

**Democracy and Electoral Fraud in Africa: A
Comparative Study of Presidential Elections in
Ghana and Nigeria from 2000 to 2012**

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to study why there is a high rate of electoral fraud in most African nations. For this purpose the Elite, Institutional and Rationalist theories were reviewed and a theory guided hypothesis was chosen to conduct a comparative analysis of democracy and electoral fraud in Nigeria and Ghana by looking at Presidential elections between 2000 and 2013.

Elections play an important role in democracies, however, who decides on the choice of electoral system and whose interests and values prevail are two issues that have been grappling political scientists and political theorists alike. These two issues inherently concern how and why political reform takes place. It has even more vehemence for relatively newer democracies.

Most African nations over the years have experienced different form of governance and elections all in the name of democracy but very far from practicing it. This has been expressed in electoral rigging, violence, death, corruption and little or no level of transparency within the system. Reform successes were limited. Nevertheless, there are some success stories that may provide guidance for political scientists. An exemplary case in West Africa is Ghana. Ghana has moved into a democratic path leading the way for other African nations where as Nigeria, another West African nation, is still deeply rooted in electoral fraud, corruption and irregularities.

These two countries in West Africa provide a striking contrast and could provide an answer to several question. Through elite interviews and analysis of secondary data

such as Afrobarometer, this thesis finds strong evidence in support of the Elite Theory.

Keywords: Democracy, Electoral Fraud, Elections, Political Parties, Electoral Management body.

ÖZ

Bu araştırma, Afrika ülkelerinde neden seçimlerde yolsuzluk oranının yüksek olduğunu incelemektedir. Bu amaçla, elitist kuram ve rasyonalist kuramlar incelenip, teori güdümlü hipotezler geliştirilmiştir. Bu amaç için Gana ve Nijerya cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimlerindeki yolsuzluklar karşılaştırmalı bir analiz yapmak için seçilmiştir.

Seçimler demokrasilerde öncü bir rol oynamaktadır. Afrika kıtasındaki demokrasi adına yapılan seçimlerde şiddet, ölüm, yolsuzluk yaşanmakta ve sistem içinde şeffaflığın az veya hiç olmadığı görülmektedir. Normalleşen bu durumun yanında Gana demokratik reformlara imza atarak parlayan bir ışık gibi seçim yolsuzluklarının üzerine gitmiştir. Neden seçimlerde yaşanan yolsuzluk, usulsüzlük ve dolandırıcılık Afrika'daki yüksek oranda vardır? Nijerya ve Gana iki Batı Afrika ülkesi olarak çarpıcı bir kontrast sağlamaktadır ve bu soruya cevap verilmesine ışık tutmaktadır. Bu tez ikincil ve birincil verilerden yararlanarak 2000-2012 yılları arasında yapılan Nijerya ve Gana Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimlerini inceleyerek elitist kuramın varsayımlarının rasyonalist kuramın varsayımlarından daha fazla açıklayıcılığı olduğunu ispatlamaktadır. Tezde ikincil veri olarak Afrobarometer veritabanı ve birincil veri olarak da siyasi karar mekanizmalarında söz sahibi karar alıcılar ve uzmanlarla yapılan mülakatlar kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Demokrasi, Seçimler, Siyasi Partiler, Seçim Yönetimi, Gana, Nijerya, Siyasi Reform.

TO
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ECOWAS:	Economic Community of West African's Community.
PDP:	People Democratic Party.
NPP:	The Nigeria People Party.
GNPP	Great Nigeria People's Party.
PRP	People Redemptive Party.
UGCC:	United Gold Cost Convention.
CPP:	The Convention People Party.
NLM:	National Liberation Movement.
NPP:	Northern People Party.
PNDC:	Provential National Defense Council.
NDC:	National Democratic Congress.
PCP:	People Convention Party.
NPP:	New Patriotic Party.
INEC:	Independent National Electoral Commission.
EC:	Electoral Commission.
CODEO:	Coalition of Domestic Election Observers.
EU:	European Union.

NCNC:	National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon.
LYM:	Lagos Youth Movement.
NDP:	National Democratic Party.
AG:	Action Group.
NAN:	Nigeria National Allies.
UPGA:	United People Grand Alliance.
UMBC:	United Middle Belt Congress.
UPN:	Unity Party of Nigeria.
SDP:	Social Democratic Party.
NRC:	National Republican Convention.
EMB:	Electoral Management Body.
NEC:	National Electoral Commission.
FEC:	Federal Electoral Commission.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This research aims to study the persistence of electoral fraud in Africa in a qualitative empirical study. In doing this, the thesis reviews Elite, Institutional and Rationalist theories and derives a hypothesis to be tested in a comparative study. For this purpose the thesis chooses to look at fraud in Presidential elections in Nigeria and Ghana between 2000 and 2012.

The following chapter provides the justification for the research and explains the content of the thesis in detail. The chapter is divided into seven sections; its purposes are to present the topic; explaining the research question; indicating the reasons of choosing the research question, providing an overview of the theoretical framework, giving general information about the method that is applied, elaborating on the limitations of the study and lastly stating the outline of the thesis.

1.1 Electoral Fraud and Democracy in Africa

For some decades now democracy and the electoral system in Africa, and particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, has taken several shapes, especially as almost all the nations of the world clamors for democracy as a sustainable means for development and protection of the fundamental human right of citizens. The democratic ideology postulated and encouraged by the Western and the industrialized nations instigated the necessity for most Sub-Sahara African nations to transfer their

accumulated colonial, military and autocratic pattern of government into the present democratic regime. In the process of this transformation, political elites were created and have dominated the structures of government. The presence of an elite group in a society is inevitable but the mannerism in which they function matters; this is because the elite can be seen as a force that can balance the system for all or as an exploitative tool. Importantly for the purpose of his study the elite is referred to as a small group of people within the society who controls the decision making mechanisms of the state and uses it for their own private interest against the collective interest of the masses.

Furthermore, elections into the various institutions of government has been surrounded by so many irregularities from electoral rigging to electoral violence where the will of the people is in no way expressed rather the wills and aspirations of the ruling class is one which is being promoted for their primitive and self-aggrandizement. The political leaders are willing to go any length to secure political offices, either buying their way up or through blood bath.

It is a truism that many African voters do not attach great promissory, content or psychological value to their votes. The votes are erroneously devalued making the mandate claimed by politicians dubious (Jega, and Ibeanu, 2007). Very often what is obtainable is, politicians giving frivolous and empty promises along with deposits of very little money to voters in order to get their votes. Regrettably the electorate knows that the money being given to them will only last for a very little time yet prefer to sacrifice their latent satisfaction for a very temporal satisfaction. Most worrisome is the elite or veto players still have direct control over the institutions of

government making it very easy for them to manipulate the system for their self-interest.

Most recently, few Sub-Saharan African countries, through strong support of the elite group has started showing their commitment to the democratic principles leading the way to their long walk toward a more free and fair electoral process where the ordinary citizens rights and vote is being respected and valued, a democracy where succession of political office moves from one party to another reflecting the will and desires of the populations, one among such nations in Sub-Saharan Africa is Ghana of which her democracy has become a shining light to other Sub-Sahara African nations especially to those within the ECOWAS. Africa is used generally in this study to mean the Sub-Saharan Africa nations. The clarity of their election has brought about reductions in corruption, and incorporated a speedily developmental trend. The Ghana experience has been applauded both locally and internationally especially with opposing opponent who lost the election asserting to the fairness of the elections. Despite the fact that Nigeria share almost same history and experience with Ghana like same colonial history, military dictatorship and others, the Nigeria elite has in little or no way shown any commitment to democratic principle as they prefer to perpetuate their inordinate means through corruption, electoral violence and others. For the first time in 1993 Nigerians tried to dislodge from the ethnic based politics where the people were deceived by the elite into believing what they want to pursue their personal idiosyncrasy leading to the victory of M. K. O. Abiola who even won his opponent in his home state (Monday, 2010). This was supposed to usher a new democratic era in Nigeria but was aborted because of the military elite's interest. They refused to relinquish the power because of the fear of creating a new

elite class within the system. Nigeria is still at a troublesome stage on her democratic journey. What is being experienced and practiced in Nigeria is a devalued and fading democratic system where different forms of electoral malpractices and fraud are very normal. The resultant effect of this is expressed in corruption, unemployment, poor infrastructure, educational system and so many others.

Again the Nigerian elite through the auspices of the People Democratic Party (PDP) transformed the military and autocratic regime into what appears like democracy in search of legitimacy. Despite the presence of democracy and periodic elections, the Nigerian elite still use crude and inordinate means to perpetuate themselves in office at the disadvantage of the general population. The PDP is seen more as an extension of the military and Kaduna which happen to be one of the greatest elite groups in Nigeria. Ever since Nigeria democratization PDP has used every available means to dislodge every opposition, keeping to power at all time. This is different from the case of Ghana where the elite has shown great desire and commitment to democratic principles. Interestingly therefore, democracy for this study adopts Van De Walle expression of Africa democracy as the emergence of illiberal democracy; despite the existence of multiparty politics, regular elections the exercise is often marked by abuses (Nicolas, 2001).

The abovementioned background includes many complex mechanisms and carries the potential of being the subject matter of many studies. The following sections scrutinize the abovementioned problems and systematize them into a research question and a research design for the purposes of this particular thesis.

1.2 Statement of Problem and the Research Question

How power is attained and kept is a fundamental political science problem. Similarly, who has the power to keep or change an electoral system with its procedures and norms is a major concern for political scientists. Therefore, citizen input and elite control has been foundational elements in many studies of electoral reform.

The electoral fraud perpetuated by the elites is of great concern since the elite has metamorphosed from the era where they hide under ethnicity to perpetuate their inordinate schemes where the people are being deceived into being ethnic biases to an era where the vote of the people no longer counts. This is done despite the democratic principle of one man one vote, the elite uses the instrument of the state to manipulates the system making the vote of the masses not to count. This thesis deals with this puzzle by narrowing down the scope and asking the following research question: What were the factors that lead to the high rate of electoral fraud in Nigeria's presidential elections between 2000 and 2012.

It could be argued that there are three types of methods used by political scientists to conduct research on electoral systems. The formal method, the large-N method and case study method. The formal method/theory such as those conducted by Benoit (2004) aims at generalization and uses quantitative methods of inference. The large-N method characterized by Lijphart (1994) also intends for generalization but does not necessarily rely on statistical inference. Finally, studies that aim at understanding the inner mechanisms that are harder to identify choose a smaller range of cases to provide an intensive analysis. This thesis relies on the third method a comparative

case study to understand the complex inner mechanisms of the political systems of Nigeria and Ghana.

In carrying out this comparative study, I will be scrutinizing carefully the various electoral reforms carried out both in Nigeria and Ghana to see the similarity as well as the point of departure to understand the research subject. Finally after a thorough discussion of the research question, some suggestions will be made as regard to solving the electoral decadence and malpractice in Nigeria.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

In course of this thesis; the institutional, rationalist and elite theory of democracy are reviewed to help answer the research question and test the proposed hypotheses specific to this thesis. The elite theory holds that in every society a minority of the population takes the majority of the decisions. These decisions taken affect a wider scope as well as the general aspect of life of members of the society. These decisions refer to as political decisions. The theory also hold that the minority which happens to be the elite manipulates the decisions and electoral rules to its end through different measures which include coercion of voters, bribery or the skilled use of propaganda in the selection of candidates. This is clearly visible in many African states especially in Nigeria where it is at its peak (McClelland, 1996:611-645; Parry, 1976:31-62; Alcazar, 2002:331-335; Roskin, Lord, Medeiros, and Jones:79-85).

On the other hand, institutional theory demands the need of strong institutions in order to save humankind from its own wrongdoing and uphold the rule of law. This refers to the legitimization of the institutions of the state through strong laws; structuralization of the institutions of the state as they determine the behavior of

individual. This theory presumes or predicts that with strong institutions like the electoral commission and others in Nigeria and Ghana, electoral fraud will be drastically reduced as the institutions will definitely act as impediments to electoral malpractice (Peter, 2005:2-11; Roskin, Lord, Medeiros, and Jones, 2010:59-61; Renwick, 2010:11-13).

Finally the rationalist theory holds that all action is fundamentally 'rational' in character and that people calculate the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do. Individuals are always ranking their alternatives and choose that which is most preferable to them. This is also true for political decision makers and those who are in power only want to make amendments to the status quo only when it is in their interest (Stephen, 2005:11-30, Feddersen 2004:99-110, Scott, 2000:1-15, Goode, 1997:23-30).

1.4 Hypotheses

The literature on general electoral reform and electoral fraud specifically in Sub-Saharan Africa was reviewed for the purposes of this study. This literature review has revealed three major theoretical schools of thought that could enlighten this study. These were summarized above and are later studied in detail in Chapter 2. The first school of thought that relies on treating political actors as rational actors purports that political decision makers only change existing structures if it is in their interest. The second school of thought called institutional theory claims that change is endogenous and relates to institutions. The third school of thought called elite theory states that change is even more difficult than proposed by rationalist school and states that the ruling elites run societies. For the purpose of this study the following hypotheses has been developed.

H1: The Military bureaucracy created a governing elite in Nigeria which is the major cause of the persistence of electoral fraud. (Testing Elite Theory)

H2: Those in power in Nigeria engage in altering the electoral system only when it suits their interests (Testing Rationalist theory)

H3: The absence of strong institutions in Nigeria leads to the high level of electoral fraud. (Testing Institutional Theory)

Since the second and the third hypotheses are theoretical opposites of each other only the second hypothesis will be taken into account. Therefore, this study will try to test whether elite theory or rationalist theory has more explanatory power.

1.5 Methodology

In order to answer the research question and test the theory guided hypotheses mentioned above, the qualitative method in line with the triangulation approach has been adopted. The study predominantly will be based on data derived from primary sources in the form of qualitative interviews. Interview with Nigerian and Ghanaian scholars, politicians and civil servants were conducted to understand factors that influence electoral fraud in Nigeria. Also questioned was why Ghana fared so well in their democratic elections. Finally reports of Freedom House, Transparency International and Afrobarometer between 2000 and 2012 will be used to measure democracy, electoral malpractices and the reasons for electoral frauds in Nigeria and Ghana.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

The research will be based on a comparative case study. This brings design limitation when compared to large-N studies. Inferences and generalization therefore will not be entirely possible. This thesis has been delimited to the presidential elections in Ghana and Nigeria from 2000 to 2012. It will also focus exclusively on the activities of the ruling elite on how it affects democracy and heightens electoral malpractices. This work will also look at the instrument the elites adopt to perpetuate themselves in power. However, the researcher was limited by the duration of the Master's program and by the financial resources available. Therefore, travel to different regions of Ghana and Nigeria was not a possibility and thus stand as a limitation of this study. The inability to conduct professional interview with all electoral commissioners and other high ranking policy makers in Ghana and Nigeria and shortage of finance and time to travel to Africa is the major limitation of this study.

1.7 Outline of the Thesis

Chapter one was an introductory chapter. It gave a general description of how the thesis is conceptualized and designed. It discussed the aim and objective of this master's thesis, the research question, the motivation, significance and the mode of data interpretation.

Chapter two gives an in-depth review of relevant literatures related to electoral fraud and democracy in Africa with a special focus on our case study Nigeria and Ghana. The conceptual and theoretical frame work was also covered in this chapter.

Chapter three will explain the research design and the different methodology adopted in the study and the reason why the methods were adopted for the purpose of this thesis.

Chapter four is the analysis chapter; it looks at the nature and pattern of democracy and electoral fraud in Nigeria by studying into the structure of the Electoral Commission, political parties and their manifesto as well as elite recruitment. More to this, the chapter also analyses data's gathered from Afrobarometer and elite interviews.

Chapter five presents the results and Chapter six presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW ON DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL FRAUD IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

This reviews the literature on democracy and electoral fraud in Africa with an aim to capture how existing models of research conceptualize the ‘democracy’ and ‘electoral fraud’ and how they propose a solution to eradicate the problem of fraud ‘n elections.

2.2 Democracy as a Preferable Means of Government

Democracy is an elusive concept when it comes to its definition and measurement as different scholars tend to explain it from their point of view (Davis, 1964). These days democracy is a much used word around the world as comparison is made between democratic nations and non-democratic nations. In an increasingly interdependent world, the dominant consensus is that democracy is the political answer to human predicament (Carew, 2006). However, it’s pitiable to note that most countries practicing democracy especially in Africa and other nations are still deeply rooted in autocracy in the name of democracy. As Dunn (2005) notes

Democracy has come to be our preferred name for the sole basis on which we accept either our belonging or our dependence. What the term means therefore is that the people hold power and exercise rule (Dunn, 2005:82).

Furthermore Joseph Schumpeter argued that electoral democracy as practiced in Western nations is the rule of the politicians. Davis, has also argued that democracy has over the years been an instrument in the hands of the ruling class to perpetuate

their inordinate schemes while they allows the people to just feel the imaginary glory of their vote counting. Again he defined democracy as "The democratic method or institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote" (Beaulieu & Hyde 2008:1530).

Furthermore Bollen, defined liberal democracy as the scope to which a political structure allows political liberties, freedom, human rights and democratic rule (Bollen, 1993). This mean that liberal democracy encourages political liberties in a way that the people of the state have the inalienable freedom and right without fear or intimidation to express a variety of ideas or a different set of political opinion and ideas in any media and the freedom to form and actively participate in any political group of their will. Another key variables associated with liberal democracy is participation and competition, but competition under favorable and equal conditions. The connotation of political participation I have mentioned earlier is a general voter turnout but by de facto we can't say that higher turnout directly reflects democratic rules but practicably we can say higher level of voters turn out means higher level of liberal democracy. Put differently, Max Weber opinion that the concept democracy can only impede individual subordination to the collective structure of modern life; again He identifies "democracy as a narrow enclave of social life" (Prager, 1981:935). In contract to Max Weber, Emile Durkheim famous sociologists sees democracy, as a political system which can promote the prosperous of the individual personality. Democracy is an ever evolving political energy that can produce a society of free individuals who are morally regulated through the state. It strengthens

and promotes the ability of individuals to exert its influence throughout the society; finally he believes that democracy influencing all social spheres (Prager, 1981).

Furthermore, in Nzongola-Ntalaja, analysis of democracy, he explains democracy as a continuous process of promoting equal access to fundamental rights. According to him democracy cannot be negotiated as a new bargain of developing nations, rather, it has to be richer than the liberal model and should be capable of leading to a development strategy that is homogeneous, people centered and oriented toward eradicating poverty. (2004:14). More to that Claude Ake, also argues that real democratic culture that can bring about development in Africa is one that is sustained by economic and political structure of development which is anchored on the decentralization of power, and based on the absolute reliance on indigenous communities to provide some refuge from centralized state (Ake cited in Baker, 1995). Furthermore, Lijphart, believes that a prerequisite for durable democracy rests on the ability of elites in plural societies to co-operate and achieve some homogeneity and political consensus. He highlighted that by doing this the centrifugal tendencies inherent in plural societies are mitigated and counteracted (Lijphart 1977).

2.3 The Role of Elections in Democracy

Elections are cardinal instrument through which the power of deciding the leadership of a state is being transferred to the ordinary citizens. To a reasonable extend the level of elections and an electoral practice has a way of shaping the fate of the modern nation state. This is because Elections provide the medium for the aggregation of the variant interest group within the modern nation state and how they can be able to resolve their assertions to power through peaceful and friendly means.

Furthermore Elections also determines the means in which changes occur in the society. Elections are complex set of activities which is composed of different variables that act and depends on one another. More to this it can be seen as a “formal act of collective decision that occurs in a stream of connected antecedent and subsequent behavior. It also encompasses the participation of the people in the act of electing their leaders and their own participation in governance” (Iyayi, 2004). Elections are far beyond what happens on the election dates alone although it constitutes an important segment; it involves activities before and after elections. It also includes the legal and constitutional framework of elections that is; the registration of political parties, party campaigns, campaign financing, printing of ballot papers or the use of electronic voting machines, voters register and many others.

Again elections are also the means through which democracy is been entrenched; one can authoritatively say no election, no democracy and vice versa; it is also a tool for continual succession of government. If all these about election are anything to go by; then elections play a vanguard role in democracy and the general peace and stability of a nation. For this purpose proper measures need to be put in place to make sure that election is carried out in appropriate ways for the benefit of all. Elections in emerging democracies and post conflict societies have a great potential to plague a country back into violent conflict and in turn discredit democratization. Elections are not only tool of democratic participation but also a fierce contest for leadership, power and resources.

Interestingly, therefore, there have been occurrences of very difficult elections in late 2009 and early 2010 in countries like Afghanistan, Sudan, Burundi, Guinea-Bissau

and Guinea, Rwanda, Central African Republic, Chad, Niger, Nigeria, Zimbabwe just to mention a few (Kuhne, 2010). It has been popularly accepted that elections if void of rancor, fraud and violence can play a significant role in stabilizing and entrenching democracy if properly handled. It is on this note that this master's thesis is strongly advocating for a free election in other for democracy to be entrenched in Nigeria.

2.4 Electoral Fraud in Africa

Electoral fraud is the means through which elections are being manipulated through means that is against the standard stated by law for its practice. It is an illegal interference with the process of an election. It is self-evident that electoral fraud has become an integral part of electoral competition among contemporary Africa nations in their bid to establish democracy for their self-profiting. A free and fair election is the basic characteristic of any democratic nation as it is the base on which other features of democracy stand. Free and fair election is one of the major antidotes to a corrupt free and a more transparent society where the fundamental human rights of the people are respected. There are different strategies through which electoral fraud is being carried out. Glaeser and Schleifer show how an incumbent can engage in redistributive politics in order to swear the interest of the citizens. This is expressed by government increasing public expenditure or change in their consumption toward more viable means that is people centered, this is often done when elections is very close in order to win and persuade the minds of the ordinary citizens to favor them (Vorobyey, 2008).

This is always the case in Nigeria where most of the public institutions like the National Electricity Power Authority and other most basic facilities start functioning

to a relative capacity to convince the people that the government is working. Inversely, Simpser, in his study of electoral fraud, explained that electoral fraud is dynamic and not static in their settings. He pointed out that rigged elections are often associated with a very high victory margin (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2005). This is achieved by the incumbent pumping a lot of money into the system. They also involve the intimidation politics by deterring future opposition coordination and turnout, and in turn create in the mind of the opposition that the election will be corrupt and thus prevent their turn out.

Furthermore, a great Ghanaian novelists Ayi kwei Armah wrote Violence and bloodletting are what characterize the Africa elections.(Tadius News, 2009). The sequence of news-making events which range from the illegal maneuvering of incumbent presidents to dodgy vote counting at their favour which is most often expressed in massacres, and riot, has become so predictable that the electoral cycle now resembles a religious ritual climaxing in the sacrifice of human lives (Tadius News, 2009). He went further to list out some African countries whose elections have over the year turn into blood bath and death dance as Zimbabwe, Kenya, Nigeria, Togo, Ethiopia, Cote d'Ivoire, Congo, Guinea and others political institutions. Furthermore he argued that both the public and civil society, are great instruments through which elections are being rigged in Nigeria. These institutions are at the back and call of the ruling class making them do only what the elite wants at the detriment of the citizens and democracy. In the case of Nigeria, the independent National Electoral commission was an accomplice in masterminding electoral fraud across the country. This was mostly exacerbated during the 2007 presidential election which was marked as one of the worst election in the history of

Nigeria. In many cases elections results were written even before the elections were conducted and as such negated the results gotten at the polls (Okafor, 2008). The Human Rights Watch also reported the 2007 election as one that did not guarantee the citizen's basic rights to vote freely, the Nigerian government and electoral officials actually got involved in fraud and violence.

