Universiti Utara Malaysia

MALPRACTICES IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC ELECTIONS: CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITI UTARA, MALAYSIA
JULY 2016

MALPRACTICES IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC ELECTIONS: CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

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A Thesis Submitted to Dean Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA

Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa
(College of Law, Government and International Studies)
Universiti Utara Malaysia

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(Title of the Thesis)

: MALPRACTICES IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC ELECTIONS
: CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

Program Pengajian

: Ph.D

(Programme of Study)

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This work is dedicated to my mother, *Hajiya* Umm Salma (late) and my father Alhaji Isma'ila Adamu *Gano (Barwan Makaman Kano)* whose parenthood made now a Doctor of Philosophy. May Allah accept this as *Sadaqa* for them and reward them with *jannatil Firdaus, ameen.*

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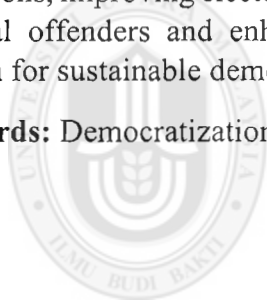Universiti Utara Malaysia
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ABSTRACT

Scholars tend to analyse increasing transitions to democracy over the past four decades, particularly on the significance of conducting fair elections and the impacts on democratic transition process in Nigeria. Indeed, there is a need to study challenges of electoral malpractices since the emergence of Nigeria's Fourth Republic in 1999. Therefore, this study aims to identify electoral malpractices occurred in the last sixteen years in Nigeria that posed threats against the elected democratic governance. In addition, the impacts of these electoral malpractices are also critically analysed. Qualitative research method is adopted in this study, in which both primary and secondary data were used in conducting the research. The target respondents interviewed through purposive sampling technique involve Nigerian politicians, electoral officers, non-governmental organizations and the academia. The findings reveal that the challenges of electoral malpractices have significantly influenced Nigeria's Fourth Republic governance. The study also highlights that insecurity, corruption, weak democratic institutions, lack of internal democracy within political parties, military mentality, weak electoral umpire and electoral irregularities have seriously posed threats on democratic practices. This study concludes that those threats have undermined democratic transition and aspiration for democratic governance. The study recommends strengthening democratic institutions, improving electoral reforms, addressing corruption, poverty, prosecuting electoral offenders and enhancing participation of electorates in promoting fair election for sustainable democracy.

Keywords: Democratization, Democratic Governance,

ABSTRAK

Para sarjana cenderung untuk menganalisa peningkatan proses transisi kepada demokrasi sejak lebih empat dekad yang lalu, khususnya dalam hal yang melibatkan kepentingan pengendalian pilihanraya adil dan impaknya terhadap proses transisi yang demokratik di Nigeria. Sesungguhnya, tampak suatu keperluan untuk mengkaji cabaran-cabaran akibat daripada salah laku pilihanraya yang berlaku sejak kemunculan Kerajaan Republik Nigeria yang Keempat pada tahun 1999. Justeru, kajian ini meletakkan sasaran untuk mengenalpasti salahlaku pilihanraya yang berlaku sejak 16 tahun yang lepas di Nigeria yang mencetuskan ancaman kepada kuasa pemerintahan demokratik yang dipilih. Di samping itu, impak daripada salah laku pilihanraya ini turut dianalisa secara kritikal. Metod penyelidikan kualitatif digunapakai dalam kajian ini yang melibatkan data primer dan sekunder. Responden kajian ditemubual dengan menggunakan kaedah persampelan yang melibatkan ahli-ahli politik Nigeria, pegawai-pegawai pilihanraya, pertubuhan-pertubuhan bukan kerajaan (NGO) dan ahli akademik. Penemuan kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa cabaran-cabaran daripada salah laku pilihanraya memberi kesan yang signifikan terhadap Kerajaan Republik Nigeria yang Keempat. Kajian ini juga mengetengahkan betapa ketidakselamatan, korupsi, institusi demokratik yang lemah, kekurangan amalan demokratik dalaman di kalangan parti-parti politik, mentaliti ketenteraan, kelemahan pengadilan dan penipuan pilihanraya telah mengakibatkan ancaman terhadap amalan demokrasi. Kajian ini membuat kesimpulan bahawa ancaman-ancaman tersebut telah membantutkan proses transisi serta aspirasi ke arah mewujudkan kuasa pemerintahan demokratik. Kajian ini mengesyorkan pengukuhan institusi demokratik, penambahbaikan reformasi pilihanraya, menangani korupsi dan kemiskinan, tindakan tegas ke atas mereka yang melakukan kesalahan pilihanraya dan memperhebat penglibatan para pengundi dalam mempromosi pilihanraya yang adil ke arah kelestarian demokrasi.

