

Challenges of Civil Society Organisations in Fragile States Introducing reflective instrumental theory

WARA, Yusuf Abubakar

*Doctoral Student, Department of Politics and Social Sciences,
Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli University,
Ankara-Turkey*

Abstract: Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) also known as the third sectors have become important tools for societal development, peace and unity. Unfortunately, in most fragile states the CSOs' efforts have not yielded significant result due to the colossal challenges they face in such weak democratic environment. As these kinds of states mangle in corruption and human right abuses, so the civil societies serving within them suffer from lack of enabling environment and fair play. It was on this note that this article presents reflective instrumental theory that analyse the relationships between states and civil societies as positive, neutral and negatives. The determinant of the nature of the relationship depends on the state's mode of operandi. In standard democracies, the relationship is positive, in semi-standard democracies it's neutral and in sub-standard democracies it's negative. This article adopts content analysis to argue that while the democratic attitudes of advanced democracies aided the complementary roles of the civil societies; the undemocratic behaviours of fragile democracies negates those roles. It is based on the premise that the higher the level of adherence to the principles of democracy; the higher the effectiveness of civil societies and vice versa. The article suggests that for civil societies to triumph the people should stand for them and the government must enact rules that will make the environment favourable for them to function.

Keywords: Civil Society, Government, Fragile States, Instrument of Reflection

Introduction

Increase in social needs couple with incessant occurrence of global challenges such as health issues: Ebola, Lassa fever, HIV and corona virus...; environmental challenges-climate changes, earthquake, flood and locust invasion...; social problems- famine, poverty, terrorism, conflict, corruption and injustice are significant to the rise and need of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) around the world (Firmin, 2015: 11-16). But the ability of CSOs to contribute towards addressing these issues depends on the environment in which they operate- enabling or constraining. In an enabling environment where democratic ethos exist there will be open space for CSOs to function effectively, but in frustrating environment the opposite is the case.

In strong states CSOs have better environment to serve compare to fragile states. In countries such as England, Norway, Netherland, Canada and other developed countries where the core of civil societies are provided as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, CSOs performed more effectively addressing the basic issues confronting societies and even complementing the government efforts better than countries where such core are not provided. Such core means the rights of civil societies that includes but not limited to the right of CSOs to entry (i.e. the right to form and join CSOs, freedom of association) the right to operate free from unwarranted state interference, the right to free expression, the right to communicate and cooperate, the right to seek and secure funding and other resources as well as state duty to protect (Sida, 2011: 9). On the other hand, in weak states where such rights are either not available or limited the productive capabilities of the CSOs are frustrated and constrained.

The consequences of such lousy policies by the government will reflect on the entire community. In countries such as Angola, Guinea Bissau and Togo the activities of CSOs is seen below the expected standard due to the unfavourably civil society-government relations. In Togo weaker civil society constrained by a more dominant state and donor cutbacks have created a situation where neither government nor CSOs provide appraising essential services- this is justifying the theory of reflective instrumental that this article introduces, because the lack of adherence to the democratic principles by the government is reflecting on the ability of the CSOs to functions and the negative outcome is reflecting on the society. As a Togolese rightly observed: *"The government spends its time telling the population: 'be quiet – we will develop you'. The roofs, the roads, they're in a bad shape and the state says: 'We will fix it', instead of telling people to take charge. We need to re-educate the population."* (Retiree, community member, Togo) In the same vein in Angola where CSO-government relations is still tense a leader of a CSO declared that *"We are in a learning process, both NGOs and the government, because we do not yet have a democratic culture, but in the longer term we believe the relations*

will improve.”(CSO leader, Angola) (Johnson, 2005) This is a clear indication of how lack of ideal democratic culture is retarding the work of CSOs in developing countries. That’s to say that most NGOs face a lot of challenges in developing world due to the absence of strong institutions to ensure and guide democratic principles such as popular participation, freedom of association and rule of law.

Using content analysis this research tends to interpret, explains and analyses the basic factors that challenging the CSOs in fragile states. The research majorly focused on the reports of Fragile States Index (FSI), Civil Society Organization Sustainability Index, ICNL-International Centre For Not-For-Profit Law, CIVICUS Civil Society Index (CSI), relevant articles/literatures and publications on some CSOs’ websites to justify its argument based on what I coined as Instrumental Reflecting Theory. The general reason for the failures of CSOs is lack of democratic principles that yielded unfavourable relationship between the government and CSOs within those states that are mostly African, Middle Eastern and Asian.