It is regrettably, therefore, to note that what appears to be the current norm in Sub Sahara African democratic era is that the incumbent government holds election and invites international observers but in many cases the ruling government still has no intention of transferring power to the opposition party (Beaulieu, & Hyde, 2008; Davis, L. (1964). The political elites in Nigeria, especially Governors, have been employing the carrot and the stick in a strategic exercise of power. They engage in policies that will continually keep them in power even after they might have left office and as such they hire thugs and intimidate opponents and dissenting members of the public. Most worrisome is the way elected official use state funds to build little armies of cohesion, using it to blackmail and to force the obedience and conformity of anyone who poses threats against them (Ochonu, 2004).

As a result of these democratic challenges Citizens live in constant fear and are forced to dance to the tune of the elites not because they like it but it is the only means of survival. Nigerian democracy as built by the elite was a product of Nigeria's tumultuous politics. It has its root in the colonial education and socio-political system. The elite values did not reflect the Nigerian background. When it became obvious that independence was close, they mobilized ethnicity to canvass for the support for their assertion of power. This laid the foundation for the polarization of ethnicity and intense rivalry that is associated with her democracy (Obi, 2004). In

the case of Ghana, the constitution emphasizes decentralization as the key means to making democracy a reality (Crawford, 2009).

Decentralization is seen as a vehicle through which the government can have access to the local people and in turn increase political participation and more accountable and responsive local government. Ghana is seen as a democratic model for the rest of the African Nations (Kuhne, 2010). Another sharp exemplary democracy in Africa is that of Botswana; in President Clinton's speech about the new Africa dream. He observed that; it is deeply rooted in the soil of Botswana as they have been an inspiration to all who cherish freedom as he showered praise on the economic leadership of the state (Good, 2002) Again Nelson Mandela added his great prestige to praise the manner in which the people of Botswana have combined the modern form of democracy with the long-held tradition of indigenous democracy, this he said is the current rebirth of the continent democracy (Crawford, 2009).

The Sub Saharan African democracy has been in its comatose state as a result of the lack of accountability of the elite. This reflects mostly because of the largely inactive citizens' mass participation in government over the years and as a result, the elite class has grown very strong establishing its tentacle everywhere in the government thereby making it very difficult for the increasingly conscious mass to get accountability from the ruling class. The typical Sub Saharan 'African' trusted the elites believing that democracy and leadership was something full of technicality and as such needed to be entrusted into the hands of reliable people who will handle it with care using the vast knowledge they have acquired through education, since a very large majority of the then Nigerian population lacked education. Accountability is enforced in democracy during elections by voting out those who underperformed

unfortunately, the reverse has been the case of most Sub-Sahara African states including Nigeria as it has become almost impossible to throw out a non-performer or the deviants due to the use of ‘power of incumbency’ the incumbent uses all available means to entrench himself. Professor Osakwe described the political system in Nigeria as a “new political process of selection and name writing” (Osakwe, 2011) this is expressed in situations where election results are known before time and the actual voting pattern not correlating with the final scores in the outcome of the new found political ingenuity.

Until recently it has always been observed that despite the very many elections in Sub-Sahara Africa, not one brought about a change in government. The 2000 and other elections of Ghana shows a total shift from the pattern as the ruling party lose the election to the opposition party (Lumumba-kasongo, 2005). The 2000 Ghana election and the subsequent transparent and smooth handover of the baton of governance from J.J. Rawlings as two tenure president to J.A. Kufor of the opposition party without any violence was a rare phenomenon in African democracy and politics and this was the beginning of history in Ghana where the vote of the people mattered (Crawford, 2009). In a speech by the Foreign Office Minister, Mark “Simmonds, he stated that democracy in Ghana has come to stay especially with the 6 successful elections ever since the military handed over power in 1992. They have learnt from their past mistakes, strengthen their institutions and have come to become a beacon of democracy in the Africa region. This success he attributed to the civil society, Ghanaians and political parties for the peaceful environment within which elections are held. Despite the challenges associated with the Sub-Sahara Africa nation, it has become clearly evident that few countries like Ghana, Cape Verde,

Botswana, and a few others are quickly metamorphosing into a more liberal democracy where the votes of the ordinary people matters, regrettably many other African nations are still far from true and liberal democracy. As I have mentioned above, in as much as some scholars view the concept 'democracy' as an imaginary one where the perfection of it only exists in the world of forms, other nations of the world like Switzerland, Denmark and others are very close to the model and within the African continent although Ghana still appears very far from the ideal democracy but is on a perpetual move in the actualization of true democracy and as such other Sub-Saharan Africa nations especially Nigeria should learn from their part in order to achieve the results that they have achieved over the years.

An interesting insight was brought into the composition and study of democracy and electoral fraud from the study of Nicolas Van De Walle who expressed in his article, he referred Africa democracy as the emergence of illiberal democracy (Nicolas, 2001). Despite the existence of multiparty politics; regular elections the exercise of democracy; the democratic scene is often marked by abuses. Political freedoms and civil rights may be formally recognized but imperfectly observed in practice. He also observed that the notion that African elections institute meaningful political exercise providing citizens with real choice over the sharing of power and resources as the fallacy of electoralism. From his research of African multi-party system from 1990 to 1998 he observed that only countries like Botswana, Cape Verde, Malawi, Mali, Namibia, Sao Tome and Principe experienced a free and fair election whereas notably among the Nigeria and Ghana which happens to be our case study within this period was categorized under partly free election whereas countries like Cameroon, Chad, Congo, Togo, Niger and others were categorized as not free (Manning, 2005).

2.5 The Politics of Electoral Reform

Election lies at the heart of every modern democracy as they are the instrument through which citizens engage in the political decision process of their state. An election determines who will govern and for what specific number of years as enshrine in the constitution. Based on the importance of elections in any democratic state; the study of its rules and regulations is of primary importance as well as who makes these rules and how they are being changed over time.

Electoral laws comprises colossally many elements, including who has the right to vote or run for office, how voters are registered, who conducts elections and following what procedures, how are campaigns financed, how do people vote, what preference votes can express and how votes are translated to seats. Broadly there are two main types of electoral systems. The plurality or majority system and the proportional electoral system, the plurality system is one which candidates who gains the height number of votes in a voting districts wins the seat or seats available while other candidates wins nothing. The winner takes it all approach example of countries practicing this includes USA, United Kingdom, Nigeria, Ghana etc. The proportional system is categorized by the seats available are divided among parties or candidates in proportional to the number of votes they win. However not all case fit into this two broad category examples of countries that practices this includes Australia, Netherlands, Spanish electoral system.

Alan Renwick in his book the Politics of Electoral Reform out line 3 questions that demands absolute attention (Renwick, 2010).

1. Who has the power to choose electoral system?

- a. To what extent do politicians control the decision process?
 - b. To what extent are they constrained or can they be entirely displaced by others like citizens, judges, experts among many others?
2. What interest or values do these chosen serve?
- a. If politicians are in control do they serve their narrow self-interest or can they be motivated by a broader value?
 - b. If the citizens are involved; are they focusing on the wider good of the polity? What values matter and which of these values determines their roles?
3. What electoral reform is likely to take place?
- a. How often is reform likely to occur in general
 - b. Can we predict its incidents?

In response to the above mentioned questions he outlined two theoretical perspectives of analyzing electoral reforms. The first one is the power maximization perspective as specified by Benoit (2004). This perspective assumes that politicians control the electoral system and are motivated to maximize power to their interest. While the second perspective was developed by Shugart 2001, this perspective allows for a wider range of actors participation in the electoral process, including both the ordinary citizens as well as politicians. They see electoral reform as the product of a mix inherent contingent factor (Renwick, 2010). Nevertheless the author pointed out that there are times where political system as a whole is threatened by inter-group violence or secession and in response to that the politicians may place the stability of the state above their own self-aggrandizement. It is the opinion of the

writer that what happens most often in Sub-Sahara African nations where democratic principles is not fully entrenched as well as lack of citizens participation and consciousness of the electoral process due to the low level of education makes it easy for elite's manipulation of the electoral process to their primitive advantage while the masses suffer from their actions.

Put differently politicians do not always retain control of the electoral reform process as they lose their power to the citizens and others actors within the society like judges, experts and external actors.

Conclusively the major actors according to the author are the politicians and citizens. These include political leaders, elected officers, interest groups and others. The politicians or what I choose to call the political elites wants to maintain the status quo thereby continually perpetuating themselves in power. It is also of primer importance for us to understand that for all the actors mentioned above that influences the electoral processes has their own values and interests and it is these values and interest that fuels their actions and the possible outcomes. Even in situation where there is elite and mass interaction one needs to really consider the interest behind the mass interaction, if few individuals are manipulating the masses to achieve their own self-interest or for the benefit of the entire masses.

Furthermore Professor Ayittey, opinion that Reforms is anathema to the ruling Elites in Africa; "..., ask them to seek foreign investment and they will seek a foreign country to invest their loot, ask them to combat corruption and they will set up Anti-corruption Commission with no teeth, no power to persecute offenders (Ayittey, 2011). Most often they become tool for combating those that opposes the

government. In situations where they choose to do their jobs and go after “fat cats” they will be threatened and even sacked, cases like (John Githongo fled Kenya in 2005, Mallam Nuhu Ribadu of Nigeria in 2006 was sent to further studies, Thabo Mbeki shut down the “scorpions”-an effective anti-corruption unit in 2006, Zambia shut it down in 2008) further more ask them to establish democratic pluralism and they will create surrogate parties, appoint their own Electoral Commissioners. He concluded that reforms have become a charade-stalled through vexatious chicanery, willful deception and Vaunted Acrobatics” (Ayittey, 2011).

2.6 Conceptualization

2.6.1 Democracy

The concept democracy does not have a generalized perspective when it comes to its definition and measurement as different scholar’s defined it from different point of view. There are also different variations to what democracy means. We have the liberal democracy, electoral democracy, populist democracy, participatory democracy, deliberative democracy, illiberal democracy and others. In a broad sense democracy can mean a system of government with four key elements.

- 1 A political system for choosing and replacing the government through a free and fair election.
- 2 The active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life.
- 3 Protection of the human rights of all citizens.
- 4 A rule of law, in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens.

Democracy is also a system of government which is based on the consent of the governed. People are sovereign and are the highest form of political authority in democracy. Power flows from the people to the leaders of government. The rights of the minorities are also protected constitutionally and in practice. The people are free to criticize their leaders and representatives.

Under democracy every citizen has certain rights that the state cannot take away from them. These rights are also guaranteed by laws, right to personal belief system, say and write what one thinks, freedom of religion and others. The rules in democracy protect the rights of all citizens, maintain order and limit the power of government.

2.6.2 Electoral democracy

Electoral democracy is a system of government where the people (citizens of the state) have equal political rights to choose their political leaders and replace them in a regular, free and fair election. It is pitiable that most countries within the Sub-Saharan Africa are yet to become an electoral democracy as the elections are massively rigged, violating the fundamental principles of democracy.

While considering the case of Nigeria which is our experiment case, the literatures reviewed shows that the principles of one man one vote is a mirage, the votes of the masses are yet to count within the society. The 1999, 2003, 2007 and even the recent 2011 elections of Nigeria were wildly criticized by local and international observers as they did not qualify to be categorized under an electoral democracy. The above mentioned elections were filled with vote buying, intimidation, snatching of ballot boxes and different degrees of electoral violence and blood bath.

2.6.3 Illiberal Democracy

The word illiberal democracy was formulated by Nicolas Van De Walle who referred Africa democracy as the emergence of illiberal democracy. He opinion that despite the existence of multiparty politics and regular elections the exercise of democracy has been marked by abuses. Political freedoms and civil liberties may be formally recognized but imperfectly observed in practice. Despite the fact that Nigeria is being referred as a democratic state, the various actors within the state are yet to formally adopt the principles of democracy, playing by the rules of the game. In line with this it would be illusive to refer Nigeria as a democracy. The democracy practiced in Nigeria is far from the 4 pillars of democracy mentioned below.

- 1 A political system for choosing and replacing the government through a free and fair election.
- 2 The active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life.
- 3 Protection of the human rights of all citizens.
- 4 A rule of law, in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens.

The system of choosing and replacing the government is not done through a free and fair process, there is very poor participation of the citizens in politics as the civic life of the citizens is still very much poor. Furthermore the human rights as well as the rule of law are poorly implemented as there still exist a wild gap between the rich and the poor. This among many other reasons is why Nigeria democracy is seen as an illiberal democracy instead of democracy. Having the form of democracy but deny it principles in practice.

2.7 Theories of Democracy

2.7.1 Rationalist Theory

Rationalist theory is rooted in economics with a strong empirical tradition of sociology. Although political scientists have tried to build theories around the idea that all actions are fundamentally rational in nature, people estimate the possible cost and benefit of any actions before going into it.

Downs (1957) seminal work on rationalist theory provides five conditions that must be met for any individual to be regarded as rational:

- 1 “Individuals can always make decisions when confronted with a range of alternatives. They can choose between different variables on what they want. The mind of individuals is not fixed, not knowing what they want.
- 2 All individuals can rank all alternatives confronting them so that each is either preferred to, indifferent to, or inferior to each other.
- 3 Preference is tentative.
- 4 Individual will always choose from among possible alternatives the one ranked higher in their preferred ordering
- 5 Individual always make same decision when confronted with same issue or alternatives” (Stephen, 2005:29-30).

The rational choice theory also assumes that citizen's political test is fixed; a fixed conception of the good society or state and as such parties attempting to secure offices cannot be able to influence voter's conception of the good. The individual is the prime focus in the rational theory. Thomas Hobbes argues that human behaviors are shaped by reward and punishment. People do things that only lead to reward and avoid the thing that leads to punishment. Again human beings is motivated by a lot of factors, love, money, respect and the individual consciousness and intelligence enters the picture only in so far as it makes possible these symbolic rewards (Scott, 2000:6; Feddersen, 2004 and Stephen, 2005).

2.7.2 Institutional Theory

Institutions play a significant role in the state as they are the medium through which changes are being brought into the society. It is pertinent therefore that institution within the state should be strengthened in order to check and control the excesses of individual within the state.

Institutional theory came as a reaction to the behavioral and rational choice theory which places much emphasis on the individual to act autonomously through rational calculation of their personal utility. In either of the above mentioned theories individuals were not curtailed by any formal or informal institutions but free to express. Against this view the institutional theory argues that man is not just regulated by his emotions but by the institutions as they shape the character and actions of man. Political institutions are working structures of government such as legislature, executive and others. They are strong to the extent at which the citizens are willing to respect, value and obey the rules and regulations. Institutions solidify authority; over time people look up to political institutions to solve problems, decide

controversies and set directions. Institutions are bigger than individual leaders. Poor institutions brings about a weak state where the state is not able to control the activities as well as command the respect of her citizens but strong institutions bring about a stable and strong state where rules and regulations are obeyed and respected by all (Roskin, Lord, Medeiros, and Jones, 2010:59-61).

B. Guy Peters in his book *Institutional Theory in Political Science* categorized the institutional theory into the old and the new. The old institutionalism is highly depended on law and its central role. Thomas Hobbs argued that strong institutions are necessary to save human kind from its own worst instinct. Such institutions stand on the agreeable laws of the land upon which the institutions are constituted. The old institutional approach also stress on the importance of structures as they determine behaviors of individual within the society that is if one can understand the structure of an institutions then he or she can easily predict the behavior of individual within the institution. Finally they compare the whole system rather than the individual institution within the system as all parts needs to fit together in orders to make the system comprehensible. The new approach of institutional theory was initiated by James March and Johan Olsen who named the movement in 1984. They did not argue for a complete annihilation of the old approach but they felt the need to reassert some of the features of the old status quo. They argued that the behavioral and rational choice approaches were characterized by contextualism, reductionism, utilitarianism, functionalism and instrumentalism. Again they argue that decision making is prospective and we cannot know what will be in our interest in the future and as such it is more rational for man to rely on well settled institutions when making decisions than to rely solely on maximizing individual well-being. The new

approach rejects the notion that the individual is rational-actor, and focuses its interest in institutions as independent variables, a turn toward rational and cultural explanations and an interest in properties of supra-individual units of analysis that cannot be reduced to collections or direct harmony of individuals attribute and motives. See also in (Dimaggio & Powell 1991; Selznic, 1996).

Jeffrey T. Checkel, also looked at institutional theory from the historical and sociological lens. From the historical perspective; institutions only gets thicker and stronger whereas In a short term perspective they are thin structuring the system and approach of politics by making incentives available for instrumentally motivated actors to re-strategize. However over a long period of time institutions tend to have a strong effect on actors as privatized strategies and reasons get locked into and institutionalized in politics as a result of institutions. The sociological approach to institutions views institutions as unabashedly strong both in the distance and near future. They constitute actors and their interest. Again they provide agents with understanding of their interest and personalities. This happens through the deep interaction between agents and structures (Checkel, 2006)

Rationalist scholars argues that, institutions are thin and mostly constrain the behavior of self-interested actors, either interest groups or unit states. They see institutions as structures that actors run into, and go ouch and recalculate how to best achieve their objectives. This is mostly expressed in weak democracies especially in Africa where Head of State and other Elites within the system see the institutions of the state as protective mechanism against their excesses. Finally the historical perspective of institution is a valid claim as institution grows and becomes strong after a period of time.

2.7.3 Elitist Theory

In this theory the elite tends to use their positions to pursue their self-aggrandizement and continually perpetuate themselves in power through inordinate means. The elite constitute a minority of the ruling class, sometimes invisible hands which control, and carve the life of the ordinary man for their self-interest.

This theory is attributed to the works of Parato in his book 'the treaty of general sociology, Mosca's ruling class, Michel's political party and Wright Mill's the power class. The core ideology behind this theory is that in every society a small population of the people takes the core decisions in the society that affects the lives and wellbeing of every one. These decisions are called political positions. The minorities called the elites manipulate the electoral system through a wild range of actions from sheer coercion of voters through bribery, intimidation or the skilled use of propaganda in the selection of candidates. Over the years different mechanism has been put in place to check the activities of elites, that is mechanism that ensures accountability of the leaders holding public positions, majority will imposition which will prevent the elites from imposing its supremacy over the rest of the society yet not much significant result has been achieved. Because of their huge power, influence, organizational and political skills, the members of the Elite class are always potentially capable of exploring their positions so as to preserve the elite domination. Their cohesiveness is also seen as their major strength.

According to Gaetana, Mosca, two classes of people appears the ruling and ruled class. The class that rules is less in number and they perform all political and state functions, they also monopolize the state power and enjoy the advantage that power carries. The class that is ruled is large in number and is manipulated and controlled

by the first in a manner that appears legal. Again the opinion party leader exist behind the scene, having no constitutional or legal standing. In no way accountable to the electorate but are the main engine that drives the system. Furthermore the political representatives are mere tool of the boss (Parry, 1976:36-38).

Parato elite are seen to be much wider and comprehensive than the political boss presented by Mosca and Miches. He looks at the elite from the sociological lens. To him the elite recruitment is not a product of economic force nor as building their domination on their organizational ability but as the outcome of what he believes to be human attributes contested through history. He made an illustration awarding every human being a mark from 0 to 10. Those of high mark he calls the elite while those with the least mark he calls the masses. The award of mark is measured by display of achievements. Again he opinion that those the reach the height of their positions and are member of the elites are not always the best but assume such position by virtue of some factors like birth, wealth, corruption and others. He also sees the history of every hitherto of every society as the history of the relations between its elites and its non-elites and the psychological make-up of the elite (Parry 1976; McClelland, 1996:611-645; Roskin, Lord, Medeiros, and Jones:79-85).

Burnham viewed the elite from the economic perspective. He postulates that politics is always a matter of struggle between groups for power and status and that in all societies a small group will inevitably control ultimate decision making. Social changes occurs as a result of a shift in the composition of the elite. Older elites are always replaced by new ones. The group in control will prevent others from gaining access to the means of production (Parry, 1976:50). Differently, Wright Mills opinion that power in modern society is institutionalized. Certain institutions occupy

pivotal position in the society and the uppermost rank of the hierarchy in these institutions constitute the strategic command post of the social structure. The elites thus composed of those who hold position in the strategic hierarchy (Parry, 1976:52).

2.8 Elite Recruitment in Nigeria

Political elites are small groups of people who control the political environment of a nation. Most often they are one of the smallest populations of the society but hold the machinery of government as well as commensurate wealth. Political elite recruitment in Nigeria has taken several structures from its colonial regime to the post-colonial era, interestingly therefore there has not been any visible systematic transformation of the elite outlook in Nigeria. In a political system, the level of political socialization and the nature of recruiting political elite's base on political culture serve as a functional regulatory mechanism for system survival. A system where political elites are selected based on a well-defined political culture is referred to as a true electoral democratic system.

Scholars have opined that, the inconsistency in the political ideology and culture of the Nigerians has led to the domination of the Nigeria democracy by retired military officers in the state either directly or indirectly. In line with this view, Omodia, is also of the opinion that the political socialization of Nigeria, especially the long years of military dictatorship has shaped political elite recruitment system in Nigeria's 4th Republic. The colonial Nigeria was one in which the political elite recruitment was done on regional and ethnic based, as even political parties were also built on that premises (Omodia, 2010). The significant was not obvious as the overall objective was a collective independence. The first republic followed the same line with ethnic based politics; ethnic sentiments, rigging and other political ills were adopted for winning elections from 1963-1966 (Omodia, 2010).

The Second Republic was also not farfetched from the normal ethnic based politics but for the first time made an attempt at having a broad base elite which cut across all the regions. The Nigeria People's Party (NPP) had such composition whereas the Great Nigeria Peoples Party (GNPP) and People Redemptive Party (PRP) unlike the NPP were ethnic based. (1979-1983). The Third Republic for the first time showed a glimmer of hope of a true electoral democracy where political elites will not be based on ethnic sentiments but on personal idiosyncrasy and ideologies. This was a situation where the purported winner defeated his opponent in his own town in Kano state. This system was aborted by the military that refused to hand over power to the democratically elected president.

The Fourth Republic is quite different from the others, political elites recruitment under this era was not based on the ethnic line where the masses are deceitfully carried along with ethnic sentiment. Under this era political recruitment is anchored on class conditions. The era is dominated by the bourgeois military classes which dominate intra-party and inter-party politics. Again votes does not count under this regime as the defining factor for political recruitment as they use inordinate means to assume political offices.

2.8.1 Theoretical Perspective in Explaining Nigeria Political Recruitment

Structural Functionalism Theory by Gabriel Almond is anchored on two basic concept; structure and function. The structure is the systematic arrangement within the system which performs the function which is diffused. Function is the objective consequences emanating from the working of the system. Offiong, (1994) and Olanyi, (1997) sub divided Almond seven functional variables into the input and output functions.

