# THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN PROMOTING DEMOCRATIC GOOD GOVERNANCE

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Since the revival of the concept three decades ago by East European social scientists, the assumptions have been that the notion of civil society could be useful for public policy formulation and democratization.

The key hypothesis of scholars, activists and donors is that civil society is the hitherto missing key to sustained political reforms, legitimate states and governments, improved governance, viable state and society, state-economy relationship and the prevention of the political decay that undermined new African governments a generation ago " (John Haberson, 1994).

What notions of civil society do stakeholders and actors espouse? Is civil society in Sierra Leone promoting democratic governance? What type of civil society would promote democratic good governance?

This work takes a realistic look at civil society in Sierra Leone; its different configurations and its role in the transition and consolidation of democratic good governance. We argue that the crisis to promoting democratic good governance, which involves advancing unity, cohesion, peace and socioeconomic development is the absence of legitimized norms governing how state-society relationships are to be constituted. The civil society that broadens the avenues of representation of societal interest by being a broker, buffer, symbol, agent, midwife can promote democratic governance. That configuration of civil society can constantly redistribute social power and negotiate different subcultures in the public sphere.

Social scientists have used historical approaches by analyzing major decision processes to see just who and what institutions influenced the outcomes at any stage and in the overall process. Robert Dahl has used a more exhaustive model in studying the influence of different actors and institutions in collective decision –making. He examined major decision-making issues and see who and what institutions influenced the outcomes at any stage and in the overall process. This model reveals well alliances, networks, organizational resources and other major independent variables (Robert Dahl, 1961). We will explore some major decision-making processes, like the recent presidential, parliamentary and district elections, and see what forms of civil society organizations influence the outcomes at any stage and in the overall process. We will examine why, how and when did they influence the outcomes.

# **Interrogating the assumptions**

Since the 1990 political transitions to multi-party democracy, the Bintumani Conferences which ushered in civilian rule and the Lome Peace Accord in Sierra Leone, the bet by donors, scholars, activists, is on developing a vibrant civil society to consolidate the process of development and democratization in the country.

Politically, the assumptions are that civil society will help make governance more democratic, responsible and more transparent in Africa. It is assumed that Africa's developmental crisis was precipitated by the failure of the state and that governance has to be reconstructed from the bottom up. Thus, shaping civil society became the road to reforming the state and empowering citizens. This has led to financial investment from donors and the international financial institutions (World Bank, International Monetary Fund, etc) and academic occupation about the development of civil society.

# Kasfir (1990), points out that:

The economic argument of donors and financial institutions has been that as the State became more impoverished in the 1980s, civil society grew. As economic conditions worsened, African states supplied fewer social services. To meet basic needs, individuals created new organizations... Another argument along these lines is that the structural adjustments programme, particularly political conditionality, that both the World Bank and the donor community have required before extending loans, have changed African states, making them more receptive to civil societies.

After wide spread criticisms of the structural adjustment programs of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, these financial institutions are explicitly calling for the involvement of civil society in the formulation, implementation and monitoring the new poverty reduction strategy program for heavily indebted poor countries. In a more radical way, civil society organizations are interrogating the underlying assumptions of Africa's partnership with international financial institutions and western governments. These civic groups are engaging the neoliberal discourse of the international financial institutions and calling for a structural transformation of the situation within which the African continent finds itself.

The Sierra Leone Government's development plan has formulated in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Programs of the **Agenda for Change** explicitly recognizes and affirms the role of civil society in the preparation of the plan.

From the perspective of development scholars, the argument is that the development models which have dominated Sierra Leone and most African countries have virtually led to civil wars in the countries: modernization, nationalist independence and popular grassroots movements. Each of these paradigms emphasize that development means the formation of the public sphere, but each defines the public sphere in a different way. A fundamental problem with all of these paradigms of development is that each comprehensive model tends to accentuate the role of a

particular set of social protagonists as exclusively central to development and denigrates the participation of other major actors. Civil society theorists are suggesting that the re-emergence of civil society is a useful concept in negotiating and keeping in creative tension all of these paradigms, thus preventing civil conflicts, promote development and peace in Africa.