Introducing Instrumental Reflecting Theory

The article venture to coined and define the term *instrumental reflecting theory or reflective instrumental theory* as a situation where some vital factors of variable “A” become crucial means of determining the success of variable “B” in a particular phenomenon. However, the success of the said variable “B” can triggered or serve as contributing element to the success of variable “A”. At the moment when variable “A” failed, the function of variable “B” in contributing to the work of variable “A” becomes cumbersome and burdensome. In general terms, the duo are meant to complement each other for the benefit of the existing phenomenon. The development of the phenomenon depends strongly and solely on the successful interactive functions of the two variables. For example, think of a simple relationship between wife and husband. Here, the existing phenomenon who depend on the interaction between the couple to triumph is the family. In general, each partner is crucial to the success of the other. In other words, the action and inaction of one is significant to the action and inaction of the other. In cultures, where women are the head of the family, then the behavioural factors of the wife are vital to the success of the husband, and the ability for the husband to perform actively will be complementing the role of the wife. This is exactly the same in cultures where men are the head of the family. The mode of operandi of the husband will be directly reflecting on the life style nature of the wife-whether positive, neutral or negative. Whatever may be the end result, it will be on the entire family that include the kids, the physical home itself as well as relatives and friends.

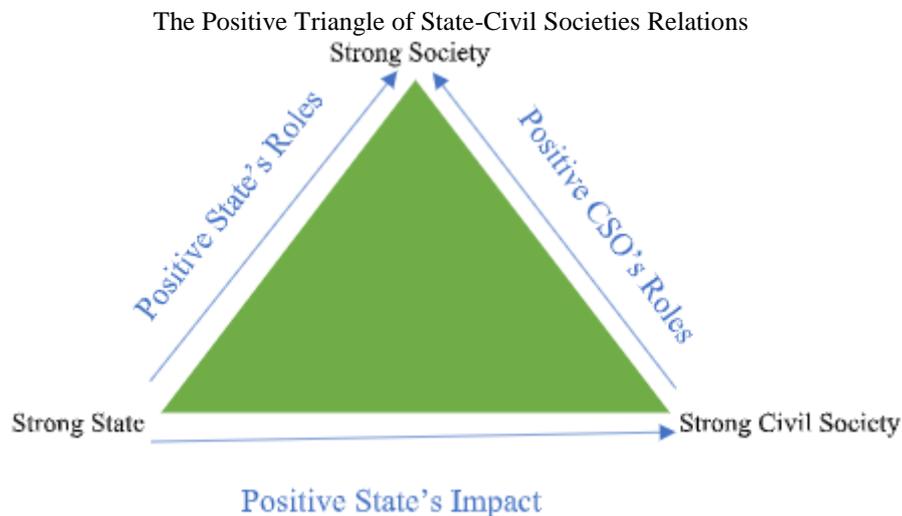
Deducing from the above analysis, we can discuss the functions of CSOs on the same model. We may decide to view the government as variable A, CSOs as variable B and the community as existing phenomenon. On this note the reflective instrumental theory tends to explains the government-CSOs relations as interactive. The *healthier* the government; the *healthier* the CSOs; and the ideal the society. The positive behaviour of the government is instrumental to the positive functions of the CSOs. In the same vein, the bad behaviour of the government is responsible for the nullification of the roles of CSOs in the state. I however classified the reflective instrumental theory into three: Positive, Neutral and Negative Instrumental Reflecting Theories.

Positive Reflective Instrumental Theory (PRIT)

The Positive RIT depicts a situation where the high points of the government modify the functions of the civil societies. The high points of the government may include human right protection, adherence to the rule of law, political participation, freedom of association and transparency. These positives factors are significant to promoting and empowering the existence and the roles of CSOs in any community. Examples of strong states that facilitates vibrant society are classified by Fragile State Index as “very sustainable” and “sustainable” states. Examples of very sustainable states according to the 2019 fragile state index includes Finland, Norway, Switzerland, Denmark, Australia, Iceland and Canada. Countries classified as sustainable includes New Zealand, Sweden, Singapore and few others (Messner, 2019). In Norway Civil Societies are contributing to the realization of a welfare state in different perspectives such as mobilization for more active citizenship and voluntary work as a supplement to public services has been particularly prominent in the field of health and care, in areas such as elderly care and public health, but also in terms of inclusion and integration. Other roles by CSOs in Norway can includes but not limited to innovation and entrepreneurship, advocacy, co-producer of welfare and most importantly development of voluntary work as a supplement to public welfare services as part of recent political visions on the revitalization of civil society (Loga, 2018). It’s as a result of high democratic ethics within the Norwegian society and Europe in general that strengthen the CSOs to render their services to the society and complement the roles of the state effectively.

This can be graphically explained on what this research work termed as *The Triangle of State-Civil Societies Relations* that shows how effective duties of the state strengthen both the society and the civil societies. It is the behavioural features of the state that determines the effectiveness or other wise of the civil societies. More like to say it determines the vital roles or otherwise of the CSOs in complementing the functions