Kata kunci: Pendemokrasian, pemerintahan demokratik, Nigeria

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF MODELS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AC: Action Congress

ACD: Action Congress for Democracy

ACN: Action Congress of Nigeria

AD: Alliance for Democracy

AG: Action Group

ANPP: All Nigeria Peoples Party

APC; All Peoples Congress

ARADA: Africa Research Development Agency

CDD: Centre for Democracy and Development

CDDRL: Centre for Democracy, Development and Rule of Law

CDHR: Campaign for the Defence of Human Rights

CLO: Civil Liberty Organization

EFCC: Economic and Financial Crimes Commission

EU; European Union

FDI: Foreign Direct Investment

ICG: International Crisis Group

ICPC: Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission

IIDEA: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

IGO: Inter-Governmental Organization

IMF: International Monetary Fund

ING: Interim National Government

INGO: International Non-Governmental Organization

INEC: National Electoral Commission

IPU; Inter-Parliamentary Union

MASSOB: Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra

MEND: Movement for the Emancipation of Niger-Delta

MDGs: Millennium Development Goals

MNC: Multi-National Corporations

MP: Member of Parliament

NADECO: National Democratic Coalition

NASS: National Assembly

NCNC: National Convention of Nigerian Citizens

NNDP: Nigeria National Democratic Party

NED: National Endowment for Democracy

NPC: Northern Peoples' Congress

NPN: National Party of Nigeria

NGO: Non-Governmental Organizations

Nigeria Youth Movement

OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

PLAC: Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre

PDP: Peoples Democratic Party

SAP: Structural Adjustment Program

TMG: Transition Monitoring Group

UN: United Nations

UNMIT: United Nations Mission in Timor

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

USAID: United State Agency for International Development

USDS: United States Department of State

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0   Introduction

The past four decades recoded significant transitions to democracy for a number of countries around the world. The last two and half decades, witnessed even more considerable number of democratic transitions. Scholars and commentators have been attracted with why, how as well as with what impact do countries transit to democracy over this period. While election has been a symbol of empowerment of the popular wishes of citizens' for "participation and representativeness", it has been a medium through which democratic transition is realised. It is therefore a process through which citizens should freely have a choice regarding who is to represent their wishes and make decision on their behalf in a democratic system. The synonymous of election with democracy made it as its distinguished principle which symbolizes the power of the people to make a choice for political leadership. However, elections have not only become an instrument for the demise of authoritarianism or a transition to democracy but the credibility of electoral process has equally become the instrument for determining the integrity and legitimacy of a democratic regime. Certainly over these years, elections have not only became important "path to democratic transition but also democratic outcome" (Tanko, 2009: vii).

The rapid increasing acceptance of democracy around the world from 1990s and beyond has been associated with the so-called role of powerful democracies "who have made promoting democracy their thriving business" (Jega, 2007: 142); especially the

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US and Western Europe through international pro-democracy institutions such as National Endowment for Democracy and United Nations. Their role has been promoting democratic governance, especially through human rights protection, electoral assistance, "transparency and accountability of public officials, responsive conduct as well as responsiveness to the demands, needs and aspirations of the governed" (Jega, ibid). In other words, democratic governance is a process of democratic consolidation, in which the principles and ethos of democracy are functioning to the desired requirements that uplift and promote effective democratization processes. However, the experiment of democracy in Nigeria today as in many other countries identified as new democracies or categorized as third wave democracies have been grappling with challenges of democratic governance and its consolidation, electoral malpractice has been one of these daunting challenges.