Furthermore, another assumption is that 'organizations within civil society are presumed to be friction-free and that they will mobilize their members to support civic goals no matter what their formal missions or internal relations'. The stress is on civility. The corollary of this argument is that civil societies would be an answer to the ethnic question because they presuppose a broad coalition of interests and organizations.

No doubt that civil society has become a key word in the socio-political and economic vision of the government and the international community; thus, the urgent need to examine the concept, its theoretical and practical implications for the development of our country. What kind of civil society would it have to be? Is it any civil society? What notion of civil society do actors and key stakeholders in Sierra Leone espouse?

# Civil society for Africa or Civil Society in Africa ?

The civil society discourse in Africa has been around the issue of civil society for Africa or civil society in Africa (e.g. Diamond, 1999; Maina 1998; Comaroffs,1999; Mamdani, 1996). Civil society scholars and activists argue for the case of 'real civil societies' that are embedded in Africa and as such for an explanatory, descriptive rather than a prescriptive use of the concept. In advancing the debate for an explanatory use of the concept scholars anchor the concept in three configurations of civil society: Formal or modern civil societies, traditional and neotraditional (World Bank, AFREX, 2007)

The formal civil society groups have organizational forms and operational logic which closely approximates western notions of civil society; neo-traditional civil society groups combine both western and indigenous organizational forms, criteria and modes of operation; and the traditional indigenous civil society groups have organizational forms and operational logic which mirror indigenous cultural practices.

The argument has been that exploring these organizational forms of civil society groups in Africa allows for a descriptive approach which analyses civil society motives, pick out their major challenges and discuss ways in which CSOs could be positioned to play vital roles in the social, political and economic governance (World Bank, 2007). Instead a prescriptive civil society for Africa model does not capture the real civil society configurations, processes and motives in Africa.

# **Traditional Civil Society**

The traditional civil society are structures borne out indigenous customs and traditions of our local people especially in the rural areas. They are governed by chiefs and organized in to patrilineages, sodalities, labour gangs and Osusu associations. They provide the structures for meeting the needs of the people at the local level. The forms of these structures for interaction may be different from western forms of civil society, they nonetheless perform roles that approximate those that civil society groups in the West perform. These groups build the social capital and moral pacts necessary for influencing, countervailing or participating in the political, social and economic governance of local societies. They are closer and more involved in the lives of the ordinary people and their communities. The debate is that this public is moral and legitimate and credible unlike the civil. Peter Ekeh, (1975), argues that

In fact there are two public realms in post-colonial Africa, with different types of moral linkages to the private realm. At one level is the public realm in which primordial groupings, ties and sentiments influence and determine the individual 's public behavior. I shall call this the primordial public because it is closely identified with primordial groupings and sentiments and activities which nevertheless impinge on the public interest. The primordial public is moral and operates on the same moral imperative as the private realm. On the other hand, there is a public realm which is historically associated with the colonial administration which has become identified with popular politics in post-colonial Africa...based on civil structure... the military, the civil service, the police etc Its chief characteristic is that it has no moral linkages with the private realm. I shall call this the civic public. The civic public is amoral and lacks the generalized moral imperatives operative in the private realm and in the primordial realm.

The challenge is to democratize both realms. The primordial realm is not devoid of contradictions and inequalities and thus the need to democratize it. The challenge is how to affirm the civility of this realm in a modern society that needs to be sustained by laws and norms that are not primarily based on primordial relationships of kin, territory or religious affiliation.

# Neo -traditional Civil Society Group

These are groups with formal organizational structures but where eligibility for membership is based on ascriptive identities (mainly ethnic and locative). Social capital derived from ascriptive identities is utilized by these groups to organize and make political and other claims on behalf of an ethnic group or descendants of a particular area. These organizations are also engaged in assisting members in times of bereavement, wedding and naming ceremonies. The need to form such groups arise out of the perceptions that if a people with a particular ascriptive identity do not organize themselves into an association they may find it difficult to access certain resources. Examples of neo-traditional groups include such ethnicity lodged groups, social and self help groups such as 'Teguloma', 'Fullah Progressive Union'and 'Limba Progressive Union' etc. These groups have immense social capital and are closer to and more involved in the lives of the ordinary people and their communities (World Bank, 2007).