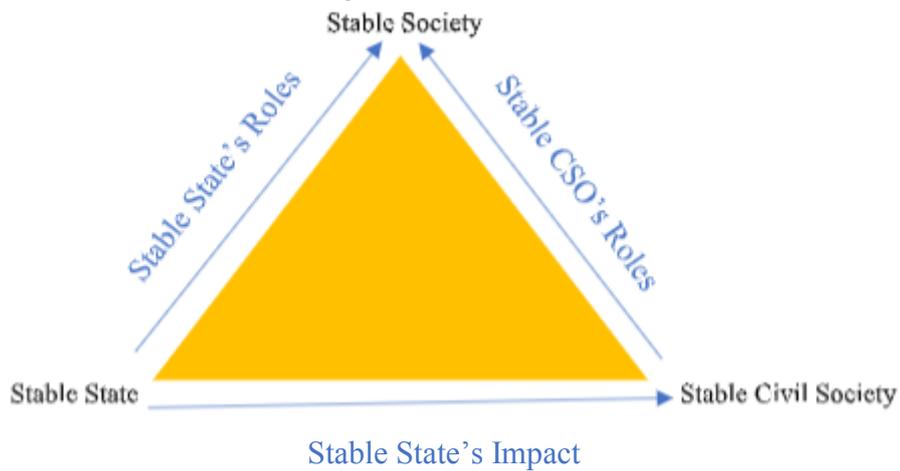
of the state in the society. The nature of the government also determines the nature of the society-strong or weak. The simple analogy is that a good government make a strong society both directly and through strengthening the civil societies; a bad government make weak and a fragile society both directly and through weakening the civil societies in the state. At any particular time when the agents of state applied coercive measures against the CSOs, they are weakening them and this will negatively affect the direct services as well as roles complementing government functions CSOs can do in societal development.



Neutral Reflective Instrumental Theory (NRIT)

The Neutral RIT can be defined on two presumptions. Firstly, they can be attitudes of the government that neither negate nor support both the existence and the functionality of the CSOs in a given community or state. Such attitudes may include but not limited to provision of social services, nature of the constitution and electoral system. Civil Societies are to serve where there is a gap or where the government's hand have not reached, so provision of social services by the government has no significant effect on them. The legal document of the state can be written or unwritten- this will not determine the effectiveness or otherwise of the CSOs, in so far as there are no strict legislation constraining them. The electoral system adopted by the government is another factor that do not affect the roles of civil societies. Voting system which is a set of rules that determine how elections and referendums are conducted and how their results are determined hardly affect the effectiveness or otherwise of the civil society in a given state. The electoral systems may be Plurality systems, Majoritarian systems, Proportional systems, Mixed systems, Additional features, Primary elections and Indirect elections (Farrell & Carter, 2009) This is not to say that there are no other factors affecting the work of the CSOs in such states. We can give example of such states as most of those classified under "warning" by FSI that includes Malaysia, Kazakhstan, Ghana, Macedonia etc and those placed under "elevated warning" by the FSI that include Tunisia, Indonesia, South Africa, Georgia, India, Algeria and several others, as well as those placed under "high warning" by the FSI such as Tanzania, Cambodia, Bangladesh, Egypt and several others (Messner, 2019). Secondly, the neutral reflective instrumental theory indicates that states produce both stable society and the stable CSOs that give moderate roles to the society who somewhat complementing not-too-bad roles of the state. However, in such kind of countries, in as much as there are some factors by the government promoting CSOs, there are also some negative issues from the state limiting the effectiveness of the CSOs. The balance that this created make the society to be on the stable pendulum swaging from strong society to fragile society. In such societies, increase in democratic culture will uplift a stable state to the family of strong societies, and a decrease in democratic culture will demote a stable state from its current position to the cluster of fragile states.

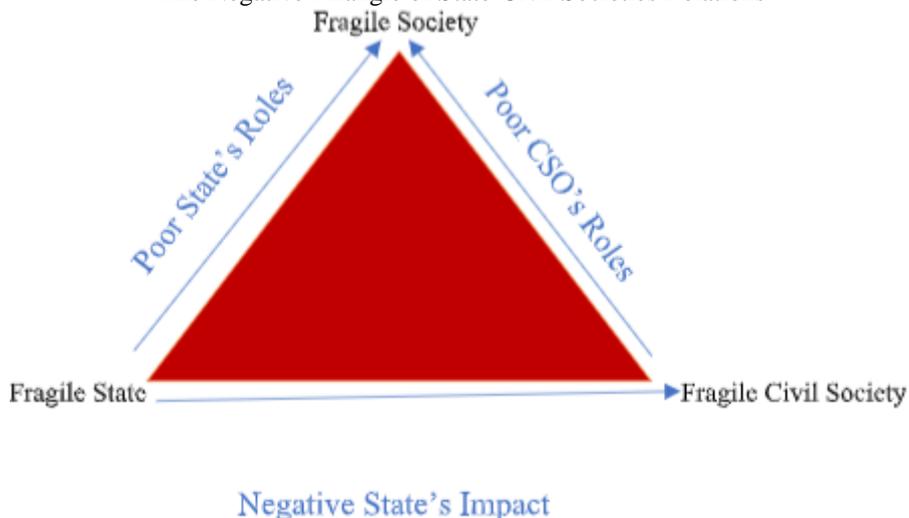
The Neutral Triangle of State-Civil Societies Relations



Negative Reflective Instrumental Theory (NERIT)