Input functions:

- Political socialization and recruitment
- Interest Articulation: process through which demands are injected into the system
- Interest Aggregation: The formulation of policies which is all encompassing.
- Political communication: transmission of information from one means to another.

The output functions include:

- Rule Making
- Rule Application
- Rule Adjudication

Put differently the Liberal Pluralist theory believes that transformation in the elite power structure depends on periodic renewals, i.e. the entrance of new persons and ideas as regimes and resources change. They argue that a change is likely to happen over time. Whereas the Critical elite perspective emphasize elite power concentration and cohesiveness, leading to resistance to change and limited openness and inclusiveness. It is noticeable that the pattern of political elite recruitment is exclusive of the input of the masses with the recycling of the political actors.

Again when new political actors are created they are simply representing the interest of the political elite who planted them there. This refers back to the relationship of the historically entrenched values and interest that denies the opportunity of new members into the group; where recruitment was based on reproduction rather than

circulation. Reproduction entails dominating the political scene with individuals from a common background and social network. The various political parties which is constituted with the function of recruiting political actors in democracy with a well-defined function and structure that is rooted has failed in their responsibility in Nigeria's case. Instead of them being platforms for political socialization, education of members and maintenance of internal democracy as well as supervise the actions and in actions of the Independent Electoral Body they were either rooted in ethnicity or in the primitive accumulation of votes through inordinate means.

2.8.2 Brief Statistics of Elite Recruitment in the 4th Republic

Kifordu, in his research showed the statistics of the composition of elites in Nigeria in the fourth republic by looking into the age bracket, occupation as well as regional basis. Below are the statistical results of his investigation.

- Composition based on age: 35% were between 51-60, 21% were from 60 and above, 18% from 31-40, 8% were from 31-40, while 18% was unknown.
- Political recruitment base on male and female:
- 94.3% male while 5.7% were female.
- Based on occupation:
- 19.7% were technocrats, 18.4% were university teachers, 17.5% were military officers, 13.1% were business ben (just to mention the important ones).
- Based on ethnicity:
- 42% were from the north, 37% were from the west, 9.9% were from the east, 5.5% were from the mid-west while 15.6 unknown. (Kifordu, 2011).

From the different theoretical perspectives we can deduced that the liberal populist theory which holds that change will likely to come into the system through periodic renewal of the political elite and with time does not hold or is yet to materialize in Nigeria as despite the long period of time and periodic democratic renewal of the fourth republic no change has occurred in the political elite recruitment. Again the structural functional approach explains the political recruitment of Nigeria where there is no communication as well as the input of the masses in the selection of the political elites. Finally the critical elite theory explains the continual reproduction of the elites within the system and at same time making it difficult for new actors to get access to the system.

2.9 Elite Renewal and Structure

Mariano Baena Del Alcazar summarizes the activities of the political bureaucratic and economist elite government of the 1990's. He gathered data of the persons that held positions within 1939-1992 in Spain. He was also very careful not to restrict his study to just the composition or the representatives of the governing groups rather he also study into the plurality of the elites (Alcazar, 2002).

A total of over 25,000 population sample was considered for an empirical research, the population was specifically collected over a period of 50 years and it spans through 3 political transactions in Spain each with its own unique characteristics. The first period was from 1939 to 1975 which is referred to as the General Franco's political dictatorship. The second phase is between 1975-1982, whereas the third is between 1982 to 1992. The elites under consideration spans from those under the dictatorial regime to those under the political transaction and finally those under the

socialist era. Each of these eras had different institutional, political and economic characteristics that is uniquely theirs.

The first period which is referred as the Franco regime experienced an era where the state was impoverished because of the Second World War. In response to this the state foster a public driven economy where most of the industries were owned by the state making the state the dominant actor in the decision process of the state which is the sole prerogative of the dictator and members of the ruling party. Within the second era after the death of the dictator and sequel to the changes in the international organizations as well as the treaty entered into with the United States of America brought about a huge in flock of resources, both foreign and direct investment. This lead to the gradual but steady development of the state where the economy became more viable leading the way for a democratic era while the third transaction period started the first 10 years of the socialist party government. The period was also characterized with great changes both in the democratic and peaceful rotation of powers between the different political parties.

His research and data collected confirms his assertion that the elites circulate. He was able to gather based on a figure of 9981 individuals forming the political elite, the people who were members of the elite class during the Franco regime were 3337 which is about 37.4% continued in power to the next administration. Again of the 11761 who formed the elite during the democratic transition 2821 which is 19.4% were still members of the socialist government (Alcazar, 2002:333). He further states that what is referred to as circulation of elite is renewal of the elite. He claims that renewal happens when new people replace the old ones; maintenance on the other

hand refers to people or elites maintaining their positions more to that, there is possibility during renewal for elite to climb a bigger position or reduced.

Secondly from his research he was able to prove that each political regime created its own network of associations resulting to different types of networks, even if all of them had certain factors in common. Thirdly, the networks of associations in the different regimes were completely different from those of other periods. Each of the period studied maintained part of the networks of associations from the proceeding era and a large portion of the network was retained during three political periods (Alcazar, 2002 :334-337).

Conclusively, he believes that there exists a variety of people described as elites, who exercise the powers of the states and are drawn from different social groups. Their plurality notwithstanding their number is always very small; their power contradicts the social myths about the political equality of people. Again the elites pose no threat to democracy and its existence is perfectly compatible with the renewal of the society leaders through elections. I share a lot of sentiments about the possible circulation of the elite as postulated by Alcazar but I believe that this is not always obtainable especially in Sub-Sahara Africa where there is little or no renewal of the political elite rather what happens is maintenance of the elite class cases like Paul Biya of Cameroon who has been on the stage for over 30 years from 1982 to date. He has systematically undermined both the legal and political institutions to perpetuate his own rule. In 1996 his government amended the country constitution and extended the presidential terms from 5 years to 7 years and allow the president to appoint one third of the senate. Against the provision of the constitution he appoints all judges and officials of the court. The case of Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe is another

clear indication (Maddy-Weitzman, 2008). Again three of the ten longest serving leaders have fallen this year – Ben Ali of Tunisia ruled for 23 years, Hosni Mubarak of Egypt ruled for 30 years and the longest, Muammar Gaddafi of Libya ruled for 42 years – all gone in the last years. Teodoro Obiang Nguema of Equatorial Guinea (32), Jose Santos of Angola (32), Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe (31), Paul Biya of Cameroon (29) and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda (25), King Mswati III of Swaziland (24), Blaise Campore of Burkina Fasso (24) (Esipisu, 2011). All these African leaders had maintained significant member of their elite class from one administration to another. More to that he also concluded that elites are not a threat to democracy as its existence is perfectly compatible with the renewal of the society leaders through elections.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines different methodological schools of thought that is used in this thesis. The chapter is divided into different sections; the first discusses the research design of this study along with other alternative designs available. The second section is concerned with how data is collected while the last section explains how the data collected will be analyzed.

3.2 Research Design

There are many Research design alternatives available for social sciences research. The best design is usually the one that makes the researcher answer the research question at hand in a reliable and valid way. Therefore, the design employed in this research should enable the finding of an answer to the research question which is empirical in nature. Empirical questions could be answered by qualitative or quantitative research designs.

3.2.1 Quantitative Research Design Method

This research method is about collecting numerical data to explain a particular phenomenon (Bryman, 2004). Moreover, it emphasizes on objective measurements and numerical analysis of data that is collected through methods such as questionnaires, surveys and content analysis. The core goal in quantitative research is to determine the relationship between one thing (an independent variable) and another (dependent variable) in a population. Quantitative research is also an attempt

to maximize objectivity, reliability and generality of findings, and is typically interested in predictions. What is integral to this approach is that the researcher will set aside his or her experience, perceptions and biases to ensure objectivity in the conduct of the study as well as the conclusion drawn based on the research (Harwell, 2011 and Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

There are advantages and disadvantages of using the quantitative research design. Some of the advantages include: they allow for a broader study, involving a greater number of subjects, enhancing the generalization of the result. They also allow for greater objectivity and accuracy of results as quantitative methods are designed to provide summaries of data that support generalization about phenomenon under study. It also allow researchers to summarize vast sources of information and make comparison across categories and helps avoid personal biases by keeping a distant from participating subjects and employing subjects unknown to them (Babbie, 2010). The disadvantages includes: quantitative data is more efficient and able to test hypothesis, but may miss contextual details. They make use of static and rigid approaches and so employ an inflexible process of discovery. The results provides less detail on behavior, attitude and motivation, researchers may also collect narrower and sometimes superficial dataset, results are limited as they provide numerical description rather than detailed narrative and generally provide less elaborate accounts of human perception (Babbie, 2010).

3.2.2 Qualitative Research Method

Qualitative research method can be applied and used in different academic fields and in different traditions related with positivism, post-positivism, foundationalism and the like.

Qualitative research tends to be more concerned with words than numbers. It is predominantly but not always concerned with an inductive view of the relationship between theory and research, whereby the former is generated out of the latter. Qualitative research also has an epistemological position described as interpretative, meaning qualitative research is about the understanding of the social world through an examination and interpretation of that world by its participants. When ontology is concerned, qualitative research relates to the ontological position described as constructivist, which implies that social properties are outcomes of the interaction between individuals rather than phenomena out there (Bryman, 2004).

In light of this, qualitative research method was adopted for this thesis because it helps us to understand social realities in its own terms, with rich descriptions of peoples and interaction in natural settings. It also seeks to understand how social order is created through talk and interaction.

The literature reviewed in the first two chapters of this thesis highlighted the three methods that have been employed in political reform and electoral politics research. The formal method, the large-N method and the case study method. The formal method/theory such as those conducted by Benoit (2004) aims at generalization and uses quantitative methods of inference. The large-N method characterized by Liphart (1994) also intends for generalization but does not necessarily rely on statistical inference. Finally, studies that aim at understanding the inner mechanisms that are harder to identify choose a smaller range of cases to provide an intensive analysis.

Since the research question relies on understanding the inner mechanisms of how change happened in Ghana and how it could happen in Nigeria it calls for a

qualitative research. This is in line with the characteristics of qualitative research since qualitative research exhibits a concern with subjectivity and gaining access to inside experience. Qualitative research is concerned with the inner realities of humans. This method allows us to critically investigate the cause of electoral fraud in Sub-Saharan Africa, and Nigeria specifically and in turn develop and recommend possible ways of eradicating it.

Qualitative design's weaknesses addressed above could in some cases be overcome when there are relevant secondary data available on the research topic. In such cases a method of 'triangulation' could be employed to eliminate the weaknesses associated with qualitative research. The following section explains the uses of this technique.

3.2.3 Triangulation Method

Triangulation is the use of more than one method to collect data on the same topic. This is a more appropriate means assuring the absolute validity of research through the use of a variety of methods. This system involves different types of samples to be collected. The essence is not to cross validate data but rather to capture different dimension of the subject matter. As Bryman suggests "once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced" (Bryman, 2009). The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes (Bryman, 2009).

3.3 Data Collection

This section deals with alternative methods available for data collection. The following sections elaborate on secondary data and primary data collection alternatives and positions elite interviews as a choice for this thesis.

3.3.1 Secondary Data

For the purpose of this thesis some key document and literature on democracy and electoral fraud in Africa was analyzed. Again reports from Freedom House, Transparency International, Afrobarometer will also be used to provide some basic answers to the research question. Finally the documents and literatures used in the course of this study were subjected to J. Scott criteria of assessing a quality document which include its authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning.

3.3.2 Elite Interview

This thesis also made interviews with elites as the primary source of data collection which is one of the techniques of process tracing method. This was done specifically to help clarify the data which is gathered from already written secondary sources because elite's interviews are not conducted in isolation from other sources, they are used to corroborate the early findings. One of the reasons why this was adopted for the purpose of this thesis is its advantage to compensate for weaknesses in alternative techniques as they help researchers to have first-hand participants of the process under investigation. It also helped to compensate for both lack and limitation of documenting evidences and to attain different opinions and perspectives of experts on the particular issue and then use the opinions as a reflection to the findings of the thesis (Tansey, 2007). The disadvantage of this method is that elites and policy makers might take caution in the way they talk which may lead to question the credibility of the data (Tansey, 2007).

An email was sent to about 15 scholars and politicians in Nigeria and Ghana, of which just seven responded. The email consists of open-ended questions and each expert answered the question by dwelling on their own point of view.

3.4 Analysis

3.4.1 Process Tracing

This is the method for studying casual mechanisms linking causes with outcomes. This helps the researcher to make strong inferences about how a cause or set of causes contributes to producing an outcome. It is often used in qualitative studies in examining data. Process tracing also requires finding diagnostic evidence that provides the basis for descriptive and causal inference (Collier, 2011). Again in process tracing, the researcher studies and examines histories, archival documents, interview transcripts and others sources to see whether the causal process a theory hypothesizes is in fact evident in the sequence and values of the intervening variable in that case (Tansey, 2007). Collier also holds strongly that methods like process tracing can help to fill in the missing gap in quantitative research. (Collier, 2007). The core aim of the researcher adopting this method is to vividly reveal the connections between the reason and consequences of an event by describing casual chains that incorporate the dependent and independent variables to each other.

3.4.2 Content Analysis

This is the approach that deals with the analysis of documents and texts which may be printed or visual. They tend to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner (Bayman, 2004:181). Content analysis is also any techniques for the objective, systematic description of the manifest content of communications (Berelson, 1952:18). It is also a method for making inferences. Content analysis deals more with two outstanding qualities which

is objectivity and systematic. Rules are already specified in advance for the assignment of the raw materials such as newspapers, reports etc., objectivity in the sense that it resides in the fact that there is transparency in the procedures for assigning the raw materials to categories so that the analyst personal biases intrudes as little as possible in the process. It is important to note that content analysis is used both in quantitative and qualitative research method but for the qualitative method which this thesis adopt, content analysis involves Rhetorical, discourse, conversation and Ethnographic analysis. Conversation content analysis was specifically used for this thesis in the interviews of elites. Firstly the researcher records the conversation takes place in course of the interview and then transcribes them in order to analyze the main content of the recordings.

3.4.3 Counter Factual Research

Counter factual research is a research that is against the very normal norm and beliefs that has been generally agreed over the years. Put differently it simply means a research that believes in the contradiction of an already existing facts or theory. This research goes back in history to testing and challenging already existing theories by embarking on research that debunks the old theory with a new theory. More to this counter factual analysis deal with the causation of an event. In its roughest, strongest form it says that C caused E, where C and E are individual events, means that E depended counterfactually on C, that is, that if C had not occurred, E would not have occurred. This has been redefined in few ways; one of such is C causes E but if C had not occurred some other event would have caused E (Bennett, 1987). The essence of the counterfactual analysis in this thesis is to give other methods of which data and events can be analyzed but this thesis will not go into using the

counterfactual method of analysis rather it will depend on the content analysis and process tracing methods.

3.5 Conclusion

From the above mention analysis and discourse, the research methodology of which the researcher considers more relevant in this study is the qualitative research design method in line with the triangulation research method. We used triangulation as a method by relying on primary and secondary data. As our primary data we conducted about 8 interviews with experts. As secondary data we made use of Afrobarometer surveys to see the correlation between our findings and Afrobarometer's result as well as the Freedom House reports.

Chapter 4

DEMOCRACY AND ELECTIONS IN GHANA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the history of democracy and elections in Ghana, the root cause of electoral malpractice, the various electoral reforms and finally how they were able to transcend from the system where corruption and fraud was the order into a more democratic nation where electoral fraud has been reduced to the bear-rest minimum this will be done by studying the various elections conducted between 2000 and 2012 to see the improvement that has been made.

4.2 Brief History of Democracy and Elections in Ghana from 1950 to 1996

The history of democracy and elections in Ghana can be traced back to the movement of the indigenous Ghanaian bourgeoisies to create a government of their own by disposing the colonial government thereby taking control of their government without being undermined and exploited by the colonial authority. The move was heightened by the return of Nkrumah Kwame in 1947 to Ghana to become the secretary general of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) (Osei-Kwam, and Taylor, 1984). Fortunately, he soon became uncomfortable with the elite party of UGCC and broke out to form his mass nationalist party; the Convention Peoples Party (CPP). This instigated the major cleavages in Ghana politics between Nkrumah and his major rival, J.B. Danquah of the UGCC.

Furthermore the constitution of 1950 of Ghana under colonial rule of which Nkrumah opposed because it fell short of full self-rule, heightened cleavages by providing for an enlargement in the legislative arm of the Colonial Government for more indigenous participation. In line with the constitutional provision, an election was conducted in 1951.

The CPP through her grassroots politics was able to demonstrate her strength and popularity by winning the majority of seat in the partial election. Following the enormous victory of the Convention People's Party, the United Gold Coast Convention weakened and eventually the party disintegrated because of their poor performance in the Election. This gave the CPP more advantage and a clear field for them to perfect on their enterprise. By 1954 a number of ethnic based political parties emerged to challenge the CPP on the issue of political centralization and unitary structure the party advocated for. The parties included the National Liberation Movement (NLM advocating autonomy for Ashanti region), the Togoland Congress (opposing the integration of British Togoland with the Gold Cost), the Muslim Association Party, and the Northern People's Party (NPP) (Janda, 2010). These party major aim/objective was to challenge the constitutional structure of the Nkrumah lead CPP party, fortunately the CPP still won 1954 and 1956 elections before independence (Osei-Kwam, and Taylor, 1984). The regional and tribal parties still were a great threat even after independence, the government in response to the threat, prohibited all parties based on regional, tribal and religious lines (Janda, 2010). As a result of that, these minority parties merged to form the United Party under the leadership of K.A. Busia, J.B Danquah and others. The 1960 election ratified a new constitution and elected Nkrumah as president. Nkrumah adopted politics of

suppression on the opposing party as many were arrested and imprisoned while others went to exile; again the state owned media were used as an organ to perpetuate the activities of the CPP government.

The two major opposing parties then were of varying ideology, the UGCC was of the liberalist perspective whereas the CPP lead by Nkrumah was of the socialist or the centralist perspective, despite the changes in the names of parties in Ghana over the years, the dominant parties still falls under these two categories. The centralist ideology of Nkrumah's CPP is still being pursued by the following after his demise till date; the National Alliance of Liberals (1969) and the People's National Party (1979), it was also followed by the following military regimes (1972-79)-the National Redemption Council, The Supreme Military Council and the military regime of J.J Rawlings were all examples of the centralist. On the other hand, Busia's liberalist ideology was firstly pursued by the UGCC and has been resurrected severally as the National Liberation Movement, Muslim Association Party, Northern People's Party, the Togoland Congress all of 1954-1956, the merged United Party of 1956, the Progress Party 1969-1972, the Popular Front Party of 1979, the United National Convention 1979 as well as the military regime that overthrew Nkrumah CPP in 1966 also followed the liberalist perspective (Osei-Kwam, and Taylor, 1984).

In 1964 Ghana became a one party state under the leadership of Nkrumah. The period saw different magnitudes of political instability and was overthrown by a military regime in 1966 thereby giving room for military operation. In 1969 the military was replaced by a civilian government under Busia; after his electoral victory, giving room for the first time of the liberalist political ideology to run the government of Ghana. The Progress Party under K. A. Busia reversed many of

Nkrumah's policies and continued her liberalization policies. The government was later displaced by sections of the military under Colonel I.K. Acheampong on 13th of January 1972 (Venkatachalam, 2011). The military regime of Acheampong was distorted by his eventual removal from office in July 1978 prior to the elections that he had already started making plans for his successor, General Fred Akuffo, later on introduced a plan for partisan politics under new constitutional provisions but was also distorted by a coup which brought about the installation of J.J. Rawlings's as the head of state. Interestingly the new military government supervised a return to constitutional government in September 1979 (Janda, 2010). Approximately 5 million voters registered for the exercise, with 10 political parties participating in the presidential election. The two dominant parties were People National Party (PNP) and Popular Front Party (PFP). The election saw the emergence of Hilla Limann of (PNP) with 61.98% of the vote over his counterpart of PFP that got 30.02%. In 1981 Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings carried out another coup and over threw the government, his conviction was based on the fact that no lasting change had occurred and as such the former coup was a waste of time, and it was then time to change not only the status quo, but also to put the country back on track (Adedeji, 2010). In line with fulfilling his promise J.J. Rawlings adopted a piecemeal tactic of democratization by redefining its interpretation of democracy and devising policies to bring it into reality. Chanzan, N. (1989).

Furthermore, he again aligned with Nkrumah's centralist ideology seeing himself as an opposition to the Danquah-Busia-Dombo Legacy (Venkatachalam, 2011). In 1992, the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) returned Ghana back to a democratic state. This act lead to the emergence of political parties' establishment, a

multi-party democracy two dominant political parties were established, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) whose symbol is the Umbrella and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) which had its symbol as the elephant. The NDC is of the populist center-left agenda, while the NPP is regarded as a liberal, center-right party (Venkatachalam, 2011). The emergence of these parties in preparation for the 1992 election saw the greatest height of party established on tribal line which firstly surfaced as I have mentioned earlier under the colonial Ghana in 1954. The NDC commanded much of her support from the Coastal peoples such as the Ewe, Fanti, and peoples of north Ashanti, while the NPP received much of her support from modern Ashanti Region (Venkatachalam, 2011; Bob-Milliar, 2011). In a bid for J.J. Rawlings to remain in power, the government placed a ban on the formation of political parties until mid-1992 to enable Him and his party to have a significant step over his competitors making it possible for him to win the presidential election with over 58 percent of votes casted (Haynes, 2001). Two distinctive campaign strategies was adopted for 1992 Ghana election; the Rawlings's Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) government which transformed itself to National Democratic Congress (NDC), adopted a brutal, oppressive medium of politicking whereas the opposition party NPP focused upon legitimate and accountable pattern of politicking (Venkatachalam, 2011).

More in this light, Haynes, J also suggested that although there were serious indications of electoral fraud, Rawlings's victory margin of 58.4 percent over his nearest counterpart Albert Adu-Boahen by 30.4% of (NPP) was more based on his charisma and talent as a politician, the benefits of his incumbency and the support he enjoyed from many ordinary people especially those in the rural areas were attributed

more to his victory rather than fraud (Venkatachalam, 2011). Again Professor Mike Oquaye, asserted that the return of Ghana to democratic rule in 1992 was not because Rawlings's believed in democracy, he claims that Rawlings was just a revolutionary in quest for legitimacy as well as his anxiousness to satisfy foreign donors who demanded good governance as he persistently proclaimed that he did not believe in party politics and the ballot box (Oquaye, 1995). The irregularities that was associated with the 1992 election and party formation was being corrected as political parties began emerging in early 1994, most of those of the Nkrumalist perspective merged in People Convention Party (PCP) although the NDC had already declared themselves as adherent followers of the Nkrumah philosophy, the PCP and NDC began a strict context over the party that would flag or represent the ideology of Nkrumah and mantle (Sandbrook, and Oelbaum, 1997).