# **Formal Civil Society**

Formal Civil society groups are those which approximate western notions of civil society. These include the professional groups, unions, human rights gender, development and economic sector. Recently, a new form of civil society group has emerged which transcends the traditional state-civil society divide. It includes such state actors as parliamentarians, local councilors. They are called hybrid civil society organizations.

# The Role of Civil Society in the Recent 2012 Elections

# The Inter-Religious Council of Sierra Leone

The Inter -Religious Council is a coalition of religious Muslim and Christian communities, based on respect of individual religious differences, with the purpose to promote cooperation among the religious communities on shared concerns, specifically working to end the war, to establish a just and sustainable peace, to advocate recognition and respect for human rights.

The Inter-religious council was formed and officially launched on the 1 April 1997 as a platform for religious leaders to speak collectively as a body. Almost from its birth the IRCSL was faced with enormous challenge of a war and coup d'état. The IRCSL immediately condemn the coup and called for the restoration of the legitimate government. It refused to cooperate with the military junta. It did not flee the country. It became a voice for the restoration of democracy. The IRCSL was a major actor in peace talks and resolving the ten years war in Sierra Leone. It undertook diplomacy track one and two with series of meetings with the rebels, government and other stakeholders. It undertook series of confidence building gestures to both parties. They acted as moral guarantors and facilitators at the Lome Peace talks in 1999.

What made the IRSCL successful? It is an indigenous locally based organization with international links. Through its networks of churches and mosques it has the largest constituency of any organization in the country. As an indigenous institution it is close to the people during the most critical times, while foreign organizations left the country. It has also an international links mainly with the World Conference on Religion and Peace of which it has an independent chapter. It enjoys widespread moral credibility. Sierra Leoneans are very religious and have great respect for their religious leaders. Finally it has clear power of rituals and religious standards to address the emotional and spiritual needs of the people. It has prophetic voice in the community and brings issues to the public sphere through its prophetic challenge by denouncing abuses and suggesting alternatives.

The Churches can also promote the cultural dimension of civil society by reinforcing common symbols, in some cases changing the boundaries of the identity of youth and women- allowing women to participate, hold leadership positions, breaking down ethnic barriers, challenging a culture dominated by elders, fostering attitudes of tolerance, cooperation, moderation and compromise.

In the recent parliamentary and presidential elections, the Interreligious Council engaged stakeholders at various levels: churches and Mosques and paramount chiefs all country. The level of engagement was divided into a before, during and after interventions by all council members

The first level of engagement involved preaching peaceful, free and fair elections all over the country. They also engaged the Sierra Leonean populace to exercise their civic rights to vote and not be complacent. The code of elections was translated into different languages by the Interreligious Council. The first level of engagement was a meeting of all the district inter-religious leaders all over the country to discuss their role in promoting peaceful, free and fair elections in the country. The district chairpersons then engaged all the religious leaders in their district preaching tolerance and promoting peaceful, free and fair elections. The Inter-religious Council requested that a week of prayer and fasting be dedicated for peaceful, free and fair elections. This was taken seriously by the populace and demonstrates the power of ritual and belief in promoting the common good.

The second level of engagement involved the actual elections process of monitoring and observing the elections on the polling day. Commission members were at the polling booths all over the country. The Justice, Peace and Human Rights Commission of the Catholic Church as part of the ITC organized observers all over the country monitoring the elections.

The third level of engagement was their ritual and symbolic capital in reconciling the different political parties and stakeholders in working together and reconciling differences and disputes. Infact, at a critical point in time after the elections, some members of the Interreligious Council, *The Body of Christ*, had intervened and brought the main political parties of the All People Congress and the Sierra Leones People Party to pray together and accept the outcome of the elections.

In policy engagement issues the Inter-Religious Council could do more. They could be trained to engage in designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating policies affecting elections in the country.

### The Media

In many ways the media is the ultimate weapon of the people in that it is a way to unite the grassroots against a tyrannical government. Sierra Leone has had a history of a lively and critical press despite the many bills passed by different regimes to suppress it. The media normally takes on the responsibility of being the watchdog of irresponsibility among those who are in positions of public service, those elected to political office, in order to protect the rights of the public. Section eleven of the Sierra Leone Constitution provides as follows:

The press, radio and television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in this Constitution and highlight the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people.