The Negative RIT indicates that the low points of the government debilitate the functionality and even the existence of CSOs in a particular state. Such low points of the government can include constraining freedoms of association or assembly, Refusal to provide enabling environment, strict legislation and corruption in the polity. For instance impositions of bans on public assemblies at specific times, places and in specific forms, is cited as problematic, and seen as obstacles and stumbling blocks to the operational success of the CSOs in a given community (JointBrusselsOffice, 2018). In other words the nature of a particular government determines the liveliness of the CSOs in the state, and the level of how the nature of the government influences the functionality of the civil societies reflect on how the civil societies aid the basic functions of the government in a given society. In a democratic government where there is freedom of association, freedom of press, political participation and high level of political participation. Civil societies in such state will be very effective and the result is that their effectiveness will positively reflect on how they aid the government in addressing the basic issues in the society such as climate change, health issues, conflict prevention, humanitarian assistance and promoting transparent societies. On the other hand, a dictatorship regime which negates and set asides all the basic freedoms and transparency will make the civil societies within such states weak, and the weakness of the civil societies will reflect negatively on how it contributes to the development of the society in general.

The Negative Triangle of State-Civil Societies Relations



The triangles of state-civil societies relations depict that states are the strong determinant of the nature of the society and how effective civil societies can be. A weak state makes poor roles to the society and negative impacts on the civil society. In a state where civil societies are not given open space by the government to operate; they will hardly make significant contributions to the society. A state that constrained freedom of association and expression and enacted legal constraints against the civil societies will be left alone to cater for

the needs of the entire society and address all the problems within- a workload which it can never do alone, hence a fragile and weak society full of all sorts of societal vices such as insecurity, poverty, conflicts, health issues, hopelessness and other related vicious circles of community problems.

Challenges of Civil Society Organisations in Fragile States

Generally by fragile states we mean, those countries in which the concept of *security* in all ramification is lacking or limited. These types of securities includes: Individual Security, Ecological Security, Economic Security, Political Security, Health Security, Demographic Security, Security of Natural Resources, Energy Security and Food Security (Karabulut, 2015). In other words, the countries that are classified as failed, fragile or even collapsed states are mostly characterised by conflicts, wars, high level corruption, injustice, indiscipline, insecurities, lack of law and order, lack of unity and failed political, economic and social structures.

The Fragile States Index (FSI); formerly the Failed States Index is an annual report that determines states vulnerability. Its rank are based on twelve indicators of state vulnerability, grouped by category: Cohesion, Economic, Political, Social. The indicators are a way of assessing a state's vulnerability to collapse or conflict, ranking states on a spectrum of categories labelled sustainable, stable, warning, and alert (Wikipedia, 2020). The Cohesion Indicators includes: Security Apparatus, Factionalized Elites and Group Grievance. The Economic Indicators includes: Economic Decline, Uneven Economic Development and Human Flight and Brain Drain. The Political Indicators includes: State Legitimacy, Public Services and Human Rights and Rule of Law. The Social Indicators includes: Demographic Pressures, Refugees and IDPs and External Intervention (fundforpeace, 2018).

Based on the above indicators the 2019 fragile states index's reports showed states such as Congo (Democratic Republic), Syria, South Sudan, Somalia and Yemen as very high alert, meaning they are in a state of collapse. However countries such as Afghanistan, Sudan, Chad and Central African Republic are categorized on high alert. In addition, countries that includes Mauritania, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Libya, Congo (Republic), North Korea, Kenya, Pakistan, Ethiopia, Myanmar, Mali, Uganda, Guinea Bissau, Niger, Eritrea, Cameroon, Burundi, Nigeria, Iraq, Haiti, Guinea and Zimbabwe are placed in the alert zone (Messner, 2019).

From the above indicators and analysis we can deduce that fragile states are those states that have poor political-social-economic structures. They are states that need CSOs the most, they are states that CSOs are supposed to preform effectively so as to complement government efforts in addressing the basic problems confronting the society. But unfortunately they turned out to be states where CSOs faced serious challenges the most. The question here is that what could be the reasons?

To response to above question we must look at the government-civil society relationships, this is because it is obvious that the attitudes of the government is instrumental to the effective or ineffective roles of civil societies. The environment the government creates, the law it formulates, the action and inaction it takes, and the overall behaviour of the government influence the function of the CSOs which in the long run reflect on how the civil societies can complement the roles of the government in the society. Such government's behaviours which are the basic factors responsible for the failures of civil societies in most fragile states can includes but not limited to the followings:

Constraining freedoms of association or assembly, like every institutions and or organizations, civil societies face specific certain hiccups as well as other challenges created by dynamic and competitive environment (Alonso, 2017). Freedom of association as a fundamental human right embodied in labour movements, freedom of expression, democracy, and among other international instruments ratified by the States is to be established, promoted and protected (Silén, 2010), it is a duty of every government to ensured it, it's an obligation of every government to promote it. Not to undermines or set it back. This is because the Declaration on Human Rights Defenders guarantees that everyone has the right to meet peacefully; to form, join, and participate in non-governmental organizations, associations, and groups; and to communicate with non-governmental and intergovernmental bodies, such as the United Nations (UN) (Silen, *ibid*: 2010) Back lashing the ideal of freedom of association will pose a great threat to the existence and functions of civil societies who are supposed to complement government's effort in the community. The consequence of such action will reflect badly on the society due to the fact that in a society where freedom of association and expression are strangled the viability of civil societies becomes obsolete. Such kinds of backlash against the effectivity of civil societies was found in almost all the fragile states around the world. Comparatively, while in countries such as Poland and Canada the government directly or indirectly fosters the existence of an organized "civil society", in countries like Zimbabwe, Guinea Bissau, Sudan, Chad and several other fragile states the regimes prohibit anything that looks like organized groups.