In contrary to what the PCP claimed to idolize (Nkrumah ideology) chose to form partnership with the NPP which adheres to the Danquah-Busia-Dombo ideology to unseat the NDC government in the 1996 elections but NDC Nkrumah lead government responded sharply and effectively by political mechanisms and advertising campaign posing Rawlings and his wife as Nkrumah and his wife; this huge advertisement and politicking made the NDC to have a huge support against the opposition that was enormously dis-united bickering and insulting each other. (Oquaye, 1995). Another strong constrain that affected the political parties except the NDC is the weak financial base of the other parties as they were expected to maintain offices in all ten regions and two third of all the district of Ghana as it cost much money to pay rents for building, salaries of staffs and other major expenses in maintaining the head office (Oquaye, 1995). The total number of registered voters as

announced by the electoral commission was 9,279,605. Unlike the 1992 election, the 1996 election had 78.3% voters turn out. The presidential election was contested between 3 political parties, (NDC which was the progressive alliance, the NPP which is also known as the Great Alliance and the PNC) the election was also won by the incumbent NDC government lead by J.J. Rawling's with 57.37% vote against 39.67% of NPP and 2.95% of PNC (Osei-Kwam, and Taylor, 1984).

4.3 Ghana Presidential Election from 2000 to 2012

The early 1990's in Ghana's democracy saw the rising of a new regime where the deciding factor of state leadership was no longer determined through the barrel of guns and coercion but a people driven society where the ordinary man decides through his/her vote who should be in charge of the governance of the state. In as much as the 1992 election was filled with a lot of irregularities, it is still generally believed as the beginning of a new phase of Ghana democracy. Evidence has shown that the Electoral Commission (EC) formed in 1991 for the purpose of conducting a free and fair election was not independent of the government: reasons is that the PNDC government unilaterally appointed EC officers without any consultation with other interest parties as well as the opposition group. This action was declared unhealthy for the transition even by the Commonwealth Observers group who monitored the election (Jandoh, & Adwoa, 2013). More to that, the then Independent Electoral Commission when established did not consult with other parties and group let alone having a uniform agreement with other political parties.

Another major irregularity that was associated with the 1992 election was that the PNDC government imposed the use of the very much flawed voters registered of the 1988/89 district elections for the presidential election without any form of correction,

this created some political uproar leading to the boycotting of the election of the parliamentary elections by the 4 major opposition party the 1996 election lead a way for greater reforms correcting major irregularities that were associated with the 1992 elections. Firstly the voters registered were replaced by new ones through a more inclusive participation and dialogue between the various parties; A concise voters education for the masses was carried out through the display of posters containing voting instructions thereby encouraging the people to exercise their franchise, they also made use of the television and the radio, the EC also provided code of conduct for political parties as well as an independent funding for the Electoral Commission and a relative independence of the EC to source for funds outside the government to cover up for the expenses of the election. Despite these bold steps the election of 1996 and the operation of the Electoral Committee was still filled with a lot of irregularities although most international observers still consider it free and fair.

The 2000 election promised to be the beginning of a new dawn as the Electoral Commission had learned from their past experiences in order to advert the miss normal that was associated with previous elections of 1992 and 1996. The presidential election of December 2000 and the run off were considered generally free, fair and transparent according to the slate of domestic and foreign elections observers, including the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO). This election saw to the transfer of power democratically from one political party to another. It also provided a benchmark for Ghana's consolidated democracy. The December 7th election failed to meet the condition of a candidate winning over 50% of the vote, in response to this a new election was slated for December 28. The total number of registered voters was 10,698,652 with a total turnout of 61.7% of the

registered voters. The NPP under John Agyekum Kufuor had 56.90% of the vote in contrast to NDC led by John Atta Mills with 43.10% of the total votes cast.

One outstanding attribute of the 2000 Ghana election was, it saw to the change of power from one party to another indicating that power has been successfully shifted to the masses. It also shows that the elite were now committed to democracy and true people represented government. Two observers of Ghana politics noted that the 2000 election ushered in an imperative measure of political pluralism as they presented the first test of the workability of the constitutional limits on presidential tenure, as well as the first real opportunity to achieve a peaceful change of power through the ballot box (Nugent, 2001). Anebo, Felix noted that the 2000 presidential election deserved notice not just because of the theoretical weight they carry as the shift of electoral fortune between the two dominant political parties also provided leverage for assessing theories of voting behavior in Ghana (Anebo, 2001). The then secretary of the United Nations, Kofi Annan opined that with the 2000 election, Ghana has demonstrated that democracy and its institution is taking root in Africa (Anebo, 2001). The success of the election was a momentous one especially because what are often seen in Africa are situations where incumbent governments prefer not to relinquish power except to military coups.

The 2004 election created a new pattern of electoral campaign as the NDC which was formally the ruling party with all the huge state resources at their disposal lost the 2000 election to the NPP. At this point the institutions of the government as well as the resources were transferred to the NPP. Despite the economic hardship that characterized the nation at such a time NPP succeeded in consolidating its support in the Akan heartland of the center South and west of the country which was the strong

hold of the NDC. They also succeeded in the Volta region of the East as well as the upper East and Northern region of the north. Interestingly the NPP also made significant gain in the Fante area of the central region, despite being the home of the NDC presidential candidate Atta Mills. However the NDC despite all the resistance maintained influence in other areas of the south. Although the election was reported to be free and fair but there were still indications and attempt in the north to physically abuse the electoral officers (Bob, 2005).

Again the 2004 election saw the greatest voter turnout for the presidential election, this was because of the giant stride of the 2000 elections which reflected more of the will of the masses. As such the people felt the need to respond more to the electoral process. The total number of registered voters for the election was 10,354,970 with 85.1% of voters turn out in the election. The NPP still retained the presidential seat under John Agyekum Kufuor with 52.45% while the NDC got 44.64% the other two parties that contested PNC and CPP got 1.92% and 1.0% respectively. (African Election Data Base).

The election of 2008 saw the light of another very successful and peaceful outcome of the December 2008 election in Ghana which displayed the second transfer of power between the two dominant political parties since the return to democratic and constitutional rule in 1992. Interestingly Ghana democracy had been tested under different intense circumstances and has at different times passed the test with some distinction (Abdulai, & Crawford, (2010). The 2008 election in much way consolidated the pluralistic democracy that started in 2000 in which political powers in Ghana moved from the incumbent government to an opposition party. The outcome of the December 7th 2008 Ghana election showed a very slim margin

between the NPP having 49.13% and NDC having 47.92% but since neither obtained over 50% of the votes as required by the 1992 constitution a presidential run-off election was imperative. The election was held on December the 28th. The runoff election saw to the victory of NDC under John Atta Mills having 50.23% votes (Abdulai, & Crawford, 2010). The total turn out of the election was 69.5% (African Election Data Base). It is pertinent to note that the success of the 2008 election and the smooth hand over of power to the opposition power indicated strong support of the Ghanaian political class who had come to recognize democracy as the only acceptable system of government. It had become obvious in Ghana that the power to make and unmake a government was no longer tied to the barrel of guns but with the thumb of individual voters (Abdulai, & Crawford, 2010). Finally it is important to note that in as much as the election was reported to be free and fair, the EU observers Mission reported incidents of violence and intimidation in Volta and Ashanti region. It has been observed that the Ghana elections are becoming more transparent by the day as the people have come to have strong affinity, support and believe in the electoral processes. This is also expressed by the electoral practice of the Electoral Commission which has continually learnt from her past mistakes there by making each election far better than it used to be. The 2012 and of course the most recent elections of Ghana has been accorded series of praise as a free and fair election. According to BBC report Mr Mahama of the NDC secured 50.7% of votes, with the opposition leader Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo securing 47.74% of the total vote casted. The other smaller parties got the remaining of the vote (BBC News Africa). From other information we have been able to gather about democracy and electoral processes in Ghana; it has become eminent that political power in Ghana has been sustained between the NDC and NPP's ideological lines. Ghana has at

different point in her electoral processes proven to be a stable democracy with a high level of electoral transparency. The 2012 elections was declared free and fair to a reasonable extent by the economic community of west Africa (ECOWAS) and a local group, coalition of domestic election observers (BBC News Africa).

4.4 Electoral Reform in Ghana from 2000 to 2012

Elections matter, they decide who governs; they also provide the best means of influencing what those in power do. In real sense it is only the votes in the ballot box that is likely to make politicians listen as they are the most concrete expression of our democratic society. In line with this, the rules and regulations through which elections are conducted will play a vanguard role in the realization of an electoral democracy. The rules must be strong and reliable in order to compel the adherence of all interested parties in the realization of a free and fair election. This is because election is the only means in which people assume political positions under a democratic system of government. Again since the person that assumes position of leadership is ascribed many responsibilities to make or mar the nation it will be imperative that the laws as well as the implementation of such laws should be something to be held at high esteem.

Alan Renwick categorized electoral system into the narrow approach and the wide approach (Renwick, 2011). The narrow approach focuses on all that happens on the Election Day. It sees the electoral system as comprising two elements, the rules that determine the kind of vote that we can cast and the mechanism by which the votes cast are translated into political seats. The wide approach gives a broader view of the electoral system. This entails all the rules that govern the process of electing representatives into state institutions. This approach recognizes that before elections

take place a date is to be fixed and the rules governing candidate selection needs to be well spelt out.

Electoral reforms and management is one of the most important prerequisite for any successful democratization where elections are carried out in a free and fair process. The success of any democracy as well as electoral reforms is highly dependent on the general acceptability of the elites to see democracy and free and fair elections as an important tool for good governance. The electoral body also must be seen both by the elite and the masses as men and women who are impartial in their activities. Godwin-Gill, outlined 9 indices of a free and fair election after examining the role of the Electoral Commission and the reform processes that took place in Ghana in the 1992 general election (Gyekye-Jandoh, 2013). They are: 1) electoral law system, constituency delimitation, election management, right to vote, voters registered, civil education and voters information, electoral campaigns and media access, monitoring of results, complains and disputes resolutions, voters register. These indices facilitated an understanding of the Electoral Commission role in building confidence, consensus and credibility of the electoral processes in post-transition period after 1992.

More to that, new voters registered was formulated to correct the abnormalities of the 1992 elections. The votes registered was to ensure a more credible election in 1996 and subsequently. In response to this the electoral commission ensured an active participation of the different political parties in the voters registered processes. Again voters' identity card was also provided for every registered voter. The ballot box was also replaced with a transparent one. Furthermore voter's education was carried out teaching the voters on why and how they need to vote (Gyekye-Jandoh, 2013). The

1996 reforms made the Electoral Commission more independent, although it was funded by the state they still had the power to source for other forms of fund. In the spirit of continuous improvement and growth the electoral commission made the playing ground plane for all political parties to have the same opportunities, same access to media and others like nondiscrimination, freedom of speech, and interparty negotiation.

Again other important measures that were adopted to concretize the autonomy of the Electoral Commission were in the security of tenure granted to its members. The constitution of Ghana stipulates that once appointed, members of the Electoral Commission cannot be removed except on ground of incapacitation arising from ill-health. Debrah, (2011). and as such the EC nomination is done through a rigorous process to produce men and women of reputation and integrity. Their appointment is subject to the affirmation of the parliament. More to that; the EC members are given conditions of service comparable to what pertains to judges of the superior court of judicature. The salaries, allowance, pensions and other emoluments for members of the EC were charged to the states Consolidated fund, this makes sure that members do not suffer financial loses or reduction of salaries and allowances of which they are entitled (Debrah, 2011). Another radical move made by the EC to entrench her autonomy was her decision to recruit an independent Attorney General for the commission in other not to depend on the Attorney General of the state in case of any legal action (Debrah, 2011). The EC institutionalized and legitimized the electoral processes in a way that enhanced transparency in election pools. The rules of the elections were also simplified and made accessible to voters as well as all political parties as they are easily understood. In conclusion the success of Ghana election is

to a great extent tied to the autonomy and transparency of the EC. This would have not been possible without a strong support of the elite, media houses as well as non-governmental organizations that partnered with the EC in educating the masses on the importance of elections, their votes and how to cast their votes. Finally the strong support of the various political parties as well as financial aids received from international organizations was a major catalyst that necessitated the transparent activities of the Electoral Commission in Ghana.

Chapter 5

PATTERN AND NATURE OF ELECTORAL CHANGES IN NIGERIA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter studies the nature and pattern of democracy and electoral fraud in Nigeria while drawing some key references from Ghana specifically and other African countries like Botswana. For this to be actualized the researcher looked into the history of elections and electoral fraud in Nigeria, the structure and independence of the Electoral Commission, Political Parties and manifesto especially the manifesto of the ruling party since so many scholars has opinion that there is a striking resemblance in the manifestos of political parties in Nigeria and elite recruitment in Nigeria. Finally this chapter focuses more on the underlying causes of electoral fraud in Nigeria as well as the critical analysis of the primary data's collected from Afrobarometer and elite interviews.

5.2 Brief History of Nigeria Elections and Political Recruitment

In Nigeria, election as a democratic principle is traceable to the colonial period. Its creation did not come without struggle and obstacles. Thus Tamuno, noted that the British initiation of the elective legislative Council was not based on any altruistic motive rather it was it was regarded as a containment method for muffling protests (Tamuno, 1972:127). The first appearance of the elective principle was in 1922 under the Sir, Hugh Clifford constitution. The electoral process was very restrictive and did not adopt the universal suffrage. This also brought about the formation of political parties like the National Democratic Party (NDP) and eventually the Lagos Youth

Movement (LYM), National Council of Nigeria and Cameron (NCNC), Action Group (AG), Northern People's Congress. The above mentioned political parties emerged from 1922 to 1951. One important and very visible characteristic of the political parties was they were basically established under ethnic sentiment and were regional parties. This offshoot paved way for tribal differences and hatred which is believed to be the very Genesis of tribal and ethnic politics in Nigeria. AG was that of the West (Yoruba party), NCNC was seen as the political party of the East predominantly by the Igbos and the NPC was that of the North, predominantly by the Hausa/Fulani's. The colonial period was also characterized by the politics of intimidation, bribery and sentiments as the various political parties firstly use ethnic sentiments to woo support of their king's men. The parties maintained strong hold of their different regions and created a system where Nigerians came to see themselves firstly as member of their tribe before being a Nigerian. This is to imply that loyalty of citizens were firstly to their tribal line before the nation. Many scholars have noted that the impact of the ethnic and tribal politics was not very visible and intimidating during the colonial era because of the common focus of all Nigerians which was to secure independence from the colonial master.

Immediately after the Independence of Nigeria in 1960 the ills and misfortunes of the past became very daring and visible to all as the state had already been polarized on an ethnic and tribal line. The 1964 election which led the way for the independence of Nigeria saw the merger of the major political parties in order to contest for the election. The election was between the Nigerian National Allies (NNA) which was made up of the NPC, the NNDP, The Mid-West Democratic and the Dynamic Party. While the United People Grand Alliance (UPGA) was made up of the NCNC, the

AG, NEPU and the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) (Nnadozie, 2007:57). The UPGA spread their campaign all through the nation but the NNA was more interested in the North and partly the West where they had their strong hold. As a result of the irregularities of the electoral process UPGA boycotted the elections. The irregularities of the first republic through electoral malpractice and ethnic based politics gave way for the military taking over the governance of the country in 1966-1979. Again the 1979 elections after 13 years under the military regime were not too different from what has almost become the normal. Although Onyeka, highlighted that the 1979 elections was fairly smoother than that of 1964 (Onyeka, 2002:156). The elections were keenly contested by 5 registered political parties. They include the Nigeria Peoples Party (NPP), the Great Nigerian People Party (GNPP), the People Redemption Party (PRP) and the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN). The election also took to the historic lane of electoral malpractice, rigging and ethnic politics. The election did not come with so much enthusiasm as just 16.8 million voters out of 47.7 million of registered voters turn out to vote on the election date (Oddih, 2007:147; Nnadozei, 2007:61). The election was won by NPN presidential candidate by having 25% of votes cast in at least two third of the state as required by the constitution.

The 1993 election was adjudged by many scholars, new analyst both locally and internationally as the best election in Nigeria's history. The election adopted the open secret voting system with the aim of reducing electoral malpractice. Two political parties were officially registered and recognized for the election. They include the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC). The election was believed to be won by Chief N.K. Abiola, a philanthropist. The two political parties had influence all through the federation. Some scholars strongly

believed that this was one of the only elections which Nigerian did not vote on ethnic lines as M.K.O Abiola of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) defeated Mallam Bashir Tofa in his home State, Kano (Ola, 1995). The coordinator of the 1993 presidential debate has this to say... “The Nigerian political scene has changed and the flavor of politics has changed, as the two presidential candidates are involved in ideological battle to win the support of the masses. He claims he did not see this happened in 1979 and old enough to witness politics in the 1960’s but it was not visible. He claims this is the new politics in Nigeria; it is civilized, humane and friendly”. Against the wish of Nigerians the elections was purportedly annulled by General Babangida the then Military president. This experience threw Nigeria back to the cold hand of military governance and political decadences that she is yet to recover from. The annulment of the June 12, 1993 election shows a lack of commitment by the Nigeria elite especially by the then Military elites. What was experience was more or less like a one step forward and two steps backward movement.

5.3 The Electoral Commission, Structure and Independence

A democratic election is one which is competitive, all inclusive, periodic, definitive, free and fair and far from any ethnic sentiment, rancor and intimidation. It provides the citizen with a voice, a voice in the decision of their leaders and in turn transforms their developmental pace. In order to achieve this heinous task an independent electoral commission with the sole responsibility of conducting and coordinating the whole affairs of the electoral process is sine-qua-non to the achievement of the above mentioned. A cardinal requirement is that those responsible for conducting and supervising the electoral process must be independent players in the system. (Nwabueze, 1993). Despite the different attempt to reform the electoral process in Nigeria, no significant change has really occurred as the Independent Electoral

Commission of Nigeria is seen by many as a tool in the hands of the executive arm of government especially the president and the ruling party. Again it is pertinent to note that the Nigeria 1999 Constitution gave so many rooms for the lack of independence of INEC. Put differently the provision for the independency of INEC is grossly defective and consequently the required independent status of the commission is not properly safeguarded by the constitution. (IDEA 2000:130). Finally the Electoral Management body is very vital to the overall quality of an election as well as the extent to which political actors see the entire electoral process as legitimate and binding. (Elklit & Agenda, 2000). In Nigeria the nomenclature of the EMB has undergone several changes from 1959 to date. Before the Nigeria Civil war, it was the Electoral Commission of Nigeria (ECN, 1959-1963); then the Federal Electoral commission (FEC, 1963-1966), it later became Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO, 1976-1979). It was again renamed under the Babangida regime to be National Electoral Commission (NEC, 1986-1993), from 1993-1998 it was changed to National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (NECON) and finally changed to Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC, 1998-1999). It is important to note that despite the change in the names and even ascribing independent to the name, the Electoral Management Body of Nigeria is still very far from being independent (Onuoha, 1999:39).

5.3.1 The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria And The Formation of The Independent National Electoral Commission

The 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, under section 153(1) provides for the establishment of the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC). The body was officially inaugurated in August 11, 1998 by the then head of State, General Abdusalami Abubakar. The constitution vested the power to appoint the

Chairman and the members of the commission in the president subject to the confirmation of the Senate. The president is also required to consult the Council of State in the appointment of the chairman and the 12 other National Electoral Commissioners. (Section 154(3)). They are expected to be men of unquestionable character. (Chukwu, 2007:79). Again according to Patrick Chukwu, the Independence prefixed to the EMB came out of the earnest desires of the people of Nigeria and the Military government to break away from the ugly history of fraudulent electoral process. He further gave some key reasons why the INEC is not independent:

Firstly He stated that INEC is more like an executive body created by the president by the powers conferred on him by the constitution and as such could be referred as a parastatals, a government sponsored body that is outside the frame work of the civil service. When perceived this way we could understand that the autonomy of INEC is limited and controlled except in the appointment and discipline of its staffs. Section (158(1)). Secondly, the fact that INEC does not have a direct Fiscal allocation but depends on the presidency for funds of which the presidency at its pleasure release funds to INEC paralyzes their operation because whoever pays the piper dictates the tune of the music. This according to Chukwu, explains why the body is always commencing the discharge of their functions very late as a result of no direct source to funds. History has shown that the appointment of the Chairman and the 12 electoral commissioners by the president often makes them dance to the tune of the president especially when their tenure is about to expire as they would want to do that in order to be reappointed.

Thirdly the 5 years tenure of the electoral chairman and the 12 commissioners which is often replaced by almost every incumbent president often affects the mode of operation of the body and thereby creating inconsistency. From 1999 to date INEC have had 4 different electoral chairman appointed. Finally he accreted that despite the fact that the constitution had stipulates that the president should appoint the chairman in consultation of the Council of State members and confirmation of the Senate which was aimed at checking on the power of the president. This notwithstanding, the Senate can only reject but will always approve a candidate. Furthermore with the domination of the ruling Party PDP; it has become very easy for the president which is the leader of the party to have his way (Chukwu, 2007:80-82 & Omotala, 2010:540-542).

The constitution under the part 1 of the third schedule ascribe the various functions to INEC: Organize, undertake and supervise all elections from that of the president to the State House of Assembly. Register Political Parties in line with the constitution, audit the accounts of political parties, arrange and conduct for the registration of voters register, monitor elections campaigns, ensure rule that will regulate political parties and others. From the above it can be deduced that the weakness and lack of independence of INEC in her funding and their five year tenure position makes it possible for the leadership of INEC to be controlled by the executive arm of government to do their bidding.

As I have mentioned earlier, the independence and institutionalization of the INEC cannot be undermined in the electoral process as they to a large extent determines the effectiveness and transparency of elections. The Ghanaian Electoral Commission is far different from that of Nigeria. Ghana Electoral Commission Chairman and the

two Deputies have security of tenure. They enjoy the same terms of service of the court of Appeal and cannot be removed arbitrarily until retirement at age 70 (Omotala, 2010:541). This explains why Ghana Electoral Commission Chairman Dr, Afari-Gyan which was appointed into the position in 1992 is still occupying the position till today and has led Ghana from almost a fail election of 1992 to a very successful election from 2000 general election till date (Arhin, 2013). Act 451 Section(1 and 2) of Ghana constitution states that the chairman of the commission shall have the same term and condition of office as a Justice of the Court of Appeal and the Deputy Chairman the terms and condition applicable to a Justice of the High Court. Again Act 451 Section (10) stipulates that the administrative expenses of the commission including salaries, allowances and persons payable to, or in respect of, persons serving with the constitution shall be charged on the consolidation fund. It is my strong believe that when Electoral Chairman and Commissioners are guarantee of their job security and funding without depending on the president it will give the electoral body enough leverage to discharge her function without fear or rancor.

Another radical move made by the EC to entrench her autonomy was her decision to recruit an independent Attorney General for the commission in other not to depend on the Attorney General of the state in case of any legal action (Debrah, 2011). Differently again Botswana Electoral Commission is composed of seven persons Commission. Section 65(A) stipulates that the Chairperson shall be a judge of the High Court and the Deputy Chairperson shall be a Legal Practitioner. The Chairperson and Deputy are directly appointed by the Judicial Service Commission. The Judicial Service Commission shall also appoint 5 other members from a list of persons recommended by All-Party conference. The Secretary shall be appointed by

the president and shall terminate the office at age 65. (Constitution of Botswana 1966, Section 65A(1)-(4), 66(2)). The tenure of the Chairman, Deputy and five other members shall be two successive term of Parliament, that is 10 years. (Constitution of Botswana 1966, Section 65A(5)). Finally the funding shall come from the ministry of Finance and Development Planning. (EISA, 2010; Africa Elections Project, 2014). The case of Botswana also show a system where the power of who becomes the electoral commission chairman is not subject to the executive arm of government and thereby giving them the leverage of functioning independently.