The media can provide information directly to citizens regarding major events of importance for decision—making so that citizens can take action and influence the structure of decision—making. The media are the forum for the expression of public opinion and enable the public and public officials to chart the general public opinion regarding the state of public affairs. The mirroring of public opinion enables the public to know what people are expecting and whether representative governments are serving the public or not. A totalitarian state is one in which civil society is totally absorbed by the state, a state without public opinion.

The media should ensure that there is a broad based participation so that all subcultures and identities are able to express themselves in the public sphere. Every group should be able to express itself in the public sphere and feel that its identity is respected and should respect the identity of others and learn from others. No group wants to give up its culture but at the same time each must learn to understand and to deal with other cultures. The continually lively debate, involving all people, regarding the kind of culture we want is the life sustenance of a civil society. The society that permits and promotes a major affirmation of sub-cultures is more pluralistic and allows a major dialogue between cultures, results in a society that is more developed. Each culture should be encouraged to have its media, community schools and hospitals. This does not mean a fundamentalist dogmatizing of cultural differences but rather encouraging a pluralist, evolutionist worldview that is forcing a continual challenge and reformulation of the hegemonic cultural ideologies (White, 1990)

During the recent elections the media was a key actor in the electoral process. A coalition of media houses came together to promote democracy and unity through the media. Their strategy of engaging all stakeholders through electoral education and monitoring the results of the elections was a laudable effort in consolidating democracy. Voter education was massively done throughout the country by the media, especially through radio stations. Lively debates on promoting peace and democracy were aired all over the country through the media.

However, during the elections some media houses had taken sides by not allowing the stories of all in the public sphere. Some were co-opted by different interests and so allowing only certain

subcultures in the public sphere. The verbal attacks and hate speeches of some radio stations were offensive and uncivil. Some flouted the media code of ethics by not being objective and taking sides.

There seems to be this contradictory element within the civil society discourse. Some civic groups have provided the basis for classifying and justifying the exclusion of various groups. Some groups exclude the others in the fight for democracy. How can the media be used to help resolve rather than inflame conflicts? The media is it an asset or liability for peace-building? Peaceful resolution of national-civil conflicts is in great part a communication process. This involves recognizing and encouraging cultural self determination at the sub-cultural group, but at the same time encouraging sub-cultural groups to find common symbols of identity at a national and international level (White, 1990, Barbero 1993)

# POPULAR CULTURE

Another form of resistance and challenge to hegemony has been popular culture. These can be seen in the popular rituals of carnivals, plays, dramas and songs which challenge the dominant hegemony at the symbolic level by attempting to project the symbols of those excluded in society in the public sphere. In Sierra Leone, musicians and artists have proved a powerful medium for consciousness and electoral civic education preaching peaceful, free and fair elections. They have negotiated different symbolic articulations at the public sphere. These constitute the popular forms of resistance that have emerged in building a civil society in Sierra Leone. Many artists used songs and drama to articulate their concerns, identities in the public sphere. Songs composed for political parties competed for the attention of all in the public sphere. In a way conflict was channel away from open war in to what is called cultural negotiation.

# **WOMENS' ENGAGEMENT**

An important sector advocating for change in the rules of the game has been women. Recent political developments have led to the formation of diverse women movement under the umbrella of Women's forum. Their aim is to advance women's agenda in all spheres by empowering women to meaningfully contribute towards the attainment of durable peace and the sustainable development of the nation. In August 1995, they organized peace rallies and protests in Freetown and were instrumental in the Bintumani 1 and 11 Consultative Conferences which paved the way for participation in the elections by all. This diverse movement can be seen in the following groups of fifty women's group, FAWE, Marwopnet and many other grassroots organizations.

Before the elections the women' organizations advocated for a thirty percent female representation in the Presidential, Parliamentarian and Council elections. They empowered the participation of women in the electoral process and promoted women's engagement for a

peaceful, free and fair elections. A situation room was set up by some women when the aim of democratizing the public sphere and giving opportunity to women to claim citizenship.