In Latin America, some governments have placed limitations on CSOs to operate. The risks of having organized people controlling the public sector, denouncing human rights violations, educating people, or

promoting public policy is anathema to authoritarian or quasi-authoritarian regimes (Silen, Ibid: 2010). The 2018 CSO Sustainability Index for Sub-Saharan Africa shows how civic space showed signs of contracting. The reports indicate how Malawian CSOs were threatened with higher fees and a regressive new law at the same time that their financial viability and organizational capacity declined. Tanzanian civil society was constricted by new laws limiting access to information and freedom of expression, a ban on political assemblies, and arrests of journalists, activists, and opposition leaders. In Uganda, the government responded to political protests with bullets and tear gas and sought to silence free expression by monitoring electronic communications. Zimbabwe's new government accused CSOs of helping foment violence and responded to protests with lethal force (Mkandawire, 2019: 4). In such kinds of tormenting environments CSOs hardly thrive, these are typical justifications of the theory that this article presents- the reflective instrumental theory which argues that fragile states give negative impacts to CSOs; fragile states' negative impacts produce fragile CSOs; fragile CSOs give negative roles to the society; fragile CSOs' negative roles in addition to poor states' roles produce fragile societies.

Take for instance in DR Congo where the government's response to the activities of CSOs has been harsh; organization's leaders, journalist, activists are intimidated, persecuted and harassed. In early 2000, during the era of Joseph Kabila his government has arrested journalists, human rights activists, and critics of the government, sometime detaining them for prolonged periods. In addition to the banned of independent radio and TV stations Kabila's government also targeted non-governmental associations. Authorities arrested Felicien Malanda and Georges Kazimbika, leaders of the Regional Council of Nongovernmental Development Organizations (CRONGD), and detained them for several weeks in May 2000 on unsubstantiated charges they were in contact with the rebels (Baldo, 2001). These kinds of unfortunate attitudes together with severally blocking the participation of civil society groups in the inter-Congolese dialogue, which was supposed to bring together the government, rebels and civil society to negotiate a transition to democracy, has retard the activeness of the civil societies in DR Congo thereby weakening their efforts of complementing the government itself in getting rid of large chunk of problems confronting Congolese.

Afghanistan is yet another country where there is anything but tolerance. Tolerance of opposition, tolerance of human right activists and tolerance of pressure groups are almost unobservable. These series of intolerance are rampart in Afghan society especially during the Taliban regime. The consequences are disallowing community groups such as human right activist to even exist not to talk of function. Although Afghanistan's constitution allows freedom of association but this and other freedoms are not practicable as the government sees CSOs as political opponent instead of a complementing partners. There are several examples of violations of the freedoms of association, expression, and peaceful assembly by the Afghan government most of them were reported by human right watch. These and other issues of violation of freedom of expression through strict media censorship weakens the CSOs as most Afghanistan people don't have access to the Internet, and thus information dissemination becomes an impossibility amongst most people (Shayan, 2017) In addition to these curtailments there are several restrictions applied by the government on the formation and registration of CSOs, an action which makes formation and performance of NGOs very difficult.

Another negative action by a government that retard the roles of CSOs in a society is **violence against CSOs**. In addition to lack of or constrained freedom of association, in most developing world, CSOs vigorously failed because of the way and manner tyrant-like rulers of the state torment, intimidate, frighten, oppress, harass and terrorize not only their leaders but also their members. These make their roles highly cumbersome or even almost impossible. Take for instance the trial of the founder of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), Ken Saro-Wiwa who for decades pushed for greater environmental protection and a nonviolent campaign against environmental degradation of the land and waters of Ogonil and in Nigeria (Heller, 2016). Similarly, the leaders of National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) in Nigeria in the 1990's were persecuted in their attempt to ensure a democratic Nigeria. There were series of arrests and interrogation of its leaders such as Wale Osun, acting secretary-general of the coalition, Chief Cornelius Adebayo and other NADECO members. These and other several cases in the famous black nation on earth has rendered civil societies obsolete. The consequences are that impossibility or difficulties for them to render effective complementing roles hence a fragile and weak society.

Another country where members of the non-profit organizations face extreme violence is Afghanistan. It was observed that the Afghan government resorts to violence against activists and neglects security issues. It was reported that in Bamyan on 29 August, 2016, during Ghani's visit, a massive repression and detention of activists from the 'Enlightening Movement' has occurred. Apart from these the government usually refuses to provide security for most gatherings by CSOs, an indication which shows that the government pays little attention to providing security at peaceful gatherings (Shayan, 2017) These have strictly closed the space of CSOs and consequently made them very ineffective to render public service in the communities.

