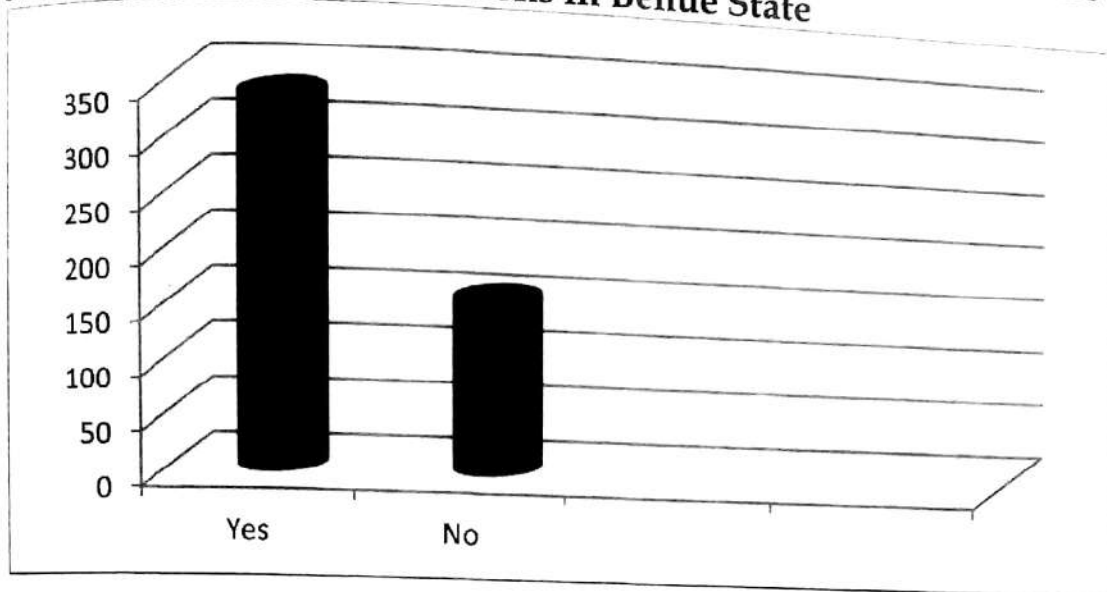
Responses elicited through interviews corroborated the above results. For instance, a member of National Association of Nigeria Students (NANS) Benue State Chapter contends that CSOs in Benue state have played leading role in ensuring credible elections through enlightenment of the public against electoral malpractices, violence, vote buying and selling (Interview, 2021). The Public Relation of the Nigeria Bar Association (Benue State Chapter (Interview, 2021) emphasized that:

In electoral terms, observation implies systematic and comprehensive gathering of information about a process in order to be able to come up with a qualified judgment. Citizens are mobilized to come out to vote for candidates of their choice. Our association indeed trained some citizens and communities on the protection of mandate in preparation for the 2019 elections. This involved a series of tools and strategies that citizens could use to engage political parties, security agents and electoral officers to prevent manipulation of electoral franchise.

Furthermore, a member of Benue Progressive Youth Movement (B P Y M) provides a wide scope of CSOs roles in electoral process thus:

The active participation of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) has been acknowledged as a very significant element in deepening and consolidating democracy in Nigeria. CSOs have applied political pressure for reform, expanding the realm of citizens' participation in the political process and increasing transparency and accountability in government. CSOs have also actively supported processes and institutions of political and electoral reforms in particular, and in expanding inclusiveness in the electoral process thereby ensuring a greater degree of integrity.

Fig.6: Graph showing distribution of respondents on the CSOs and credibility of 2019 elections in Benue State



Source: Researcher's Field Work, 2021.