# **Traditional Civil Society**

#### **Sodalities**

Sodalities or secret societies are common amongst all the ethnic groups in Sierra Leone. Being a member of the predominant sodality in an area invests one with rights of local citizenship, and increases one's voice in community affairs. In the provinces these 'societies' are makers of laws, adjudicators of disputes and enforcers of customs and traditions. Sodalities are given tacit support by local as well as national authorities as spaces for adjudicating disputes and enforcing regulations.

During the ten years civil conflict they became sites for identity and legitimizing governance. Infact, they were sites for planning the offensive against the enemy. Their sense of awe, rituals and magic were used to plan against the enemy. They are governed by taboos and rites that all, including non-members should respect.

They have had a history of politicians co-opting and using these institutions to win votes and even coerce members to join their political parties. Was this the case during the recent elections? Can they democratize modern public spheres? Sodalities in some parts of the country were asked by political parties to vote in the primaries for aspiring candidates. There were cases of politicians financially supporting the initiation of new members in the sodalities during the elections period. The basic question is how can the social capital of these institutions be channeled in to democratic governance. The legislative power of these groups could be used to advance policy implementation on governance and other issues.

# **Neo-traditional civil society**

These groups in civil society have tremendous social power and often in the past were co-opted by politicians and also acted as a voice for marginalized groups seeking for inclusion. These groups can articulate the concerns of their sub-culture in the public sphere ( the limba association, Fullah progressive). Often their mobilization has been limited to the capture of political power and interests for their members. The challenge is to leverage their huge social capital into democratizing the political space by demanding accountability on the state and other institutions. What was their role during the 2013 general elections in the country? To a greater extent the rhetoric of these groups was partisan. The debate was limited and narrowed into ethnic and regional support and hardly diversified into issues and policies. Can these groups influence policy generation and oversight? There was hardly any participation by traditional and neoformal groups on the huge debate of the elections act and other relevant policy documents relating to the conduct of a free and fair elections.

# THE STATE

Has the State relinquished its traditional role of wanting to control the decision-making process and allowing the participation and competition by societal forces. Is it becoming efficient, transparent, and accountable and moving away from clientalistic to relationships institutionalized by norms and laws? Do the people trust the State as an institution? State agents had often been historically averse to seeing ordinary citizens and their organizations as having rights to engage them on public issues. Queries from civil society groups and respect for their rights are historically not part of the repertoire of interaction between public officials and the public. Has all of this changed? Did the State provide the enabling environment for the presidential and parliamentary elections of 2013? Did it open up space for civil society to influence the rules of the games in the electoral process?

It has started making reforms at all level and introducing reforms at the administrative level. Seemingly it seems there is a new thinking as regards the role of the State, even though it is difficult to predict the direction of this change.

There is a process of institutionalizing going on . Strong institutions were put in place to support the electoral process: The National Electoral Commission decentralized the electoral process by new boundary delimitations, modernizing its data and registration process, establishing electoral courts; the Political Parties Registration Commission supported and monitored the work of the political parties; The National Human Rights Commission; The National Commission for Democracy; the Media Commission. These institutions were engaged in the electoral process to ensure a free, non-violent and credible elections. A study on the engagement of these institutions in the electoral process would reveal whether strong institutions are being built by the State.

#### SUCCESSES AND CHALLENGES

The above shape and configurations of civil society discussed above seem to confirm the research of some authors about the emergence of civil society in Africa. In their research on democratic experiments in Africa, Micheal Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle (1997) point out that civic groups were instrumental in transition changes in Africa in the 1990s. These authors argue that 'after the transition, the fabric and organizational diversity of civil society is also likely to condition the success of democratic politics, albeit in fresh ways'.

Bratton and Walle sustain that the reinvigoration of the civil society sector should be a major item for democratic consolidation in Africa:

Religious groups, labour and professional associations, human rights groups and the media play intermediary roles between state and citizen, provide public areanas for political participation, and promote the accountability of the political class... professional groups and unions may defend the interests of segments of the population rather than

general principles of governance... At the same time labour unions in particular have greater mobilizational capacities than other groups do and are most likely to be feared by government, given their ability to orchestrate disruption. By contrast, churches and human rights organization ns are more likely to defend the democratic order per se and serve as the conscience of the nation. But these organizations typically posses less mobilizational capacity and find it hard to take political positions because their legitimacy is derived from a reputation for non-partisanship... what the media lack in capacity to mobilize constituencies, however, they make up in their ability to form opinion. (Bratton and Walle, 1997)