One other country where the environment for CSOs is heavily polluted by the government is that whose current president is in his fifth term and has been in power since 1986. The CSOs in Uganda under Yoweri Museveni, especially those who call for democratic emancipation, human right promotion and stood against all sorts of corruption are seen and treated as anti-development and economic saboteurs. For instance, NGOs seeking to educate the public about land issues and rights have been subjected to threats of deregistration, accusations of “economic sabotage,” and arrest. Organizations working on good governance and corruption have had meetings interrupted and cancelled as they have tried to carry out citizen education and advocacy campaigns and in some cases have had their members detained for their activities (Humanrightswatch, 2012). In the country of Uganda just like many other fragile states series of negative government actions have being directed at activities of the CSOs for years. For example on *March 27, 2012, a National NGO Forum volunteer was arrested at the Serena Hotel in Kampala while seeking to raise awareness about victims of a fatal condition, known as “nodding disease”*. Event including fund raising to assist the victims of nodding disease were interrupted and the resource raised were confiscated by the agents of the state.

The activities and freedom of expression of most CSOs in Uganda has been frustrated. For Instance, the roles of Facilitation for Peace and Development (FAPAD) an organization that is involved in peace advocacy and training in Uganda, and also seeks to promote human rights and livelihoods through empowerment and sustainable development in northern Uganda has been challenged by the state several times. For example, the FAPAD’s executive director, Eunice Apio, was summoned for interrogation separately by both the district police commander (DPC) and the RDC to account for a state men made by one of the groups’ member during a talk show with a local station on February 7, 2011. During the interrogation the police commander allegedly threatened Apio that she would be charged with incitement to violence or hurting the reputation of the president, as well as other crimes. (Humanrightswatch, 2012) These and other related intimidations faced by civil societies in Uganda and even in most weak nations are indication that CSOs most especially those who work on projects relating to civic education, governance, corruption, and human rights are classified by the ‘agents of states’ as enemy of the state, saboteurs, witch hunters and more worrisome traitors. The consequence of these ill-founded allegations deliberately designed to impair CSOs efforts is that the NGO’s were compelled to begin self-censorship an act which hinder their productive capabilities in the societies.

Political Corruption and weak institutions are obvious negatives feeders to not only the CSOs, but also to the society in general. Corruption of all kinds are cankerworms destroying both soft and hard tissues of society. In developing world there is no higher enemy than corruption. Asides making every sector in a shameful shape, it also led to the absence of middle-class, put CSOs in a shady atmosphere and subject them to be on dependency syndrome of foreign funding as well as making their role burdensome due to the unavailability of required data at the government’s parastatals. Political corruption which is seen as likely to take form of conflict of interest, abuse of office, lobbying and inappropriate use of public information (Heywood, 2014). Has continued to creates disappointments for both the public and groups of civil societies, as it becomes threat to their survivals and functions.

The roles of civil societies in fragile states are gravely undermine by two interrelated forms of political corruption- ‘extractive’ and ‘power-preserving’ (Amundsen, 2019: 4). Civil societies come under intense pressure whenever they take action against such political extractive corruption where office holders siphoned government funds to enrich themselves, their families and cronies; they also face perturbed intimidations when they challenge power-preserving political corruption where public office holders implement sit-tight tendencies policies and ridicule the basic principles of democracy in order to unnecessarily stay in power. We are talking about how civil societies struggle to survive and function under competitive authoritarian rule. Their survival is such restricted environment remains limited this is due to the fact that competitive authoritarianism heavily restricts civic engagement and the establishment of civic associations (Giersdorf & Croissant, 2011: 1-21). Our position is that in states where autocratic rulers determine everything without proper adherence to the rule of law tolerance of criticism and activism become almost impossible hence the closing space for civil society.

Civil Societies especially those who work in the areas of advocacy, transparency and accountability are mostly intimidated through legal constraints most especially in many Arab world and Middle Eastern States where nations are characterized by a general context of conflict, growing tension and insecurity that ultimately threaten social peace and stability (Chene, 2007: 2). In addition, most governments in these regions are undemocratic-military dictatorships, totalitarian regimes or monarchies. Therefore the rooms for CSOs to advocate for transparency and good governance in such states are nearly closed-this is due to the authoritarian nature of the rulers that created series of conflict within them. Take for instance the nagging Syrian crises, the unfortunate war in Libya, the proxy war in Lebanon, the unnecessary crisis in South Sudan coupled with severe restrictions to the freedom of association and expression negatively in great extent influence the environment in which CSOs operate. The instability in Palestine has majorly affected the smooth operation of CSOs, albeit the

fact that the country needs them more than ever before. In August 2007, for example, the Prime Minister Palestine announced the decision of government to dissolve 103 philanthropic CSOs as a result of what he referred to as grave legal, administrative and financial offences and to scrutinize the operations of the remaining 2,400 organizations (Amundsen, 2019: 4). Such kinds of actions that are visible in fragile states such as Sudan, DR Congo and Burundi ends at nothing but subjecting the CSOs into state of mayhem.