5.4 Political Parties and Structure in Nigeria

Political parties is a political institution which performs a number of functions in a democratic society, chief among such function is that of recruiting competent men and women who will be representatives of the masses both in the executive and legislative arm of government. In as much as elections is a key engine of liberal democracy, political parties is what I choose to call the fuel that drives such engine; for democracy and even elections to be carried out well within a State, political parties must be well rooted and imbibe the true ideologies of liberal democracy as well as internal democracy within the party structure. Political parties may also be defined by their common aim that is they seek political power either singularly or in corporation with other political parties. Three distinct characteristics that distinguish parties from other organizations according to Adingun Agbaje include: 1) it is a label in the minds of its members and the wilder public especially the electorate. 2) It is an organization that recruits and campaigns for candidates seeking election and selection into public political office. 3) It is a set of leaders who try to organize and control the legislative and executive branches of government. (1999:195). Again a political party is an organized group of individual who share similar political beliefs,

opinions, principles, aspirations and interest with the sole interest of capturing political power and exercising it through the formation of government. A political party has more or less a permanent structure in democracy as they aggregate interests and presents candidates for elections (Olarinmoye, 2008:67). Studies carried out by scholars on the history of political parties in Nigeria shows that right from inception of what is today called Nigeria, the political parties structure has been suffering from one kind of challenges to the other. M. Omodia, observed that the political parties before the first republic and within the first republic were basically ethnic and regional based. These to a large extent affected party democracy as some of the parties were more concern with politicking within their region without the formulation of a nation wide party. This also spread to the second republic and beyond (Omodia, 2010:66-67).

The third republic we saw more or less a form of political party that dislodged from the regional base party that used to be. This happened because of the desire of the military government in forming an all-inclusive mass party which will spread her tentacle beyond a particular region or ethnic block. This according to many would have been the beginning of a new democratic order for Nigeria but the lack of commitment of the ruling elite to their promise of democracy and in a bid to protect their pecuniary and private interests annul the election and in turn plugged Nigeria democracy and party structure into her dark days (Omodia, 2010:67).

In as much as several attempts has been made to make Political parties in Nigeria live up to its expectation, it had little or no way been able to function in that light because of many reasons. One among such is the lack of national integration within the system. National integration is the process of bringing together culturally and

socially disparate groups into territorial units and the establishment of national identity that transcends primordial loyalties (Weiner, 1971). More to that Weiner, identifies several dimensions of integration as elite-mass integration, territorial or political integration, value integration and behavioral integration (Cooper 2001:18). I strongly believe that political parties along with a clear cut party ideology and education with intense support of the elite will to a long way resolve the issue of the Nigeria regional difference. As the masses tends to affiliate more to the party ideology, the primordial interest will gradually reduce giving way to a civic political culture within the state. With the right strengthening of the party system as well as internal democracy, where parties in Africa and specifically in Nigeria don't engage in who rig the most but are interested in joining hand with the government to educate the masses on the need to protect their votes as well as the ethics of true democracy.

With the interest of the military to return power to civilian or give room for democracy; different political parties again between 1998 to 1999 began springing up in other to recruit representative of government. In line with the declaration 3 political parties were registered and permitted to operate. They include the All People's party (APP), the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the Alliance for Democracy (AD). Some scholar has argued elsewhere that the Alliance for Democracy was not qualified to be registered as a political party because it lacked branches all over the federation or country but it was still registered because of deliberate attempt not to allow what happened during the third republic to re-occur. The PDP was seen more as apathy with wild influence because it is a conglomerate of business elites which emerged from a core group that cut across the nation with the objective of edging out the military in other to inherit political power. Differently

therefore, the APP was more rooted in the traditional North, while AD was an obviously Afenifera creature which emerged from National Democratic Collation Nigeria. (NADECO) struggle (Ibodje, & Dode, 2007:138) In preparation for the 1999 presidential Elections the APP and AD merged in order to curtail the emerging strength of the PDP. The election was won by PDP presidential candidate of Olusengu Obasanjor. Many believe that the choice of two western candidates for the presidential election in 1999 was to compensate the West for the annulment of the 1993 presidential election. Despite the fact that both of the two presidential candidates were from the West, Obasanjor was seen more as an instrument of the North to protect their legacy and not a respecter of the legacy of Awolowo who happens to be the political lord of the West. With this factor standing against him at his ethnic home the Yoruba ethnic sentiment was put at play against him making him to score below 35 points in the Western Region (Ibodje, & Dode, 2007:139). The 1999 election was eventually won by PDP of which the election was reported to be filled with so many irregularities but the Nigerian masses were not too bordered as their automate desire was freedom from the military dictatorship.

After the end of the 1999 election there had been an exponential growth in the number of political parties. The number of political parties increased from 3 in 1999 to 30 in 2002 and 50 in 2007 and about 57 today (Omondia, 2007:270). Instead of these political parties being a channel of proper representation, it has help to diminish the emergence of any strong opposition and the continual monopoly of the PDP against the interest of the ordinary masses. It has been noticed that electoral fraud in Nigerian democratic process has been deepened by the unwillingness of the political parties to play by the rules of the game. This is more on the part of the ruling People

Democratic Party (PDP) which has elevated impunity management to an art. The PDP has operated as if rules does not matter, this they do in partnership with security agency and the electoral management body. (Ibrahim, & Egwu, 2005; TMG, 2007 and NUD, 2007). It is important to note that this is not only common to the PDP but also to the other political parties in Nigeria who express this in the few states they have control over, they play the game in such a way that is not in accordance to the rule. What most often happens between Nigerians political parties is often who will out rig the other. This notwithstanding the level at which the ruling party PDP is doing it is far outrageous as electoral fraud seems to become an article of faith for PDP preparatory for the 2007 general elections here the former president Olusegun Obasanjo declared it a do or die affair for the PDP by stating that the PDP has reforms programs which they have started and they would want to hand over to a government that would continue the process and as such they were ready to great it don by whatever means available (Vanguard, 2007:15; Egwemi, 2007a). More evidently the Late president Umar Musa Yar' Adu himself admitted that the election that brought him to power was fraudulent (Egwemi 2007a; 2008).

Nigeria since her return to democracy in 1999 has had 4 consistent elections without any shift in power in the political party. The PDP perfect and grow in their electoral malpractice as each election period approaches. The 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 elections have been repeatedly reported by national and international reports to be grossly manipulated by the use of the instrument of the state for the interest of few cabals. The Nigerian political parties are being faced with a lot of challenges ranging from lack of internal democracy to godfatherism, the politics of zoning and defections. The zoning policy of the ruling PDP almost turn the county ablaze with

the demise of the late present UMaru Musa Yar' Adur. The country was held at stand still and was even challenged by disintegration. More to this, the zoning policy is still one of the greatest challenges the present administration is going through as the north and south are in constant clash on who will be the next president with each group treating brim and stone. The parties has never dislodge from ethnic politics as the electorate still vote on regional and ethnic base. Finally the political parties have not thought it wise to properly educate the electorate on the need to vote and in turn protect their votes.

5.5 Party Manifestoes in Nigeria

The PDP manifesto in its preamble states clearly that one of their objective was to clear off the irregularities of the military government which created over the years brought about the worst weakness in the people and the military, wild spread corruption which has become more or less a norm and integrity become a subject of derision was destroyed. They also acknowledge the high unstable and serious decline in public morality, a country where politicians and leaders are prepared to take and few are prepare to give. In line with this the party will be transparent and committed in the recruitment and selection of candidate as party representatives who are passionate about Nigeria transformation and change agents, commitment to the ordinary man's welfare and promoting accountability in the conduct of future politics. The party also stated their deep and sincere committed to fight, by all means necessary, the twin evils of mismanagement and corruption in our national life to restore public morality. We shall urgently restore public law and order, justices and equity and encourage the spirit of reconciliation in both temporal and spiritual matters. (The manifesto of the People Democratic Party)

Again in the mission statement they refer to the establishment of a free and friendly democratic society in which the power and actions of government is lawful and accountable to the masses. build a impartial society which provides every citizen same opportunities, self-empowerment as well as the provision basic needs. The party objective is to defend the principle of public accountability and restore confidence in the institutions of government by strengthening discipline and the leadership problem in Nigeria. One of the strategies they intend to use in bringing about the realization of this is through participating in a free and fair electoral processes, being responsive to public opinion, providing honest and transparent governance in the country while in power (The manifesto of the People Democratic Party).

It is pitiable to know that the Nigeria political experiences has in many ways shown that the parties and its leaders are not committed in following the policies enshrine in their manifestoes, as political powers are not really redistributed to incorporate the people at the bottom of the pyramid; what is always visible is a system where the very few who control the system along ethnic lines choose to keep the system the way it is since the maintenance of the status quo is to their advantage. Many person have opinion that the Nigeria political parties right from inception manifesto is all the same, the only thing that often separate them is the strategy of using ethnicity, religion and other inordinate means to win political parties, Contrary to the structures of political parties in Nigeria, the Ghana system is quite different from inception of her political struggle as there had always been a clear cut left and right wing in the Ghana political parties.

Furthermore, the similarity in the manifestos in the political parties in Nigeria is what makes it very possible for defection of politicians from one party to another. It has become increasingly popular that politicians in Nigeria defect from their political parties whenever their pecuniary interest is not being protected to a party where they can continue with their privatize mandate. A clear example is the defection of the former vice president Atiku Abubakar and others. Aleyomi, has opinion that the lack of political ideology in Nigeria is a serious reason for the cross-carpeting. The PDP, Action Congress of Nigeria, Congress for Progressive Change and others parties in recent times continue to exert authority with the large numbers of decampers, especially in the battle for supremacy (Aleyomi, 2013:75). More to this he hold that the reason behind their choice could be strongly influenced by a number of political motivated reasons such as policy disagreement, politics of godfathers, tribal and regional sentiments and personal conflicts are a few of such reasons (Bakare, 2013).

5.6 Data Analysis

Afrobarometer is an independent, nonpartisan research project that measures the social, political and economic atmosphere in Africa. They are conducted in 35 African countries around the continent and done repeatedly on a regular cycle. The instruments ask a standard set of questions. For the purpose of this work we will be considering their survey on democracy and good governance in Nigeria specifically, Ghana as a control case.

The survey drew upon a nationally representative random sample of Nigerians. All six of the country geo-political zones were covered including 29 of the 36 states. The 2008 survey comprises of 6 Afrobarometer surveys conducted between 2000 and 2008. Jan - Feb 2000, number of respondent was 3603; Aug - Sept 2001, Number of

respondent was 2210; Oct 2003, Numbers of respondent was 2428; Aug-Dec 2005; number of respondent was 2363; Jan-Feb 2007, number of respondent was 2410; may 2008, number of respondent was 2408.

The questions asked captures perceptions of:

The meaning of democracy

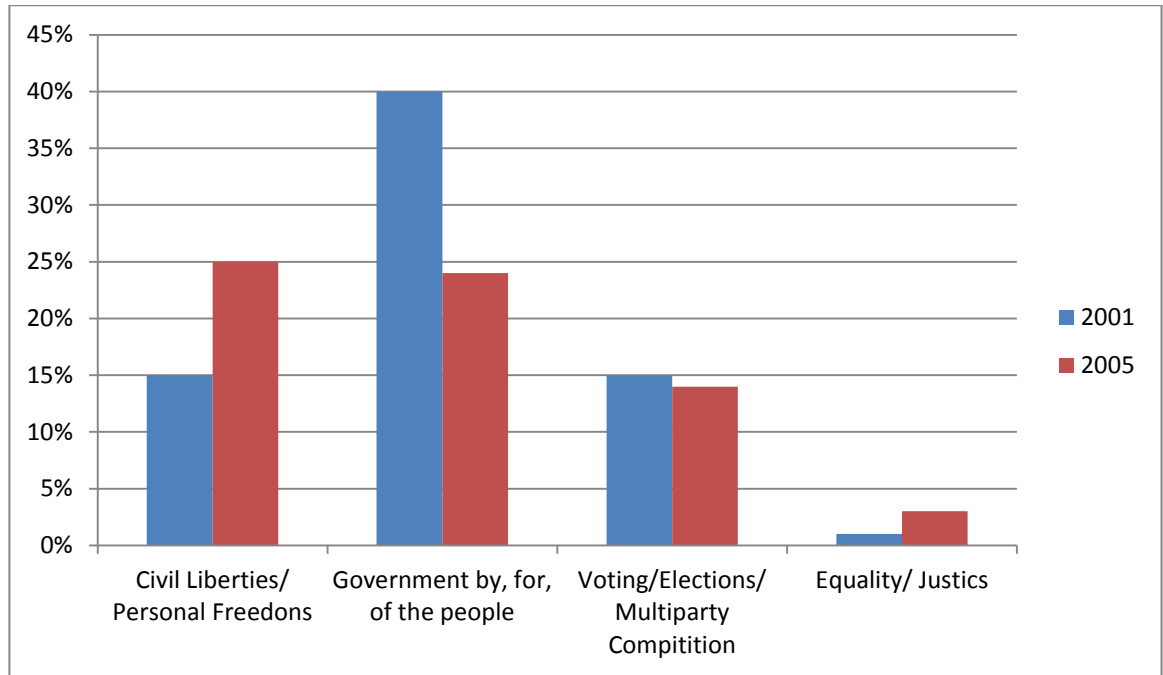
The demand for democracy including individual support for democracy.

Support for democratic institutions including attitudes toward elections.

The supply of democracy including the satisfaction with democracy and the perceived extend of democracy, quality of election and the protection of key freedoms.

Question: What if anything does democracy mean to you?

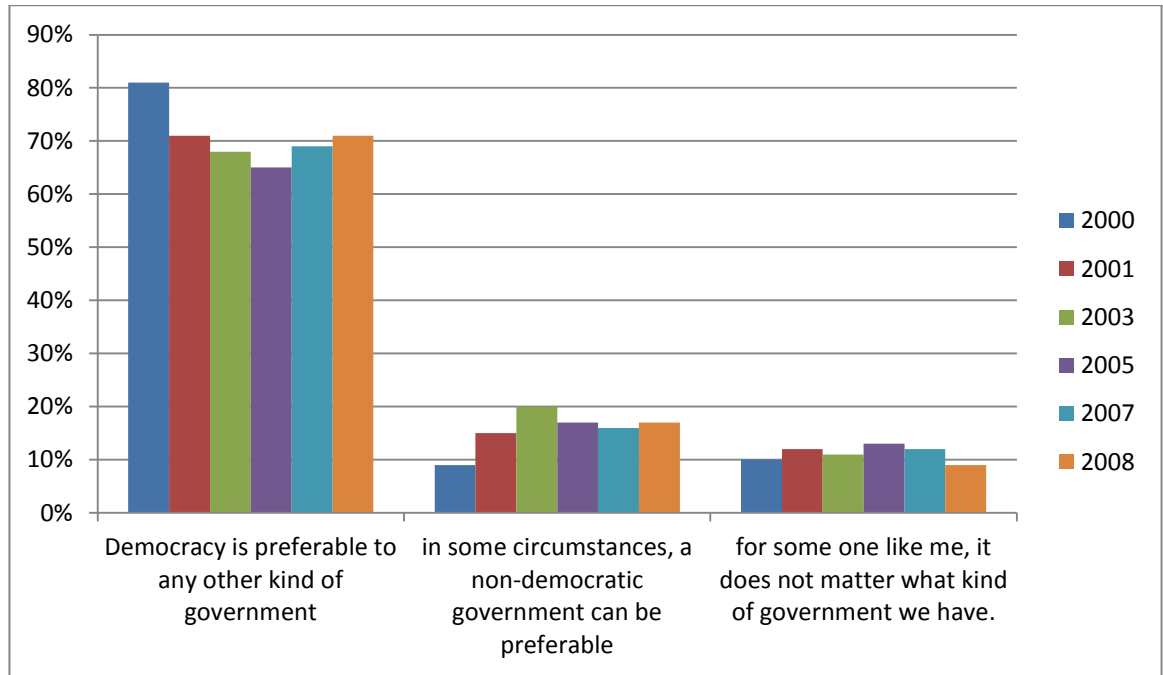
Table 1. Meaning of democracy



Based on Afrobarometer data (Afrobarometer 2009 report).

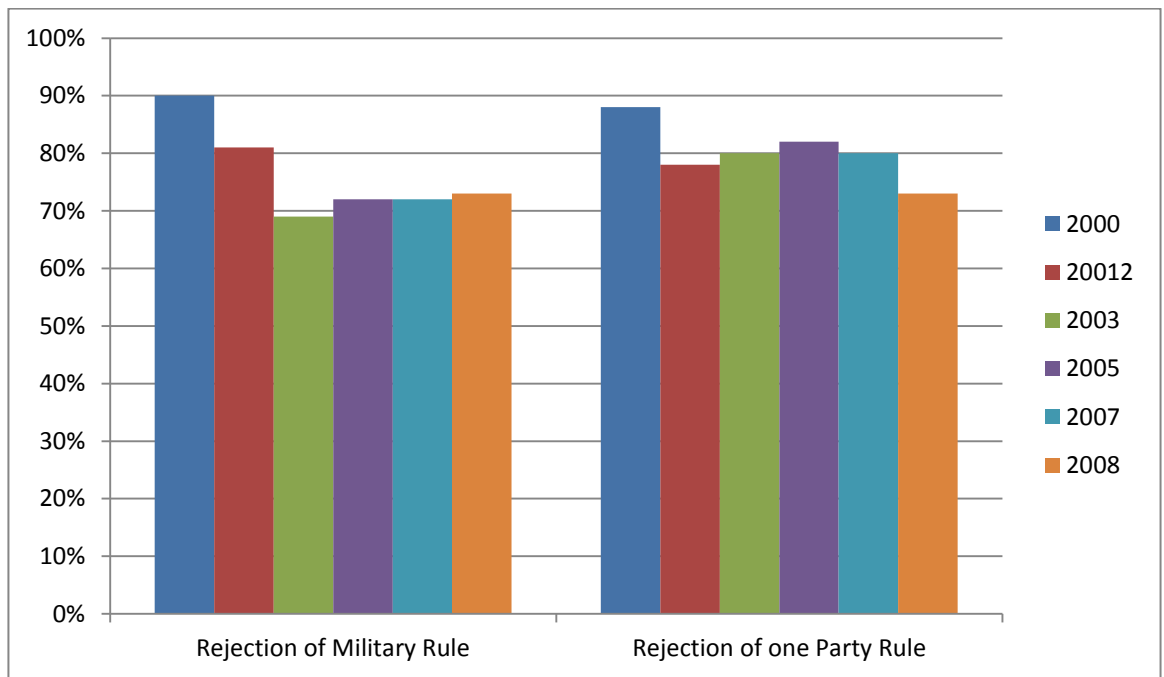
Question: which of these three statements is closest to your opinion?

Table 2. Demand for Democracy



Based on Afrobarometer Data. (Afrobarometer 2009 report).

Table 3 Rejection of the Military Rule

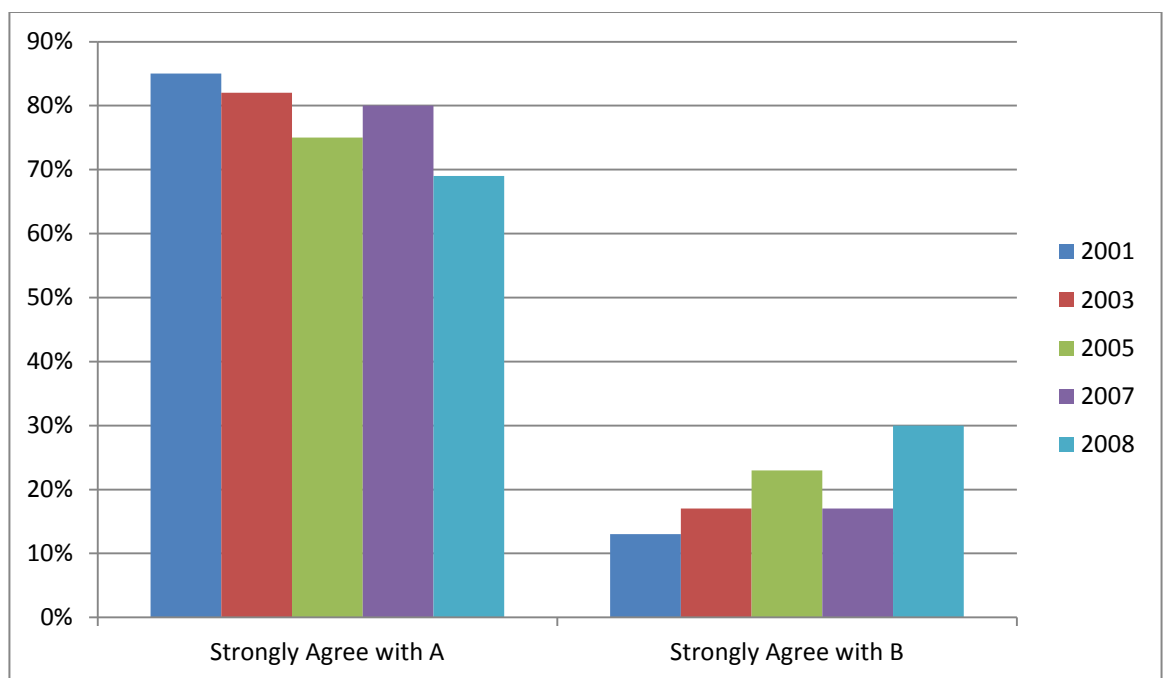


Based on Afrobarometer data (Afrobarometer 2009 report).

Democratic Institutions

- A. We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest elections.
- B. Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing this country's leaders.