The result in Fig. 6 above sought to know if various roles by CSOs enhanced the credibility of 2019 general elections in Benue State. The result shows that 270(68.2%) of the respondent agreed that the roles played by CSOs enhance the credibility of 2019 elections in Benue while 126(31.8%) disagreed. The result implies that the roles played by CSOs enhanced the credibility of 2019 elections in Benue State. Also, the results obtained through interviews agree with the above result. In an interview, one of the respondents clearly stated that:

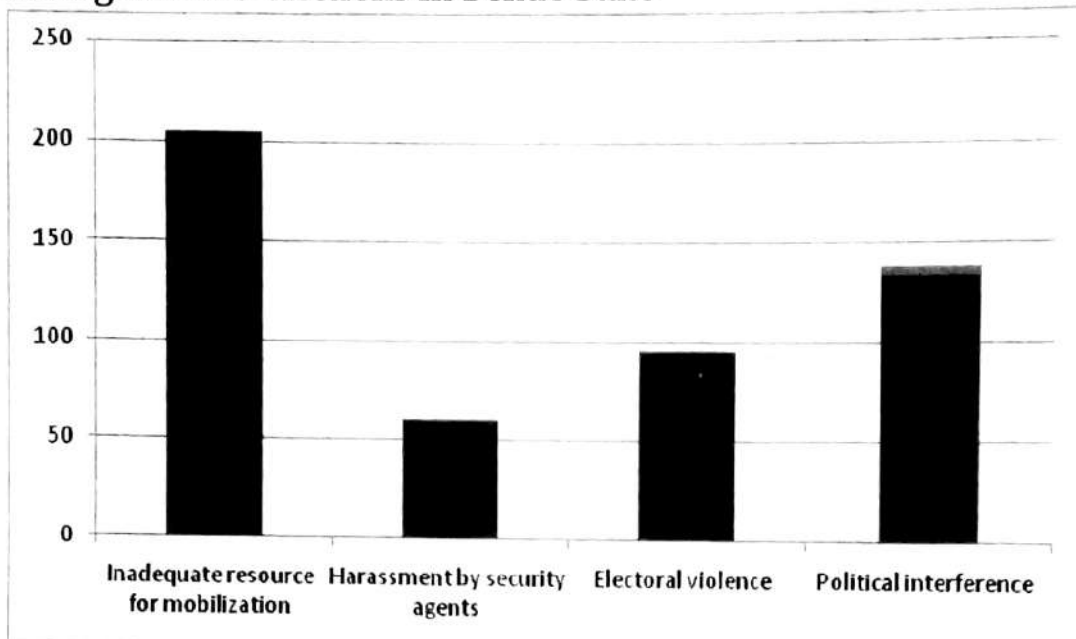
The Civil Society Organizations mobilize citizen participation, observe and report elections which enhance improvement in the entire processes. In the case of 2019 elections in Benue, our members were out in the field to monitor the elections and report to our offices. Our members reported cases of late arrival of materials, non-functioning of some card reader machines among others. These reports were then transmitted to INEC and they responded accordingly.

All these have immensely contributed to the organization and conduct of free, fair and credible elections.

CSOs and the Challenges of the 2019 election in Benue State

In the course of ensuring the credibility of the 2019 elections in Benue State, CSOs encountered some challenges. Some of these challenges are presented in Fig. 7: below:

Fig. 7: A Graph showing challenges encountered by CSOs during the 2019 elections in Benue State



Source: Researcher's Field Work, 2021.

The result in Fig. 7 above presents result on CSO and the challenges of credible election in Benue State during the 2019 elections. The result shows that 164(41.4%) of the respondents stated that inadequate resources for mobilization of members for election monitoring was the major challenge encountered by CSOs during the 2019 elections in Benue State. Also, 48 (12.1%) of the respondent said harassment by the security agent was their challenges, 77 (19.4%) contend that electoral violence constrained them from performing their tasks while 107(27%) believed that political interference from government that affected CSOs in their efforts toward promoting credible election in Benue State.