Conflict stricken countries like Lebanon, Iraq, Somalia, Central African Republic and Afghanistan are more likely to face continues foreign interventions. This situation will undermine the strength of the countries' institutions which will affect the nature of the civil societies and how they operate in them. Civil societies in countries with weak institutions and high level of corruption are likely to face intimidation during their functions of promoting integrity in the country, they will face threats of deregistration, dissolution, involuntary termination, liquidation and even series of difficulties getting registered to operate (Sidel, 2020). We have seen these in several countries such as in Egypt, where a revision of the law in 2003 required all CSOs to register. Significantly, *the applications of some long established human rights organizations were rejected*. In Jordan, there have also been examples of CSOs being shut down in 2002 or trade unionists imprisoned because of advocating for political changes (Amundsen, 2019: 4). However, Civil Societies are early terminated in most developing world. This is because of the existence of some laws in these countries that allows transfer of the dissolved CSOs' assets to the state like in Nepal and Bangladesh. By contrast in developed world this kind of attitudes against civil societies are hardly the case, for instance, in countries like Singapore and Japan even involuntary termination or dissolution is relatively straightforward and involves opportunities to be heard and contains procedural safeguards and other appeals processes (Sidel, 2020).

Aside from taken over the assets of civil societies after dissolution by government, in some developing countries due to the massive corruption within them; highly corrupt government official directly or indirectly control the operation of most of the civil societies in their country putting their independence obsolete and making them completely demoralized, frustrated and on the verge of collapse. To make their situation worst the resources of these CSOs are control and manipulated by government officials in such a case realization of the CSOs' basic objectives becomes almost impossible. Take for example, Harambee a self-help initiative in Kenya that is used to bring people together to contribute towards the provision of communal goods. An organization that started very well after the independence of the country in the 60s became a pool of corruption by public office holders simply because the organization is control by them as Waithima rightly observed *"towards the end of the 1980s, harambee had transformed itself into a lubricant of political corruption as harambee contributions became a measuring rod of the performance and suitability of political candidates especially towards a general election"*(Waithima, 2012)'' Coupled with not longer performing as before as well as the manipulations of the its resources, the voluntary contribution almost become a compulsory levy on the ordinary citizens. An act that continues to tarnished its image in the eyes of Kenyans.

Due to the massive misappropriation of the Harambees's funds many Kenyans came to view it as a source of bribery and extortion by political office holders who are charged with the responsibility of managing its affairs instead of non-governmental independent individuals. These are some of the reason that prompted a Corruption Perception Index report to declared that- *In politics, harambees had become an auction where poor voters sell political offices to the highest bidder, and politicians buy occupancy of local councils, parliament and even presidency* (Transparency International, 2003). In most developing world where civil societies are face with chronic manipulations, interruptions, interposition and negative interventions end up offering shady or not-too-good-enough functions to the society. In this situations there will be piles of problems facing the society because neither the roles of the government nor the complementary roles of the CSOs are significant enough to yield positive results. An exact case is noticed by CIVICUS CSI in Guinea where political gladiators snoop into the affairs of CSOs as it observed that there are still restrictions on citizens' political rights and on participation in the political process and that the weaknesses of civil society in Guinea include a poor understanding of the concept of civil society, political infiltration of some CSOs, low financial and human resource capacity, and an absence of self-regulatory and transparency mechanisms (Cissoko, 2011). From such atmosphere we can breathe the air that a government who does not create enable environment for the private bodies who are complementing its efforts in the society, will not bother to take any clamouring step to do what is required of her to the general folks; it will rather smeared the hands of CSOs and make them weak as themselves; the end result is the continual underdevelopment of the fragile societies that this paper is talking about.

In such countries however, corruption has eroded the middle-class. The richer become richer and the poor become poorer year-in-year-out. So, there is only duo class- the rich and the poor. In such environment establishment and maintenance of civil societies became scanty and troublesome. This is because in most developed world civil societies are created and maintained by the middle-class. For this reason there is a strong link between civil societies and the middle-class. Therefore, the existence of middle class is tantamount to both

emergence of strong society and strong civil societies. Not only for the development of civil societies, middle class have transform several societies around the world. In South Korea self-confident middle class have terminated ‘authoritarian cycle’ rule; it has forged first democracy in China; in Malaysia it supported an ideal political culture and in Singapore educated middle class constitutes an “extremely important preconditions for political liberalization” (Jones, 1998:147) This is a clear indication of how crucial middle class can be in societal development, promotion and protection of human rights and freedoms.

While in developed world middle class are championing the economic and societal development and prosperity; in most developing world diminishing middle class resulted to increase of poverty and weak civil societies. It’s important to note that a well-educated middle class stands to challenge governance, formulate and promotes efficient and honest delivery of government services through good policies that eventually leads to better economic freedom and ultimately leads to sustainable economic growth boosting investors’ confidence, but a weak middle class is the direct opposite where government is unable to deliver the basic needs to its citizens (Oseghale, 2019). In other words, countries who have strong middle class have strong civil societies to complement governments’ efforts in societal development on one hand and to checkmate government officials excesses on the other.