Table 4. Democratic Institution

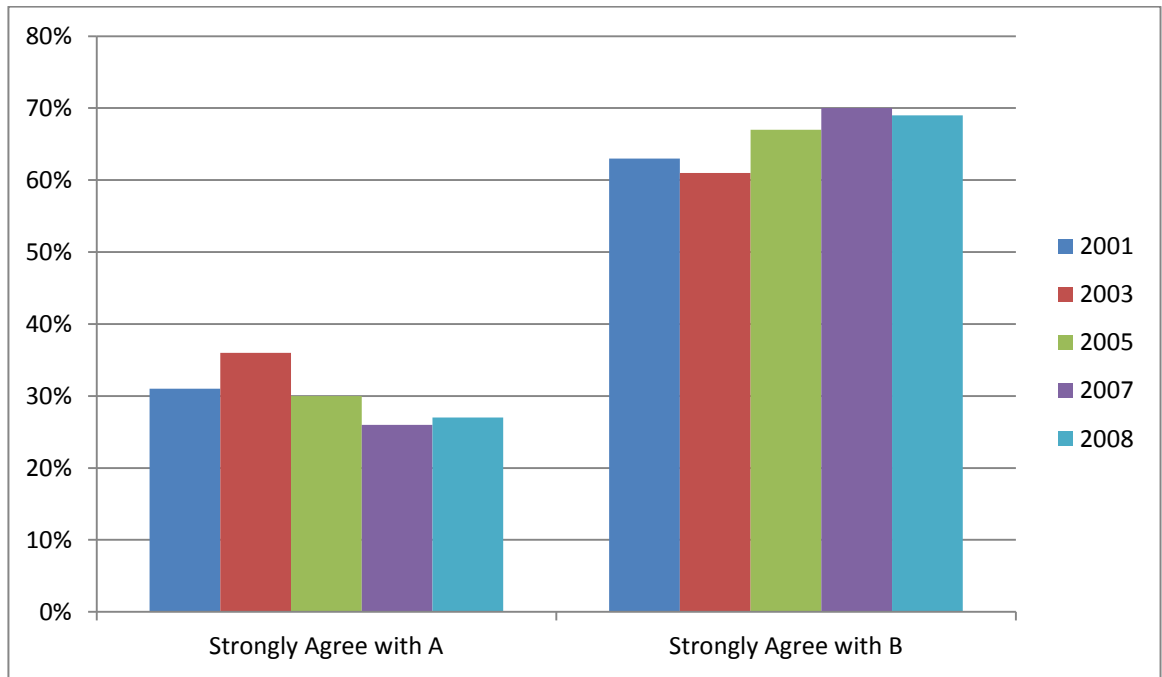


Based on Afrobarometer data (Afrobarometer 2009 report).

Question 3. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? Statement A or Statement B.

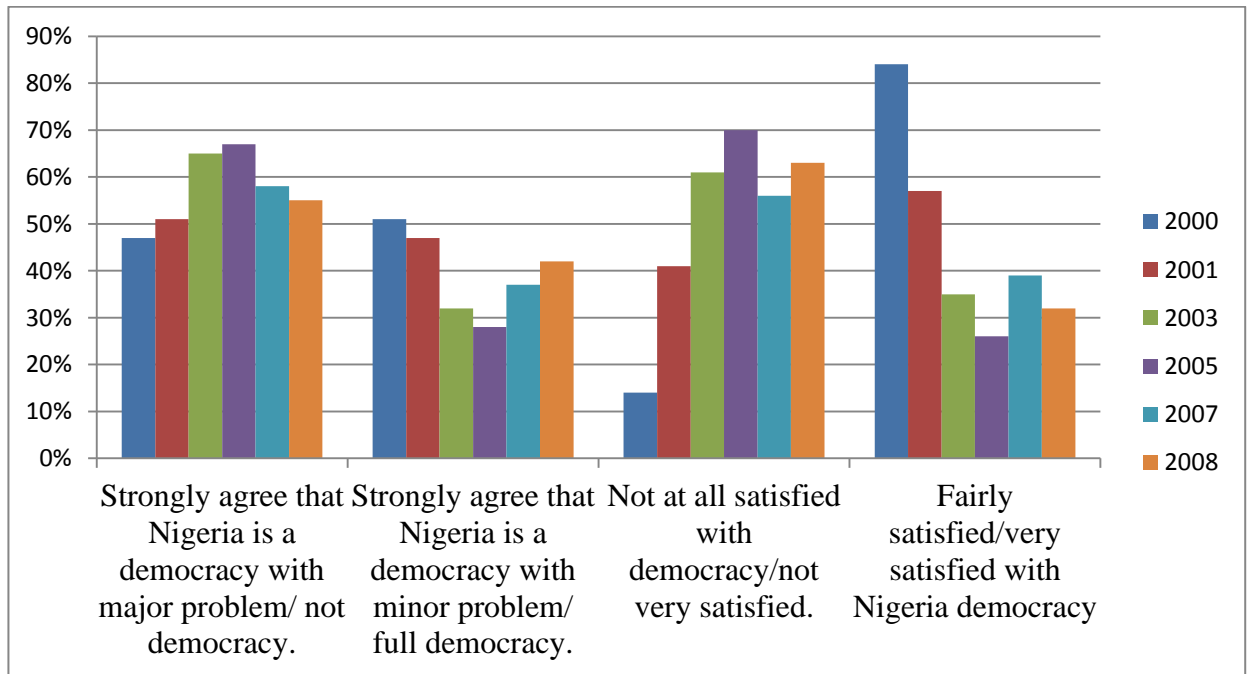
- A. Political Parties create division and confusion; it is therefore unnecessary to have many political parties in Nigeria.
- B. Many Political Parties are needed to make to make sure that Nigerians have real choice in who governs them.

Table 5. Democratic Institution



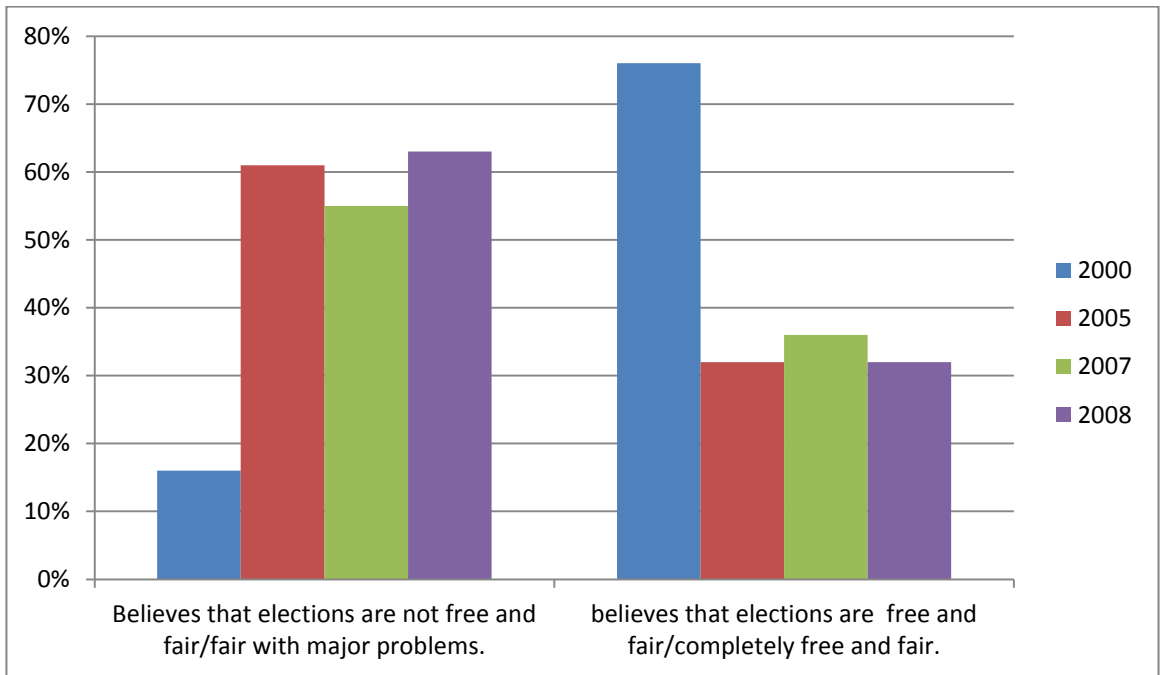
Based on Afrobarometer data (Afrobarometer 2009 report).

Table 6. The Extend of Democracy in Nigeria



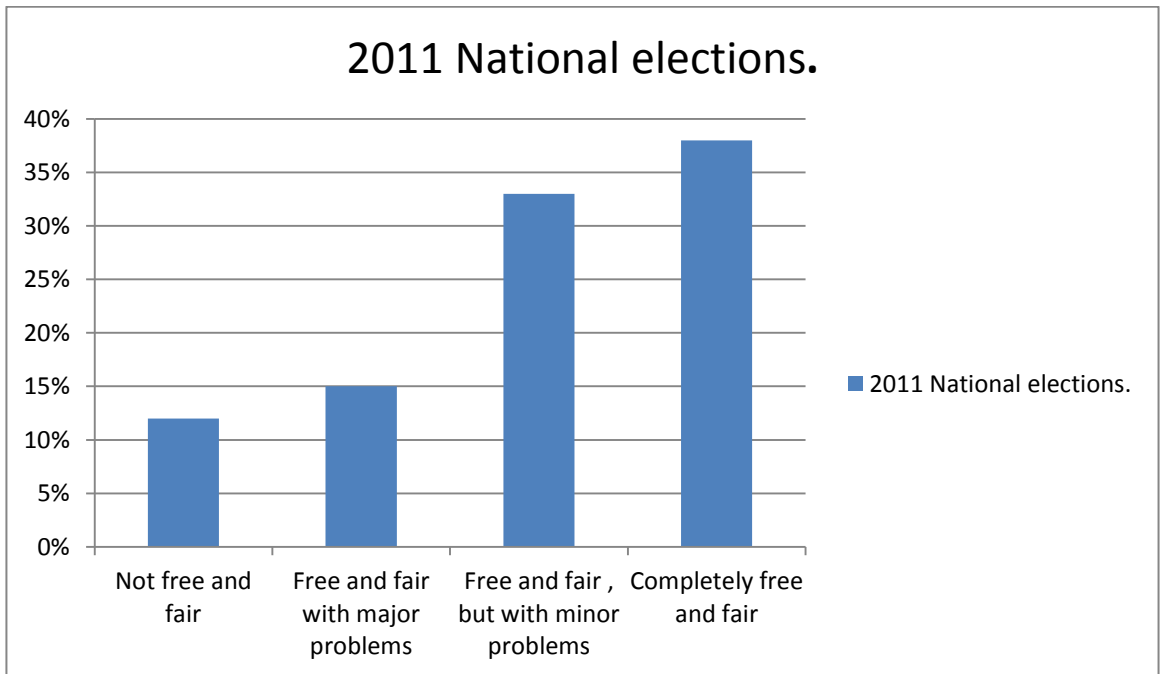
Based on Afrobarometer data (Afrobarometer 2009 report).

Table 7. Extend of elections



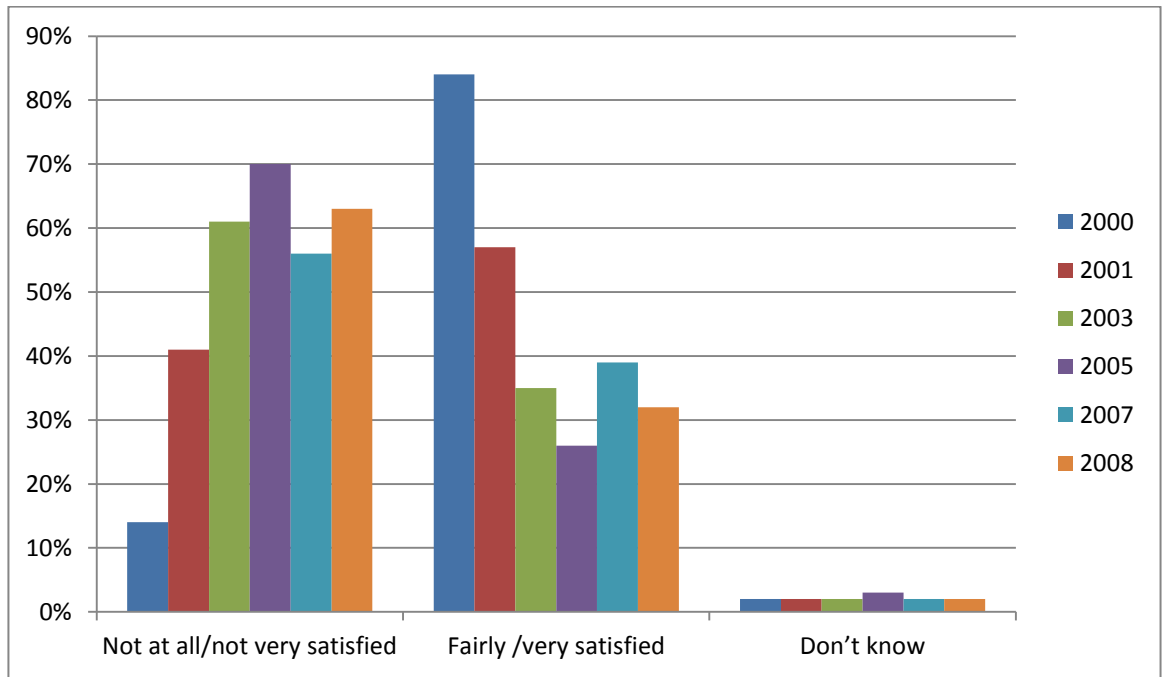
Based on Afrobarometer data (Afrobarometer 2009 report).

Table 8. Extend of Elections



Based on Afrobarometer data (Afrobarometer 2011 report)

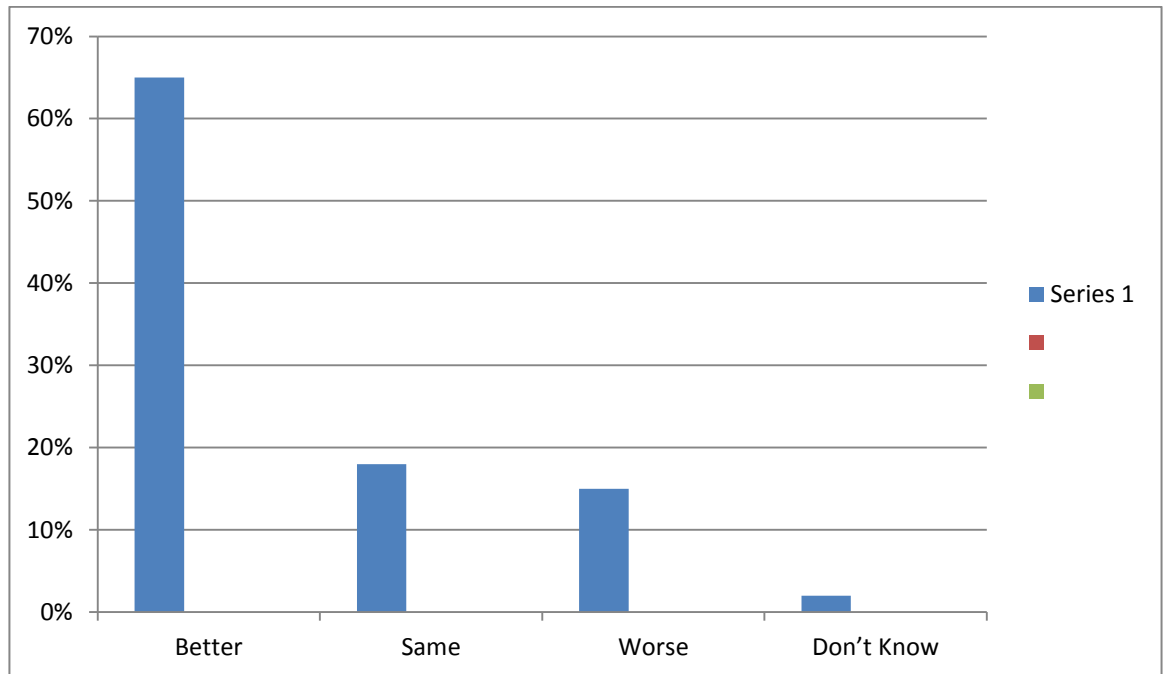
Table 9. Satisfaction with democracy



Based on Afrobarometer data (Afrobarometer 2009 report).

Compare with the 2007 national elections, would you say that the quality of the April 2011 national elections in Nigeria was better, the same, or worse?

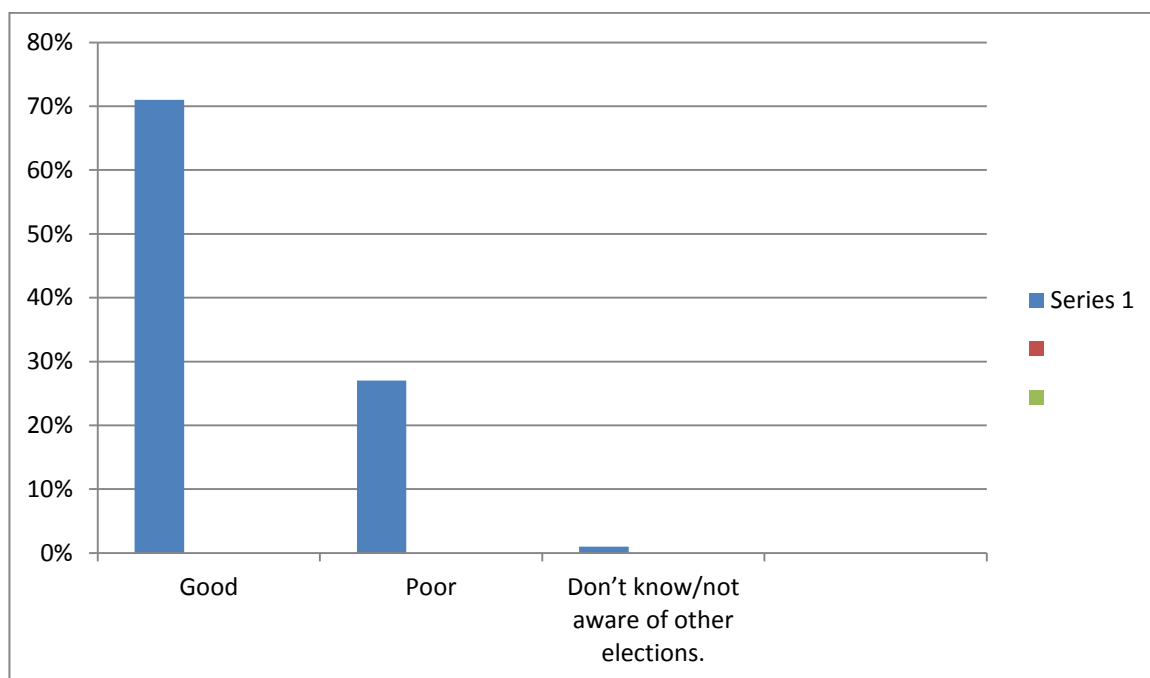
Table 10. Satisfaction with Election



Based on Afrobarometer data (Afrobarometer 2011 report).

Nigerians Opinion on the performance of Independent National Electoral Commission INEC in conducting April 2011 elections.

Table 11. Perception of Democracy



Based on Afrobarometer data (Afrobarometer 2011 report).

5.7 Analysis of Figures

Table 1 of the data collected shows that the perception of Nigerians, on what democracy means is far from the true reflection of democracy as less than 50% of the population see's democracy to mean civil liberties, personal freedom, government of the people for the people, voting and elections, equality and justices.

Table 2 shows that despite the challenges of democracy in Africa and Nigeria in particular, Nigerians still strongly holds that democracy is the best and preferable system of government.

Table 3 also shows Nigerians sharp and strong rejection of military and one party rule. Despite the sharp rejection of over 70% Nigeria is still ruled by one party since 1999.

Table 4 shows that Nigerians still have faith in democracy and believes in choosing their leaders through regular, open and honest elections.

Table 5 shows that Nigerians believes that more than one political party is needed to make sure Nigerians have real choice to who governs them.

Table 6 shows that from 2003 to 2008 over 50% of Nigerians believe that Nigeria is a democracy with major issues or problems.

Table 7 shows that from 2003 to 2008 over 50% of Nigerians believe that Nigeria elections are not free and fair while less than 35% within same period believe that Nigeria democracy is free and fair.

Table 8 shows that there was a considerable improvement in the Nigeria 2011 national election as 31% of Nigerians opinion that the election was free and fair while 33% believes that the election was free and fair with minor problems showing a great deal of improvement.

Table 9 shows that in 2005 about 90% of Nigerians were not satisfied with democracy. The number dropped to 62% in 2008 still showing that a large number of Nigerians are not satisfied with their democracy even though they believe it as the preferable form of government. In contrast in Ghana about 70% of Ghanaians in

2005 and 80% in 2008 are very satisfied with their democracy. (Ghana 2008 Afrobarometer Report.)

Table 10 shows that 60% of Nigerians believe that the 2011 national election is better than the 2007 national election.

Table 11 shows that Nigerians are satisfied with the INEC performance in the 2011 elections.

Differently, the Freedom House which also is an independent research institution that measures the performance of democracy around the world with a standard rating scale of 1-7. From 1-2.5 is referred as free, 3.0-5 as partly free and 5.5-7 as not free; have reported that from 2001 to 2012 Nigeria has been categorized under scale 4.0-4.5 making it partly free democracy. Again the 2012 report acclaim that Nigeria is not yet an electoral democracy. (Freedom House Report 2012). They also reported that as at 2012 the ruling party PDP, CPC and ACN formed the largest political parties in Nigeria. The ACN and CPC derives much of their support from regional based constituencies (the Yoruba speaking South West and the Muslim North respectively.) while the PDP enjoys the backing of opaque patronage networks consisting of elites from every section of Nigeria. In contrast Ghana, Benin, Senegal, Cape Verde which are within the West Africa region are referred as free and fair democracies while Namibia, Botswana, South Africa, Lesotho are considered free and fair democracies in Southern Africa. But Ghana has maintained a considerable high and stable rating in Africa than any other African nation from 2001 to 2012. It is referred by the freedom house as the best democracy in Africa with scale 1.5 except for Cape Verde which is on scale 1.0. (Freedom House Report 2012.).

5.8 Elite Interview Analysis

From the interviews carried out it was gathered that the causes of electoral fraud in Nigeria is one that is systematic and endemic with its root in the colonial Nigeria. The colonial regime set the foundation for fraud which the Nigeria elites consolidated on it, becoming an expert in the very schemes (Nworgu 2014). Again the political culture of Nigeria is anchored on the primordial interest instead of the civic culture which gives room for meritocracy and accountability of the institutions of the state. More to this, the civic culture is concerned about the individual and his right where as the primordial interest focuses on the group and their interest against the overall interests of the state. It is anchored on ethnicity, tribalism and religion where the state institutions are used for competitive gains of the various elites group. The primordial culture gives room for corrupt and fraudulent acts as it does not demand for accountability and merit within the system. (Nworgu 2014; Alapiki 2014; Aremu, 2014 & Akuandana, 2014).

Alapiki puts it differently by calling it the character of the social milieu whereby the diversity in terms of ethnicity and religion encourages political recklessness; what is visible is a system of divide and rule where people are divided along their ethnic lines and discourages political action against political lawlessness. People are identified based on the primordial interest of their region or territory without looking for the general interest of the people (Alapiki, 2014).

Again the illegal use of the institution of the state in order to perpetuate fraud is another factor that breeds fraud. The state institutions have been weakened, not independent enough. They are controlled and manipulated by few privileged

individuals who use the state means at their disposal to achieve their interest. One obvious way this is done is through the use of the power of incumbency where the president uses his power and state resources to influence results in order to remain in office or plant his subject when he is leaving office to continue in the schemes. The system that is obvious in Nigeria is the elite reproduction instead of renewal. More to this the judiciary has not lived to its expectation as an impartial arbiter, there has never been a situation where the judiciary firmly deliver any judgment against a serving president (Nworgu, 2014).