In line with the above, the respondents interviewed re-echoed the challenges obtained through questionnaire instrument. For instance, a member of Nigerian Labour Congress (Benue State

Chapter) contends that: "CSOs financial position affected their operations. He added that most of the logistical issues require huge financial commitment". There are many observable reasons for this; one major reason that has reduced the power of civil society in underdeveloped social formation like Nigeria is the issue of fund. (Boadi, 1995) contents that most civil society groups had to rely on the respective government where they play host for funds to run their organization. This development often put CSOs in a compromised position. Also, challenges of CSOs are bound in extant literature. For instance, Igbokwe-Ibeto, Ewuim, Anazodo & Osawe (2014, p.7) cognately describe the challenges of CSOs with these words:

The structural and organizational constraints of civil society in Africa emerge, hitherto from the severance of society from the political realm.... Till date, civil society is still reticent in proactively involving itself in matters of public interest except where they affect the interest of their members. On few occasions however, they have tried to set the normative order for the state by canvassing alternative course of actions for it. Yet, they are much visible and active when they seek to conflate with the state.

Another challenge affecting the CSOs is their neo-patrimonial character and their manipulation by the politicians for political gains (Abdullahi, 2015). Abdullahi further argued that, CSOs are highly politicised in Africa and have been transformed as extension of political parties. Some CSOs in spite of international support connived with political elites and civil servants to falsify electoral reports and in return got pay-back for their actions. It was observed that domestic CSOs and journalist engaged in monitoring 2011 elections in different parts of Nigeria were alleged to have received money gifts from party and government officials in exchange for favourable election report even in areas not visited (Abdullahi, 2015). Part of the explanation for this undemocratic attitude by some CSOs is that they are hardly provided with financial support from their organizations and thus, left with no option other than to accept money gifts from politicians. Apparently, this is not only applicable to CSOs

but to other stakeholders such as the journalists, electoral officials and the security agents. There were alleged reported cases of extortion involving election officials and politicians to influence their electoral victory. While exposing some of these undemocratic attitudes exhibited during elections, we should not ignore the fact that where election officials are financially handicapped, the culture of impunity may be on the rise and thus will affect the overall quality of the electoral process (Abdullahi, 2015).

Summary of Major Findings

In the light of the objectives of the study, the following are the summary of the major findings:

- i. Civil Society Organizations in Benue state contributed during the 2019 elections through education of electorates during elections; mobilization of citizens for participation in the electoral process as well as monitoring elections and reporting electoral flaws.
- ii. The roles played by CSOs enhanced the credibility of the 2019 elections in Benue State.
- iii. In carrying out these functions CSOs encountered some challenges such as inadequate resources for mobilization of members, harassment by security agents and political interference.

Conclusion/Recommendations

This paper investigated the role of CSOs in electoral process in Nigeria with reference to the 2019 election in Benue State. It identified the various roles played by the CSOs in the electoral process and the challenges encountered in the process. It is important that the civil society organizations ensure that their internal procedures and organizational structures conform to the highest ethical standards. Probity, accountability, transparency and a culture of binding commitment to good corporate governance should be their watchword.

These organizations must also fine-tune their method of advocacy such that their messages would be well received by the political elites and well appreciated by the populace.

Operationally, civil society organizations should seek alternative funding sources outside the state. This way, they will be able to maintain their autonomy. They must include the creation of autonomous programmes as opposed to donor-driven programmes; cultivating democratic practices and values, intensifying networking and sharing of information within CSOs as well as improving internal governance mechanisms.

There is also the need for a total reform of the electoral system to include the values of African democracy as propounded by Claude Ake (1996). This should be a democracy in which people have some real decision making power over and above the formal consent of electoral choice. This according to Ake (1996, p.132) "will entail among other things, a powerful legislature, decentralization of power to local democratic formations and considerable emphasis on the development of institutions for the aggregation and articulation of interests". It should also be a social democracy that invests heavily in the improvement of people's lives so that they can effectively participate in the process. And finally, it should be a democracy of incorporation rather than exclusion.

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