From our findings and analysis, formal civil society groups played and have capacity for major intermediation roles between the government, donor agencies and communities in delivering services, exacting accountability and raising awareness about democracy and human rights. Traditional and neo-traditional groups have immense social capital and are closer to and more involved in the lives of the ordinary people and their communities. The new emerging society-state relationships can be summarized as follows:

Civil society is seen interpolating between society and state as broker, buffer, symbol agent, regulator, representative, and or midwife. In each case, civil society broadens the avenues of representation of societal interests to the state thus forging the rules of the game. Indeed civil society has started to broaden to access political power and change the rules governing access to power.

#### Recommendations

We need to strengthen formal civil society groups which have the capacity for major intermediation roles between government and the communities in raising awareness about democracy and exacting accountability. Churches and human rights groups are more likely to defend the democratic order per se and serve as conscience of the nation. Their reputation for non-partisanship can help them perform these roles better. These organizations can directly bring issues to the public sphere through their prophetic challenges of denouncing abuses and suggesting alternatives. These organizations also have symbolic capital or the power of ritual. They can leverage ritual to be mediators and reconcilers in conflict and can provide an alternative vision or doctrine of a better life. They have to be encouraged to use this symbolic capital or their ability to suggest an alternative to engage in policy processes. They must be capacitated to build their engagement skills and information management capacities.

The media can be capacitated to negotiate different subcultures in the public sphere. A nation is brought together by a myth, the concept of the future that the people are trying to create. Thus myth often tend to reflect mainly the values and interests of the more powerful elite. The role of the media, especially in drama, comedy, sports and other popular genre is to reformulate the myth and the hegemonic culture is to include subordinate cultures. This is done especially in the portrayal of narrative by projecting the problems of the subordinate culture, their stories and heroes. The introduction of the heroes of lower status brings the lower status culture into the

myth and validates the culture of the lower-status as an identity to be esteemed and valued. (White, 1990).

Many civil society groups lack the necessary analytic skills to identify specific problems and relate them to broader structural issues or move away from analysis of complex problems to the formulation of concrete pro policy proposals.

Civil society groups have to work out their relationship with government. This is all the more critical in a post war situation where the state have limited capacity and legitimacy to function as a responsive and development state. The interdependence and partnership between government and civil society in working together to ensure stability, peace and democracy is still to be worked out. Under what circumstances would the attempt by civil society to achieve democratic reform by curbing the power of the state result in undermining the state's ability to regulate civil society, or even democracy itself?

Most civil society groups lack essential information about how government works- who makes policy decisions and how these decisions are made. If civil society is to make an impact, it needs to know how government works and how to influence the decision making structures in society.

Furthermore, even though there is an alliance between dissident, intellectual and youth activists, civil society groups are still urban-oriented and centralized in the cap[ital with most of the leadership from the middle-class. They still have to become national and grass root in order to be representative. At present these groups still have a limited constituency and are not embedded in the society. Leading civil groups have to work with and integrate other groups and constituencies in the primordial public realm. Perhaps the most fundamental challenge of civil society in Sierra Leone would be that making it rural and democratizing it by bridging the rural-urban divide. civil society can only become democratic when it extends its constituencies to rural farmers, peasants and the rural and urban poor. These constituencies have been left out of the development and modernization process and also risk being left out of the benefit of globalization.

There is also a paucity of new and effective leadership among civil society groups. Civil society is plagued by shortage of leaders capable of responding effectively to the new political context of the region and to the new policy agenda. This generates a dynamic in which too few people try to do too many things. It seems as if most of the groups are called upon to assume a myriad of management as well as political tasks. This results in an overwhelming level of activism that limits the capacity to consecrate forces around a specific issue or policy goal.

Another challenge of civil society groups is the tendency to create a group to personify certain individual's. Since tyrannies and inequalities can have their roots in society there is the need for the continuous internal democratization of civil societies

There is need to leverage the immense social capital of traditional and neo-traditional civil society groups to ensure authentic community participation and input into good governance.

These traditional civil society groups should be encouraged to democratizing their structures and organizations and leverage their social capital in holding accountable governance structures at the local and national level. They must input in governance

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