There is a nexus between vibrant civil society, strong middle class and economic development. In fragile states with a very weak middle class which can be measured by the level poverty within, just like Nigeria where the World Bank estimated that over 90 million people, more than 45 percent of the country’s population live in extreme poverty need to empower its middle class so as to have a strong civil society that will complement government’s role in community development. This is also applied to most Sub-Sahara Africa, Middle East and South Asian countries.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Civil Society Organizations are undoubtedly important part of community development and prosperity. They are significant in complementing governmental efforts in any society. They contribute in societal peace, prosperity unity and progress. As Aristoteles states, the state and civil societies are two institutions that are indistinguishable and complementary to each other (Mondal, 2020). This is because it is the civil society that will make the state intelligent and agile, make it compatible and consistent with the rationale of existence, and empower it and be able to protect its national interests on the international stage. Government without civil society is just like a cat smeared with milk outside and there is a lion within (Türköne, 2005: 95). For this reason the relationship between state and civil society supposed to be mutual and their roles in the society should be complementing. But unfortunately, in some developing world most states serve as instrument of dilapidation of the existing civil societies operating in their domains. The weak institutional nature as well as unethical actions and inactions of most power mongers, lavishly operating fragile states against civil societies have rendered the CSOs obsolete hence the negative instrumental reflective theory this article stands to introduce.

The *reflective instrumental theory* aims to analyse the relationship between the government and social sectors in three faces: positive, neutral and negative relationships. The positive Reflective Instrumental Theory sees relationship between state and civil societies as mutual support that is complementary. In such relationships the government creates enabling environment for the entire social sectors. There is massive freedom of association, human right protection, adherence to the rule of law, political participation, and transparency. These are the motivating positives factors that are significant in promoting and empowering the existence and the roles of CSOs in advanced democracies.

Besides the positive attitudes by advanced democracies towards civil societies, some nation-states possess neutral behaviours that are indifference to the success or failures of the CSOs. Such factors can be provision of social services, nature of the constitution and electoral system. In as much as such neutral factors exist in such countries, there are still some elements of negative attitudes troubling the CSOs as well as some supporting behaviours. For this reason the society is in-between the rights and wrongs, in such a situation inducing democratic ethos into the society will elevate the entire system in to the groups of developed world and where the opposite is the case the consequences is tilting it towards the pole of undeveloped nations.

The negative reflective theory which is the third areas of measuring state-civil societies relations which this article claims, argues that in undemocratic and autocratic states the environment for civil societies is fierce and unfavourable simply because the agent of the states reject all sort of advocacy calling for transparency and good governance. CSOs working mostly in the areas of promoting human right, rule of law and accountability are hunted, tormented and persecuted. In such kind of atmosphere CSOs will be battling to save themselves from intimidations instead of addressing the basic issues affecting the society. Most countries in the developing world who have leaders cliched to power without observing and or respecting the basic principles of democracy or do it in a very hanky-panky manners fall within this category. They constrained freedom of association; they constitute act of violence against CSOs and they are smeared with corruption and inaptitude behaviours. These

kinds of states remains in perpetual underdevelopment for neither the government is effective nor the civil societies who are to complement its roles. Such governments have weakened the civil society; the repercussion of such negative acts falls on both the government and the society in general.

Civil Society remains a vital instrument of societal peace, unity and prosperity. For this reason CSOs must be established, sustained and protected to render significant roles especially where the government's hand have not reached. CSOs must be promoted, this is because building a society requires collective effort on the system: the effort of the government; the effort of the private sector and non-profit sector. In a situation where one of these societal sector's role becomes unrealizable then a pillar is fallen and the society cannot stand firmly. Peter Drucker in his article "the Age of Transformation" that appeared in the November 1994 issue of *The Atlantic Monthly* describes the growing importance of the non-profit or social sector. Drucker claims that in the information age "government cannot be looked to for solving social and economic problems." The old communities of family, town parish and so on have been replaced by a new unit of social integration, that is, the voluntary and non-profit organization. He however claims that, the organizations within this third sector will take care of the social challenges of a modern society. The social sector will use the assets of the community, that is, its social capital or its leaders, the skills and compassion of its people, and its resources to deal with community issues (Skrzeszewski, 2016).

The people should stand firm for CSOs, they should support it and make sure it survive all odds within and without. The people should know that the CSOs are there for them; are there to serve them; are there to eliminate their worries and uplift them to prosperity. For this reason the people must stand for CSOs they should even sacrifice their personal endeavours for them to triumph.

The government too needs to know that the CSO are there to complement their efforts not as political opponents. The governments should realize that they cannot deliver community services to the same extent as in the past. They need non-governmental organization to assist them in addressing societal problems. For this reason government should make laws that would promote associations and freedoms; they must establish appropriate public policies, set standards, and provide finances to community organizations to perform the necessary tasks; they should create equity in the system and eliminate corruption to the barest minimum and cordially liaise with civil societies for the betterment of the entire community.

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