Furthermore the character of the state and politics in Nigeria is one which does not show that the state resource is the common wealth of the people. The state appears to be one that is captured by the political elites so they use it as a means to appropriate the common wealth of the people for personal gains. This character leads to the virtuous struggle that occasionally becomes violent to acquire the institutions of the state for the privatized and pecuniary interest of the ruling class in Nigeria. Differently the predominance of corruption, absence of strong rule of law which is aimed at deterring people from fraudulent act is also the factor that leads to the high level of electoral fraud in Nigeria (Alapiki, 2014).

Nworgu also trace the electoral fraud in Nigeria to the political economy of the Nigeria state. Since politics is the authoritative allocation of resources; the nature and pattern of the federal system of government in Nigeria allows all the resources of the state to be concentrated at the center (federal) government while the federal government allocates to the states. This makes it possible for every region and individual to scramble for the center position to get a fair portion of the oil money. As Gowan, (past military president) once said “the problem with Nigeria is not

money but how to spend it". The scramble for political position is just for the control and manipulation of the oil resources for private interest as well as that of a certain class. The state makes it possible for the elite to sacrifice anything including money and blood in order to achieve it; when they achieve it they guard against it jealously in order not to let any other group have access to it or push them out of their safe part. The resources and blood they sacrifice are always that of the ordinary masses that are bedeviled with poverty and hunger (Nworgu 2014).

Aremu, firstly traced the factor affecting electoral fraud in Nigeria to the INEC. This he calls the systemic problem of the INEC where all the members of the institution are card caring members of political parties. He holds that this makes them the major architect of electoral fraud. Moreover, the lack of adequate personnel of the INEC makes them rely on ad hoc staff in order to run the election. He claims that the ad hoc staff are always recruited by politicians with the mandate to perpetuate fraud for the benefit of the party. What always happens is whatever political party that controls the state or the local government will be the one to recruit the ad hoc staff within their catchment area making it very easy for them to win election within such regions (Aremu 2014).

The lack of strong and vibrant civil society group in Nigeria is one of the factors that lead to the high level of electoral fraud in Nigeria. The lack of Civil Society Organizations to organize and educate the masses against fraud makes it easy for the elites to continue in their practice since nobody or group is standing tall to confront the fraud. Alapiki states that the Civil Society should not take a confrontational position but should gradually transform and educate the electorate building a new political culture in the system. He believes that this will also produce results if the

civil society will go into partnership with other international organization and pressure the state in order to produce more credible elections. The absence of this is also the reason for the level of electoral fraud (Akudana, 2014, Alapiki 2014).

Again the high level of illiteracy, poverty, unemployment and the over ambitiousness in Nigerians to make money at all cost is also the factors that motivates fraud in the system. There is a very high political apathy within the system where they see politics as a dirty game and as such distance themselves from politics. This makes it much easier for the elites to do whatever they please at will at the detriment of the state and the electorate. However, Ayittey also argues that the factors that necessitate the high level of electoral fraud in Nigerian presidential election is due to the winner takes it all politics. Whoever wins the election takes all without inviting the opposition into their government making the stake very competitive thereby resorting to violence and fraudulent means of power acquisition. Again the states in sub-Saharan Africa make it possible for the production of very powerful executives who literally control every segment of the national life, thus the African president wields a tremendous amount of power, power to allocate resources, power to shape the destiny of the country. The above mentioned reasons produces intense competition for the presidency in every African country (Ayittey, 2014).

While considering why Ghana has fared so well, becoming a shining light of democracy in Africa especially in West Africa; Scholars have argued that one of such factors that necessitated a strong democracy almost devoid of malpractice and fraud includes a vibrant civil society. The civil society organizations go into partnership with other institutions in educating the masses on the tenants of democracy and the need for political participation and protection of ones votes. This has brought about

an attitudinal change in the political elites and the masses from the traditional pattern of fraud and other inordinate means to a more incorporating and service oriented one (Gubak, 2014; Akudanan, 2014). Odu, also associated the success of Ghana to the revolutionary and reformist agenda of JJ Rawlings who killed the old corrupt elites and laid the foundation of a new Ghana. He also mentioned that well qualified personnel are recruited into the Electoral Management Body and the body is completely independent from the state. The high level of literacy and strong institutions also plays for their advantage (Odu 2014).

Alapiki again states that Ghana was fortunate to have a good political culture and disposition in their leadership with foundation laid by Nkrumah Kwame and strengthen by JJ Rawlings government. The system in Ghana is one which is centered around service delivering and not in the accumulation of resources. We see in Ghana where the ministers even have to drive themselves where as in Nigeria common councilors go around with drivers. Much of the success is traced to a committed political leadership and the elite class to build the state (Alapiki, 2014). Aremu claims that in as much as Ghana and Nigeria share a lot of similarities and experiences we still have our strong differences such as the difference in population, ethnicity. But despite these Ghana, has been able to fair very well because of their ability of insulating religion from politics, where religion is not seen as a tool for politicking as it is in Nigeria where religion is seen as a means of acquiring political offices. Again the civic culture is much more visible than the primordial culture (Aremu, 2014).

Nworgu, stated that maybe by comparison one can consider Ghana to have fared so well than Nigeria but one needs to consider the population and economic rating of

both countries. He claims that one cannot authoritatively say Ghana has done better until their rentier and oil politics comes to the lime light. He holds that before the emergence of oil in Nigeria the different regions pride in their resources; the north pride in their groundnut pyramid and cotton, the east pride in their palm oil and pays royalty to the federal government but as soon as oil was discovered at a high level the system was changed making the whole resources to be controlled by the center and as such created a system where everybody wants to have a big chunk of the resources against all odds. He further emphasizes that the economy is the common factor that binds elites all over the world, so the scramble for political position is in order to control the economy. What led to the high rate of electoral fraud and corruption in Nigeria is the scramble for having a share of the huge sum of money at the national government and as such the elite class has created a system that perpetually allow them to harness the resources. Ghana has just discovered oil so I would not rush to say Ghana has fared so well until oil becomes at least 50% of Ghana's national economy (Nworgu, 2014). More to this Ayittey, argues that it is a myth that Ghana has fared so well in democratic dispensation. Ghana has held six elections but with the exception of the 2000 election the rest were marked by allegations of fraud and rigging. According to him the system has been also marked by voters intimidation, vote buying, bloated voters register and others (Ayittey, 2014)

Finally addressing the endemic and systematic level of fraud in Nigeria most interviewed experts stated that this task will demand a lot of work and commitment of all institutions in Nigeria as well as the collective action of the elite and the electorate through an active and vibrant civil society organization group. Many scholars have shared their opinion that indeed it will be a heinous task to totally

eradicate fraud from the system considering its wild spread nature. For instance, Nworgu admitted that there is a possibility for the eradication of electoral fraud in Nigeria but it will not happen suddenly, it will have to adopt the policy of gradualism through reorientation and winning back the confidence of the people. It will also involve getting people into politics by eradicating the believe that politics is a dirty game. We are all beneficiaries of politics in one way or the other and as such there is no need of not being interested in it. Again he pointed that the government must also show deliberate commitment to supply basic needs for the people which will then have a redundancy effect on poverty and corruption. Again the mass unemployment has made it very difficult to curb fraud; if unemployment is taken care of by the state then, there will be a great possibility of fraud reducing drastically (Nworgu, 2014).

On a different tone, Akudanna mentioned that there will only be a hope of eradicating fraud in Nigeria if there is a deliberative effort by the state and electorate in building strong institutions. The political parties, INEC and other institutions of the state being strengthen to function under the ideal condition of their service. He also stated that he does not see the possibility of the elite class bringing about any change in the system by eradicating fraud since the fraud is to their advantage and as such he would recommend the button top approach or model where the civil society will become very active in questioning the activities of the elite class and mobilize deliberately both internally and with external relations with international organizations to make sure that democracy works in Nigeria (Akudanna, 2014). Gubak, also opinion that those caught engaging in electoral fraud should be prosecuted in order to deter people from going into it. Furthermore strong laws

should also be made and implemented against fraud and corruption within the system (Gubak, 2014).

In a speech delivered by Oby Ezekwesili at the Action People Congress National Summit, it was stated that for democracy to have any headway or success in Nigeria it will demand a progressive evolving elite class which is likened to what Ayite calls the chitters generation, to identify the problems of our political system and soundly articulate an all-encompassing vision through the use of proven, efficient and effective strategies which will affect both the public and the private sector and over time build an institutions that is stronger than the individual or a selected individuals. She also accreted that strong institutions do not just emerge but do so over time (Ezekwesili, 2014).

Alapiki, also highlighted that leadership is what matters. He advocated that the change will come through the reformist agenda where the state will gradually strengthen the institution. Allowing the rule of law to have prominence and the civil society becoming more atavistic, vigorous and engaging the various institution of government for the creation of a level field for all political actors. Equally important the INEC should go into partnership with other organizations and countries which had success in their electoral process and learn from them on best ways of curbing the fraud. Furthermore she also suggested that the state should adopt universal best approach. Again partnership with international organizations in order to join hand to eradicate fraud in Nigeria since the world has become a global village. The change will not come as a result of the struggle or confrontation from the civil society, I believe the change will come from an internal contradiction within the ruling class such that a segment will begin to have a positive disposition and view that they need

to move in a positive direction since the old structure has not benefited the masses. Again the recent two dominant political party system that has emerged will also go a long way to create stability and a level playing ground within the system giving the situation where the political parties will begin to see their party ideology to the masses in order to seek for votes (Alapiki, 2014).

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter synthesizes the findings generated from elite interviews and makes conclusions whether the hypothesis on Elite Theory and Rationalist Theory could be accepted. The chapter also looks at an alternative interpretation and purports that the findings of the thesis is also in line with claims of the social constructivist school of thought. Here, the claims of the Elite theory is found to be also suggesting links with the social constructivist school of thought. Finally the chapter draws on conclusion to make recommendations for electoral reform and political change in sub-Saharan Africa and specifically for Nigeria.

6.2 Conclusion

The fourth republic of Nigeria starting from 1999 to date has given civilian governments to Nigeria than democracy itself (Ezekwesili, 2014). Nigerians have over the years been too interested in periodic elections that they have lost touch of those dyeing of poverty, those whose mandate are stolen, those who are being sacrificed on daily basis for the pecuniary interest of a very few others. If this is what is called democracy; then I wonder what democracy really is. It is also interesting to note that despite the level of democratic fraud in Nigeria, Nigerians still prefer democracy to any other form of government. The results of this research has evidence to show that the elite in Nigeria controls the decision making of the state and uses it to serve their narrow self- interest at the detriment of the masses.

Again the elites manipulate the institutions of the state such as the INEC, Judiciary, Police and others. The president has the power to appoint and sacks the Electoral Management Body chairman and members, making it possible for the president to recruit loyalist who will be subservient to them. More to this the poor staffing and funding of the body is also a contributing factor that impedes on the strength and independence of the institutions. It is worthy to note therefore, that the predominance of the character and disposition of the elites in Nigeria has made the institutions of the state to be weak and unable serve its function in the society.

The study has evidence to prove that one of the major factors impeding on the free and fair election in Nigeria is the predominance of the egoistic characteristic of the elite which makes them behave in ways that is anti-democratic. The core idea of Elite Theory is that in every society a small population of the people takes the core decisions in the society that affect the lives and wellbeing of every one. It has also been established by this study that the actions of the elite group are not always egoistic in character as they tend to be constrain by other variables that makes them act in an all-inclusive manner. Unfortunately therefore, the elite group in Nigeria is only interested in their personal interest not paying attention to the needs and desires of the ordinary people. Again the institutions of the state which is meant to check the excesses of any individual within the state is too weak or an instruments in the hands of the elites. Finally the citizens who are meant to constrain or displace the elites are too afraid of standing up to their rights because of the fear of the unknown. They prefer dying in silence, suffering while smiling. More to this there is little or no vibrant civil society group with no pecuniary interest to instigate the necessary changes in the society that would eventually lead to a free and fair election.

Having systematically and critically reviewed literature along with the analysis of primary data collected on democracy and electoral fraud in Africa. With a prime focus on Nigeria as the experiment case and Ghana as the control case, it has been established that there is no one factor that leads to the high level of fraud within the Nigerian state. These factors are necessitated by couple of variable. One of such variable is the predominance nature and character of the elite within the system where their interest is firstly for their private and primordial interest at the detriment of the overall masses. This is fueled by the ethnic and religious politics which does not call for accountability and meritocracy within the system. This experience confirms the accretion of Davis, L. (1964) that democracy is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class to perpetuate their inordinate schemes while they allow the people to feel the imaginary glory of their vote counting.

Again the study also reveals that the institution of the states which is supposed to curtail the activities of the individual is too weak; not strong enough to confront the enormous electoral fraud prevailing in the system. The institution has now been turn into an instrument in the hands of the ruling class that helps them facilitate their inordinate means at the detriment of the masses. The institutions include the INEC which lack both constitutional and systemic independence and seen more or less as an appendage of the state. This is because of their inability to have an independent source of capital as well as job security as it is in Ghana, Botswana and others. Furthermore the structure of political parties without internal democracy and lack of different political ideologies of the various political parties in Nigeria creates the situation where the only political culture available to the poverty stricken masses is whoever pays more deserves the seat. Other institutions such as the police are also

instrument in the hands of the political elites during electoral period. Differently the judiciary as an impartial institution has not been able to live up to her expectation. The civil society again has been very weak also, most of them over the time is being bought over by the political elites. There has been a general failure in the institutions of the state to curb electoral fraud within the system.

The individuals or the electorates who were expected to be rational actors within the political system, taking rational decision and electing the right candidate through their votes have been paralyzed with the wide spread poverty in the system that makes them sell their votes for little or nothing during election. They do this based on different reasons such as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and if they refuse to take the money which might perhaps be the only time for them to come in contact with the national cake, the politicians will still bribe their way up so, it is profiting for them to accept it (Nworgu, 2014). All these variables have made the electorate so irrational with either protecting or defending their votes giving room for unimaginable fraud within the system.

More importantly, the wildly acceptable belief that poverty is a major cause of electoral fraud and corruption in Nigeria is a myth and fallacious because those that engage in the real fraud within the system are not the poor Nigerians but the few privileged elites who have no connection with poverty. One would have believed that if the poverty was a major cause of corruption then the elite class would have been the ones that would create an environment for the eradication of fraud within the system. This study have argued otherwise that the reverse is the case in Nigeria as the elite are the major drivers of fraud accumulating wealth from the state that they might not be able to spend by their family and 3 generation to come. Furthermore

this thesis among many things have proven that corruption and fraud in Nigeria have been systematically and psychologically strengthened within the Nigeria system making it to become the dominant culture that is almost accepted by all Nigerians not minding the ethnicity, religion or culture. Prof, Osiagbe has argued that eradicating fraud in Nigeria will lead to its destruction as the country was born out of corrupt act. Corruption was also strengthened by the elite after independence without charting a new cause, building a strong institutions different from what was this has made it very difficult for the state to totally dislodge from fraud and corruption within the system.

Differently put therefore, the emergence of the biggest merger of opposition political parties in Nigeria to form the Action People Congress (APC) has created a new atmosphere in Nigeria democracy as for the first time within the 4th republic, There appear to be a balance in the political party structure in size. I am optimistic that the emergence of this party will check fraud within the system as the two dominant political parties might likely adopt campaign strategy that is the masses driven.

Finally, this research has shown among many things that Ghana has been able to fare so well in their democratic elections because of the political dispositions of its leaders toward the state and governance, a strong and vibrant civil society which went into partnership with the Electoral commission in educating the masses and vigorously demanding for true democracy. Equally important is that the Ghanaian elite's class had always shown a strong commitment in building the state rather than projecting their private interest. Furthermore the existence of two dominant political parties all through Ghana democratic history was able to give the masses real choice during elections period to choose the right candidate especially with the political

parties having two different political ideologies. Furthermore the civil culture is far higher than the primordial culture as ethnicity and religion does not play a vanguard role in deciding who wins elections in Ghana; this has resulted in the political maturity of the electorate and political leaders displayed in the 2000 election and 2008 elections, which NDC party won by a mere 40,000 vote margin. The maturity in the character and disposition of the Ghana political elites has also influence in strengthening the institutions of the state to become independent in order to check the excesses of the individual within the state. This among many other reasons is why Ghana has been able to fare so well whereas Nigeria is still lacking behind.

6.2.1 Social Constructivism and Future Directions of Research

Constructivism focuses on the social interaction of individuals within the society. They focus on how the distribution of material power defines behavior of interaction of the different classes within the society. The state and the institutions does not exist on its own rather it exists only as an inter-subjectivity among people. The system is constituted by ideas and not just by the market forces. It also holds that in a society there is always a mutual interaction within the system, the top-bottom approach and the bottom –top approach; with the two different relationships being the agent of change within the society. Change can either be initiated from the top or from the bottom. Social constructivism also believes in the socially constructed character of actor's interest, identity and change.

The findings of this study has revealed that Elite Theory has does have explanatory power when electoral fraud in Nigeria is concerned. However, the findings of the study also reveal that the mechanism through which elites function also highlight another school of thought that might be complementary to our analysis. Here it could be claimed that the premises of Social constructivism school of thought is not

mutually exclusive with the Elite Theory. The Elite Theory explains the interaction of a few privileged classes within the system which uses the instrument of the state for their self-interest. From the Nigerian context the decisions of the state often flows from the top instead of having the two way mutual interaction as social constructivism postulates.

This is very different from the rationalist theory which does not provide an explanation of how this interaction takes place within the system. Therefore, the thesis concludes that a further look into the operationalization of the claims of social constructivist school of thought could be attempted in a study and compared with the findings of this thesis.

6.3 Recommendations

The following suggestion is made as possible ways of eradicating electoral fraud in Nigeria. The researcher believes that the task of having a free and fair election in Nigeria in the nearest future will come only based on a divine miracle but if social realities base on scientific fact is anything to go by then the change in the democratic principles in Nigeria is one that will take a long and gradual process. Since the researcher is an incurable optimist I pray to see the change happen in my generation. The recommendations are as follows.

- 1 Reduction of poverty and general re-orientation of the electorate. Since it is very difficult to change the ideology of a hungry man it would be reasonable for the state to use the state common wealth judiciously to curb poverty, hunger and unemployment of the masses.
- 2 There is also the need for a new breed of elite who are passionate about changing the status quo; this can only be done by elite renewal instead of elite reproduction which has been the practices over the years in Nigeria.

3 There is need for institutional reforms; this is because the institutions play a vanguard role in ensuring the credibility of any elections. Institutions such as the Police, Executive, Legislature, Military, religious organizations, and even the civil organizations all need to be strengthen and re strengthen in order to produce a credible elections. For there to be a credible election and a free and fair democracy all the above mentioned institutions needs to be reform to discharge their function in such a way that would promote democratic principles.

4 Disbandment of all militia groups. No politician or party should be allowed to have armed thugs to intimidate and beat up voters. Security forces should remain absolutely neutral during an election period.

5 A clean voters register, striped of ghost and fake name, possible the state should adopt a biometric registration to prevent fraud

6 The media and civil society organizations should become more involved and vigilant during electoral processes.

7 A full implementation of the Uwais Electoral Reform report of 2008 which advocates for the appointment of the head of the electoral management body to be made by the Judiciary.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview with Prof. Dr. Omenihu Nworgu Department of Political Science University of Port Harcourt. Rivers State, Nigeria

The following questions were sent to professional with expertise and a lot of experience in African democracy and it happening. A the questions were sent to over 15 lecturers, politicians and members of the civil service to see their professional view on the factors affecting electoral fraud in Africa. The following questions were asked in the course of the interviews with them. The interview questions asked are as follows:

- 1) What are the factors that affect the rate of electoral fraud in Nigeria's presidential elections?
- 2) How and why has Ghana fare so well, becoming a shining light of Africa democracy and Nigeria is still deeply rooted in electoral frauds?
- 3) What practical lessons can we learn from the Ghana experience?
- 4) Why are the Nigerian electorate easily bought over by the elites even when they know they might not likely represent their interest.
- 5) Is there any hope for the eradication of electoral fraud in Nigeria?

Question 1

The factor that leads to the environment of electoral fraud is so systematic in the sense that it predates independent Nigeria. It now appears like something that may never end now because of so many factors. Firstly the colonial masters had a choice of releasing power when they were about going to those that would be much more subservient to them than to those that will actively work for the unity of Nigerians.

The fault one will begin to say came from the British. They accord it, purported it right from the 1959 election.

How did this happen one would want to ask?

Electoral fraud started before the 1964 or 1979 elections because of the British primitive interest in continuing in power after Nigerian independence. When independence became inevitable they never wanted to lose their interest. The commercial as well as the physiological marshal that they have such a large entity as Nigeria, Ghana and other common wealth countries was there. They wanted to hand over power to those they can control and not to the people that were genuinely fighting for independence because they did not want anything that would rock their boat. Right from the census period in 1952-1953; the results were manipulated and skilled up to favor the north or such candidate as they want.

Nigeria and other African nations was just a young country coming up and learning very fast especially in a system where so many people are poor. Another is people are just looking for political positions from the angle of religion, either Christians or Muslim. Of course the British toe the direction of the Northern Muslim. All these affects the system in such a way that one see's political power as an opportunity to turn the tie or the boat for personal interests. Primordial interests is far greater than the national interest because of ethnicity and tribalism.

Secondly when we look at the factors that affect democracy we are referring to anything that would make elections and the electorate not to be free to cast their vote through free and fair acts. Some of the things that have worked for electoral fraud in Nigeria include ethnicity, religion, mass poverty and illegal use of civil servants to change results as well as perpetuate the positions of those they want to be there.

Again the power of incumbency plays a vanguard role as those in power especially president want to serve first, second and even third terms in office as was attempted by Obasanjo. This is done because they have access to the state resources and they use it to perpetuate themselves and that of their cliques in office. Furthermore the judiciary which is meant to be impartial arbiter have not lived up to its bidding, may be because it is not independent enough since it is the president that have to appoint them. Whoever pays the pipers dictates the tune. We are yet to see an Africa where the judiciary will stand tall to deliver a judgment against a serving president. The use of the institutions of the state to make sure that whoever the caucus and cabal have chosen to represent the people is achieved against the will of the people. Even the human right and UN declaration say's government should be established from the free will of the people, only in this can the state enjoy legitimacy. Ibakwe ones said "if you like vote for me, if you don't like leave, I will still win". This makes a mockery of democracy and makes our brand of democracy suspect as it is rub of the legitimacy of the people.

Differently the overall poverty weeping the people is a major cause of electoral fraud. The people in turn see the time of elections as opportunities for them to reap from the government as well as party officials. Since the parties do not have any strong ideology, they scramble over how much they can pay. The politicians that shakes your hand today giving you little or no money to buy your votes are same politicians who are going to shake your heart because they are not going to meet your demands as well as fulfill their electoral promises. Illiteracy, poverty, religion and division in the country all works together to encourage fraud in all of our elections.

Question 2 and 3

Maybe in comparison one may consider that Ghana has fared so well but consider the population, economic rating of the two countries. As soon as oil became the main stake of Nigeria and the federal system was changed from where the regions were even more powerful than the center in which the Northern Nigeria pride in their groundnut, pyramids, and cotton and pay royalties to the center but with oil becoming a dominant factor the system changed. Ghana has just discovered oil, so let's not be too fast to say Ghana has fared so well than Nigeria. Politics is the authoritative allocation of resources. Oil is an economic resource and everybody wants to get a big share of it even against what ought to be. Those who aspire for positions do so out of greed. As Gowan once said, the problem of Nigeria is not money but how to spend the money.

The common factor binding the elite all over the world is the economy. So the scramble for political position is in order to control the economy especially with the system now in Nigeria where the center shares the national resources to the states makes so much money and power at the center. It is the case of who controls that has made Nigeria a little different. People play fraud to take advantage of the system. Let's watch and see what happens when Ghana oil rises to at least 50% of its generated income which it is yet to assume. I want to think that there will be a change because Ghana and any other nation in the world are immune to fraud. In the case of Ghana until the political economy comes to play a key role in Ghana politics I choose to reserve my comment.

Question 4

It is just common sense, in the sense that if I don't collect I tend to lose. Just as Frederick Forsyth said Devil's alternative, "either way I go take, men must die". To the electorate if I don't take this money which everybody calls the national or Nigeria cake they will still bribe them self through to the seat of power so perhaps this is their best opportunity to get close to the national cake so they would prefer to take no matter how small it is.

Secondly, the wild spread poverty is another factor that brings about this. Poverty has crumbled the value system in the society as positions are not based on merit or integrity but base on the money one has and is willing to distribute. Money politics is what brings about recognition. Again illiteracy, collapse of culture and ethics is what has brought us where we are. Furthermore the political parties a manifesto is all the same in Nigeria as there is neither left nor center wing ideology. We are all happy about the same thing, the closer you are to the cake; the more you can take. Politicians make sure that before elections poverty is made worst so that if a little money is thrown at the masses at such time , the masses will easily and hurly grap it .

Question 5

There is a way out, but it might not come tomorrow. It is a gradual thing and developmental. A reorientation and winning back the confidence of the people. it also requires the people getting involved in politics by eradicating the believe that politics is a dirty game . If it is a dirty game who will wash it? All of us are beneficiary of politics in one way or the other so if the wrong person is at the top allocating vales, then we should expect negative values allocation. The more the youth into the system and ethnic ideology eradicated and encouraging the ideas of

honesty and transparency the better for all. The commitment of the government to supply basic needs for the people will bring about the reduction of corruption and fraud. Mass un-employment has made it impossible to eradicate fraud. There should also be a call for leadership by example, a leadership that listens to the yearning of the people and responds promptly.

I believe there is a way if there is a general re-orientation where members of the national orientation agency is not sitting in the office but will get to the schools and educate the people on the right ideas. This can also be done by creating the Nigerian dream, catching the young ones young because they are the ones that are not protected, they are the ones that dies and used by politicians for negative purposes.

Appendix B: Interview with Mr. Akuandna Iliya Felix. Department of Political Science University of Jos 24/02/2014

Question 1

What we may consider as the factors that affects the rate of electoral fraud in Nigeria in my opinion and based on literatures explore and research are

- 1 Lack of a vibrant civil society organization
- 2 Weak electoral management institution in the political parties , INEC
- 3 Ethno religious decisions and politics
- 4 Money politics is also very critical in Nigeria. These are very strong factors that comes out very clearly as a scholars of democracy.

Question 2

Comparatively Ghana and Nigeria democracy is two sides of the same coins. Why Ghana has a fair democracy than Nigeria is because they have vibrant civil society organizations, they also have strong and powerful institutions as well as the system of constitutionalism and due process. Ghana allows the constitution to work for them where as in Nigeria the constitution has been undermined by the weak institutions

Question 3

Having learnt from the Ghana institutions where they deliberately built their institutions it would be advisable for us to go back to the drawing board and build a powerful institutions like the political parties, INEC, Civil society group and other institutions that will give way for a fair democracy.

Question 4

Well, the first issue is the uneducated electorate, what I mean by this is even though people have gone to schools but because there is no political participation and

awareness and people has become politically apathy from the political system because of the inherent corrupt activities that has bedevil the system. Secondly is the issue of poverty. Poverty has a ripple multiplied effect on Nigeria democracy. It is only the elite class that has access to money so they used it at their advantage. Again corruption in the system where the winner takes it all. Ruler takes all, ones one has access to power all the resources are converted to private property. These are few among many others are the reasons that can easily make electorate to be forced focus on the politicians. It also may lead to the height level of poverty because firstly the electorate were bought by money so they don't have a say d elected official will as well not be accountable to them.

Question 5

There is hope only when there is a deliberative effort from the state and electorate in building strong institutions. The political parties being strengthen as well as the activities of an active civil society will bring a big hope. They should be able to fight for the interest of the ordinary Nigerians and insisting that the right thing should be done. Furthermore the prosecution of those cut for electoral fraud will go a long way to deter people from it. There will also be hope when there is a strong developmental structure where poverty will be eradicated or reduced to a very low level.

The Elite class is major beneficiary and no effort Is made by them to reform the system. The only solution is that the Electorate under a vibrant civil society that can begin to question the activities of the elite class and mobilize deliberately to make sure democracy works in Nigeria through stickers and campaigns.

**Appendix C: Interview with Prof. Dr. Aremu Fatai Ayinde.
Department of Political Science University of Illorin on 23.2.2014.**

A numbers of complicated factors contribute to the probability and degree of electoral fraud in Nigeria. The first one that i see is the System Problem of INEC which from the beginning has compromise the institution as in-impartial umpire. All the members are always card carrying members of political parties and as such will not have free leverage in ensuring free elections as they explore every opportunity to perpetuate fraud as they are part of the system from the very beginning.

Lack of adequate staffs of the INEC to run the election makes them rely on adhoc staffs recruitment during elections. The adhoc staffs are always recruited by politician and they are also politicians so no matter the mechanism put in place to minimize fraud it is still difficult to do so. The button line is that the institution that is supposed to protect the system has already been compromised already from the beginning. It all depends on the political party that has advantage or controls a particular state or ward; all the polling agent and returning officers will likely be members of that particular political party and therefore they can have a free scale to perpetuate the fraud. This is at the systemic level at the institutional level; the level of education is very low .They see fraud as a normal thing because they silence others will rig all the same. They see rigging as the right thing to do. These are the factor I believe affects electoral fraud.

Question 2

I think this is a very nice question both at the theoretical level and systematic level and makes the research to be more valid. It a nice question but Apart from our

common Colonial Heritage & Post-colonial Heritage there is other factor that distinguishes both countries.

- Nigeria is big & are diverse than Ghana
- Ghana has a domical Ethnic group which is the Ashanti and majority of them speaks the language
- They insulate politic form Religion. The Ethnic questions in Ghana are not that common where as it very strong in Nigeria and competitions between religions in Nigeria.
- Religion is not so strong reducing the due or die politics being practice in Nigeria where they practice win and win all policy or lose and lose all politics. The ethnic and religious variable is very strong in Nigeria where it is being used as a tool in politicking.
- The level of literacy and political consciousness and participation is high in Ghana than in Nigeria.

I think these variations between Nigeria and Ghana experience

Question 3

I have spoken with a lot of Ghanaians and have traveled there a lot, I think one of the lessons we can learn is for us to find a way of keeping religion form politic as Ghanaian do not use religion as a means in politic. They don't use religion as a rallying point for elections as in the case of Nigeria I think this is one thing we can learn and stop using religion as a rallying point to canvas for votes if this is done I believe it will help us reduce the probability of electoral fraud. Then I don't know learn how we can manage our ethnic politics in such a way that makes it less vulnerable political use because I don't think this is highly practiced in Ghana. Another thing is the educational level, in as much as I don't know in details the

educational difference, I think that of Ghana is higher than that of Nigeria so the level of literacy need to be improved. Level of Identify Politics we play In Nigeria is different .It given the mentality of winner takes all and losers lose all this make them go the extra length to win elections.

Questions 4

I think Poverty contributes a lot and illiteracy here; some people can read and write but do not know the value of their votes so with little or no money they can be bought over.

Question 5

To tell you the very truth the hope is very weak, given the fundamental of the things that is happening so the probability of eradicating rigging and fraud from the system is still very low and will still be part of our electoral process as long as the poverty level is very high, people don't have political socialization and high rate of illiteracy the fraud will continue for a long time. This is looking at it from the realistic point of view. The role of the elite and institutions are related but the elites has not shown any interest in curbing it this is because The fraud in Nigeria chats the interest of the elite; the institutions are as well very weak to curb electoral fraud even though the elites are doing lip service campaign against it they still put in all the machineries to perpetuate it.

Appendix D: Interview with Mr. Gubak Happy Daniel. Department of Political Science University of Jos On 25.2.2014

1)

No democracy can thrive without Elections. Election is a vital ingredient of democracy, Election is one of the features of Democracy through Election democratic representative are made. Elections has come to stay in most African states. Africa Democracy is not as Math's as that practices in other continued democracy cannot stayed long as for democracy to stay has to go through some process. Africa gas embers democracy but its practice is still on a gradient process and not as mature as others.

Factors affecting Africa democracy.

Electoral process is bedeviled by a lot of challenges one of such challenges is Electoral fraud.

The Election has been arranged on religious and ethnic lines. One of the major factor is poverty because the poverty level is increasing on a daily basis and the poor can be manipulated to be used by politicians as a tool for electoral fraud.

✓ Unemployment – The unemployed can be as a political assassin or even used to highjack ballot box during Election.

✓ Selfish interest – (Self Centered that affects Electoral fraud in Nigeria .They are willing to do anything possible to manipulate the Electoral system to their favour.

✓ Bribery – Political leaders bribe the electoral institution to turn the system for their favor

2)

The Ghanaian political system has changed its economy is growing daily.

There has been an attitudinal change in the political elites. Change from the traditional pattern to a more incorporating manner.

Value reorientation

The electorate has become enlightened and are not easily manipulated in Ghana. The leaders have also made deliberate efforts to sanitize the system.

Finally the electoral staffs have made up their mind that anybody that wins election stands. The electoral management body institution has been strengthen and independent of the state.

3)

It starts with an attitudinal change. Corruption should be adverted that is snatching of ballot box, illegal declaration of persons as winners of elections and so many others should be corrected by the state institutions. Capable hands should be recruited as electoral commission's staffs.

Education should be treated seriously in the country, if possible the government should make education free to the secondary school level so that a large majority of the masses will come to know the power of their vote and maintain democratic principles.

4)

The major reason for this is illiteracy, the masses are not aware of their rights as the politicians always manipulate them. Another thing is the over-ambitiousness of

Nigerians. They can easily change their mind because of their desire to get rich at a fast pace.

5)

Capable and God fearing people should be recruited. This will go a long way to help even though it would not be easy to eradicate it. A general re-orientation of the masses for them to know their electoral rights should be done. Government should also introduce free- education from primary to secondary level to help people to acquire knowledge of the electoral process and the evil in fraud. Again all the people arrested that were caught engaging in electoral fraud should be prosecuted so it can deter people from going into it. Finally the government should establish human capital development centers such as skills development that would help ameliorate the poverty level in the country.

Appendix E: Interview with Chris Odu. Department of Political Science university of Jos.

1)

Corruption; that is the overall corruption in the system. Initial they say corruptions runs in our veins but please permit me to say it now runs in our bone marrow. The power of incumbency is also another major factor. They manipulate electoral process and continually perpetuate themselves in power. Furthermore poverty has made the people to lose their conscience. Another dominant factor is religion. It has been exploited and use as a means of seeking for votes and power. Politics of self-interest, politicians are not interested in the overall interest of the masses. They are only interested in their selfish interest and as such are willing to do everything to keep them in power. Tribal sentiments have also been legitimized.

2)

Reduction of Corruption in Ghana by JJ Rawlings.

The level of literacy is high, religious fundamentalism that is high in Nigeria is not very pronounce in Ghana. Well trained personnel's are recruited where as in the case of Nigeria they employ with little or no training to handle the position.

3)

A positive revolution. initially Nigerians were clamoring for Ghana must go but the reverse is the case today which is Nigeria must go. We should learn from their system and emulate the positive ways they have been able to fight electoral fraud. Finally the use of soldiers during elections in Nigeria should be prohibited as they

create tension and fear in the system and even deter people from coming out to participate in the electoral process.

4)

Illiteracy is vast that the people don't know their left from their right. People prefer to vote on ethnic lines. The brown envelop syndrome as well as the use of the mass media as an agent in perpetuating the act.

5)

Being patriotic to our nation, being nationalistic and a very strong and sincere love for the nation. We should also look beyond tribal lines. National reorientation by socializing our people. Research should also be funded and result should be implement on way of curbing fraud.

Appendix F: Interview with Prof. Dr. Henry Alapiki, Dean Faculty of Social Sciences University of Port Harcourt. Nigeria.

Question 1

To ask that questions it means you have already made the assumption that there is electoral fraud in Nigeria presidential election. The first major factor is the character of the state and politics in Nigeria the state in Nigeria has not acted in a way that shows that it is a true common wealth a state of the people. It appears to be a state that has been captured by the political elite so they use the state as a means to appropriate the common wealth of the people because of this character there is this various struggle that occasionally and periodically become violent to acquire the institutions of the state for this privatized and pecuniary interest of the ruling elite in Nigeria. In a situation where this is the dominant character of the state and politics in Nigeria we should expect in addition to the violence electoral fraud because people want to use all the means available to them to acquire positions and political powers. The second factor is to look at the predominance of corruption being so endemic in the entire social like not just in politics. The next is the absence of the rule of law where there is no sanction to those go against the rule there is no deterrence to dissuade the people from it. If we look carefully at Ghana these things are in positive direction. People are sanctioned for corrupt activities especially after the emergence of JJ Rawlings administration. People are now service oriented but this is absent in Nigeria. The next is the low level of political consciousness, people cannot organize

the civil society to challenge the system so if there is no body to challenge the system they go ahead doing what they want knowing that nobody is canvassing for it.

The next is what I call the character of the social milieu whereby the diversity in terms of ethnicity and religion discourage political recklessness where we now have a system of divide and rule where people are divided along their ethnic lines and discourages political action against political lawlessness where people are identified based on the primordial interest of their region or territory without looking for the general interest of the people. We now see a system where we are still in the primordial culture instead of the civic culture. The civic culture emphasizes on the individual and his right while the primordial culture emphasizes on the group so people appear to key into a group political competition which does not allow for accountability, meritocracy and performance it is all about what the group gains by having political slots and position given to them. All of these factors appear to characterize the electoral process in Nigeria and make it tend toward enriching fraud if these issues are tackled we cannot have a free and fair election in Nigeria.

Question 2.

Very good, Ghana has fare so well because they were fortunate to have a good political culture and disposition in the leadership of Ghana. Ghana was one like Nigeria with a lot of issues although the era of Kwame Nkrumah laid a very strong foundation for Ghanaians but after that Ghana became as worst as Nigeria in corruption and others but the military government of J.J Rawlings came and had to kill the corrupt leader at a time setting a new intellect and political culture which is centered around service delivering. We find out that even ministers in Ghana drive themselves in their own car but in Nigeria even a common councilor has a driver not

even the local government chairman so we will see that the system in Nigeria is that of hynesting wealth while that of Ghana is more about service rendering spirit. It has to do with the political leadership, Nigeria has been very unfortunate to have the very wrong set of leadership we have had over time. Corruption and the disposition of the political leadership is what matters as an advantage, minimal level of corruption and others. The leadership is completely rotten and as such much cannot be done. A lot has to do with the head because as soon as a positive leadership takes over the system will change, take for example the Bujari and Idiagbo regime was in power and hey carried out a war against indiscipline everybody key in and there was some level of sanctity within the system but as soon as other government takes over power and show repeated high level of corruption every other persons went back to the corrupt processes. This is one fortunate thing Ghana has over Nigeria.

Question 3

The lessons we can learn is that Nigeria night not go the way of Ghana by radically removing the political leadership the way Rawlins did it will be very difficult in today's Nigeria. We can do ours from the reformist agenda by gradually allowing the rule of rule of law to get prominence and the civil society becoming more atavistic, vigorous and engaging, the various agent of government to become more liberalized political atmosphere and a level plan field for all actors and the various institutions of government beginning to partner with their counterparts in other society that are head of Nigeria so as to learn from each other. Equally important is the role the international institutions can play in pressuring the government to adopt universally best approach. It's going to be a gradual approach, there are sides that things are moving but it is very slow. I know this country will be the same way in a short while

because I am an incurable optimist. I believe there is change but will be gradual we should begin to learn from others as well as the civil society.

Question 4

I slightly talked on that when I talked about the low level of civil consciousness characterized by primordial political culture but the more direct answer to that is the high level of poverty. I think the political class has seen that poverty works to their own advantage by trying to dilate the unity and political will of civil society. Because of poverty people do not have that interest for seeking for long term goals and change. The people take whatever comes to them as they only feed from hand to mouth. People take that bribe as they see it as the opportunity for them to share from the national wealth that is a wrong strategy because the end product will be against the masses. The state is not ready to tackle the problem of poverty because it is not to its best interest as they will continue to cut corners for private interest. This falls back to the need to have a strong civil society, mobilizing people at the grass root as well as proper education on their civil rights as well as increasing the political civil consciousness of the people.

Question 5.

Yes there is hope for Nigeria. I have told you that am an incurable optimist. There is hope for change because change is the only permanent entity. What I perceive is that that change may not necessarily come from the civil society per say but will come from the internal contradiction within the ruling class such that a segment will begin to feel that they need to move the state in a more positive direction. Because the present system has not benefited the society and we cannot continue the way we are. Secondly the with the new structure where we now have a two dominant political party, the parties will create a system such that people will aim to convince the

masses by their policies giving the masses choice to choose from. Finally I see the present government of having some positive disposition of moving the state in a different position. I believe that if he is fortunate enough to win the second election, he would want to leave a legacy and structure behind that would lead to transparency and accountability within the system. It is just a hope because I don't have the facts to support it. But am only making this assumption based on his disposition. But I know and pray that the convergence of forces and the contradiction within the ruling class and possibly the outcome of the national dialogue will bring in structure and policies that will make Nigeria travel in a positive direction.

Appendix G: Interview with Prof. Dr George Ayittey.

1 What are the factors that affect the rate of electoral fraud in Africa. precisely Nigeria's presidential election?.

In Africa, the stakes are always high for presidential elections; thus, there is every incentive to cheat or rig to win a presidential election. Here are the factors:

- a. It is a winner-takes-all system. Whoever wins the majority forms the government; no opposition members are invited.

- b. Powerful Executive: Nearly all African countries have constitutions that create a very powerful executive, who literally has his fingers in every pot. The situation is exacerbated by the unitary state system as opposed to the federal or con-federal system. In the unitary state system, all decisions are centralized or taken at the capital. Thus the African president wields a tremendous amount of power -- power to allocate resources, power to shape the destiny of the country, etc. Invariably, this power is often abused or misused to crush dissent or opposition, to allocate resources to oneself, tribesmen and cronies or misused to perpetuate oneself in office.

- c. Wealth and Power: There is a connection between wealth and political power in Africa. In Africa, the politically powerful are often very rich. In fact, the richest in Africa are heads of state and ministers. Quite often, the chief bandit is the head of state himself.

d. Politics is the Gateway to Fabulous Wealth. To be rich in most African countries, one enters politics or government.

For these reasons, there is always an intense competition for the presidency in every African country and thus, there is every incentive to find ways or means – fair, foul or violent – of winning the presidency, which is why this competition can often degenerate into violence or civil war. Nearly all of Africa's post-colonial civil wars were started by politically excluded or marginalized groups, whose sole aim is to remove the cockroach in power.

2 Why and how has Ghana fared so well, becoming a shining light of Africa's democracy.

It is a myth that Ghana has fared very well in its democratic dispensation. Ghana has held 6 elections since 1990: in 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012; With the exception of 2000, the rest were all marred by allegations of fraud and rigging. Specifically, the problems in Ghana have been the following:

a. An electoral commission which is not independent. The commissioner, Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, was appointed by Rawlings in 1991 and has been the commissioner since. He is a protégé of Rawlings; both attended the same secondary school. You could not sack him without changing Ghana's Constitution, which was written according to the dictates of Rawlings. The same chicanery occurred in Nigeria, where General Abubakr Abdusallam, had two constitutions prepared. Which one to release depended upon who

won the March 1999 elections. Whenever a military regime manages a transition to democracy, the results are often disastrous.

b. Bloated Voter's Register. For Ghana's 1992 elections, the voters' rolls were padded with over 1 million ghost and fake names. The 1996 register was similarly inflated with 2 million voters.

c. Voter Intimidation has been the staple with Ghana's elections. The Rawlings regime used hired thugs called "macho men" to intimidate and beat up voters to prevent them from voting. Similarly in 2011, the ruling NDC regime employed thugs to prevent voters from engaging in biometric registration.

d. Illegal Voting. Rawlings is a Ewe and on Election Day, he opened up the border and trucks in Ewes from Togo to vote for his ruling NDC regime.

e. Vote Buying has also occurred in Ghana whereby the ruling NDC regime has supplied motor bikes, bicycles, sugar and other commodities to rural folks to vote for the regime. In addition, lap tops and uniforms have been supplied to various schools.

Rawlings and the NDC got away with these fraudulent acts – not so much that they did not occur but because of the hopelessness of the opposition. I played a key role in Ghana's transition to democracy. For 9 bloody years, I tried to rope Ghana's opposition parties into a formidable alliance to defeat Rawlings at the polls. We told them we would raise over \$1 million for them if they would unite. They would tell us

that they had and as soon as I returned to the US, they would revert to their old divisive ways. When they lost the 1996 elections. I gave it to them. I wrote an article, "1996 Election Verdict: stupidity Won." It is attached. For the 2000 elections, Ghana came close – very close – to an implosion. I wrote another piece "How Ghana was Saved" and it is also attached.

3 What practical lessons can Nigeria learn from the Ghana experience?

Though fraud has occurred in both countries, Ghanaians have been more patient and willing to let grievances work themselves out through the institutional or court system. See this link: What Ghana can teach the rest of Africa about democracy <http://bit.ly/SAcpxs>

4 Why is it that the electorates are easily bought over by the elites even when they know they will not represent their interest.

Wrong way to frame this question. The poor in any country can always be bought, which is why it is illegal to buy their votes. So a better way of framing the question is to ask why the elites, knowing full well that it is illegal to buy votes, insist on doing so. The answer is that the stakes are very high.

5 How did the civil societies help in strengthening Ghana's democracy?

The media and civil society groups helped in ensuring transparency during Ghana's elections by setting up independent watchdogs that monitored the elections and posted their observations at their web sites, enabling Ghanaians to cross check announced results.

6 What are the possible ways of eradicating fraud in Africa, specifically Nigeria?

To eradicate fraud and have clean, free, fair and transparent elections in both countries, you need the following:

- a. An independent Electoral Commission, made up by reps of all parties, not just appointed by the President. Decisions must be taken by consensus, not majority vote.
- b. A clean voters' register, stripped of ghost and fake names.
- c. Biometric registration – to prevent fraud.
- d. Disbandment of all militia groups. No politician or party should be allowed to have armed thugs to intimidate and beat up voters.
- e. Security forces should be neutral during an election period. They should seek to protect ALL voters, not just those who vote for the government.
- f. The media and civil society groups should become more involved and vigilant during election process.