While international appeal as well as the domestic arrangements were responsible for the emergence of Nigeria's fourth republic democracy in 1999. The sixteen years of the fourth republic has not been without challenges of democratic consolidation. Perhaps, these challenges became obstacles in meeting the desired aspiration for democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic. This study choose to observe the challenges of electoral malpractice among other challenges which obstructs the efforts towards democratic governance in Nigeria, with a critical mind set to come up with recommendations that would manage and overcome these challenges.

1.1   Background

"Scholars describe the past four decades as a period of increasing global democratic change" (e.g. Huntington, 1993 and Diamond, 1992 cited in Isma'ila and Othman,

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2016: 391). Milner, et al, (2009) noted "third wave Democratization" is first of the two (economic globalization and third wave democratization) stands out aspects of International relations that have experienced increasing transformation. "The new era of globalization has become part of everyday discourse in the academia and among policy makers" (Petras, et al 2004:11). The phenomenon has attracted wide range of concerns and interest. Clark (1997) and Kiely, (1998) described globalization as the "major issue in social sciences today" and understanding what it means, what causes it and how it manifest has been their priority concern. As Kiely (1998) notes, globalization is not a new theory, but a set of historical processes. "It is a historical process involving a fundamental shift or transformation in the spatial scale of human social organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across regions and continents" (MacGrew, 2011; 19). These processes have conditioned the character of global cultures, politics and economies with wide ranging implications on different peoples of the world today. The phenomenon has thus been responsible for the increasing spread of democratization and aspiration for democratic governance around the world.

Although the trend or process of democratization is not new its current phase was intensified after the cold war between U.S and Soviet Union came to an end. The end of the Cold War in 1990 gave U.S "good riddance to pursue her global agenda with some political consideration for the interest of traditional allies when consulted on any raging global issues" (Fadahunsi, 2002). The post- cold war era defines a new phase in the development of international capitalist system, characterized by the decentralization of production and finance world-wide, the "pre-eminence of financial

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speculation and information technology" (ibid). As a result of this development, spread for the aspiration for democratic governance emerged.

Following the global spread of democracy around the world, scholars and institutions for democratic assistance (Codeseria, Freedom House, Carter Centre, Overseas Development Institute, Centre for Democracy and Development and Irish Aid (etcetera) described how different countries make transitions from authoritarian regimes to democratic regimes. They explained how each transition manifest under specific conditions. While O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986) contributed to the understanding of democratic transition and democratic consolidation, Hagopian and Mainwaving (1987) distinguished democratic government and democratic regime. In a generalizing term democratization in Latin America is a reaction to social disintegration, in African context it is attributed to reincarnation of diffusion of modernization (Lechener, 1991; O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986 cited in Ibeanu, 2000).

Popular demonstration against incumbent authoritarian regime originates democratic transition, it can also originate through "evolutionary path in which institutional reforms enabled erstwhile authoritarian incumbent and the ruling party to retain power", (Greevy, Ngomo and Vengroff, 2005) such as in Benin and Senegal respectively. Ibrahim (2005) noted that "the notion of democratic transition implies a passage from a non-democratic to a democratic situation. It is a product of political liberalization". The essential attributes included "at the formal level; the establishment of constitutional rule and operation of multi-party system". At the profound level it "involve socio-political transformation that allows freely elected political rulers and

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majority of the civil population to impose their supremacy over the ruling oligarchies of the military or civilian ethno-regional cabals" (Ibrahim, ibid: 2). This is more or less development of internal democratic values which must ensure effective citizenship participation. Others exhaustibly analyse how democracy can be consolidated after transition, and that "democracy is consolidated when it becomes the only game in town" (Linz and Stepan, 1996). They discussed consolidation of democracy on three basic issues; attitude, behaviour and constitutionalism. Whereas attitude of the electorate accept that democracy is the only better form of government, behaviourally no group should engage in any serious regime change. Thus constitutionalism included freedom of civil society especially political parties, elections, legislature and judiciary; rule of law, bureaucracy and institutionalized economic society.

However in the case of Nigeria, "transition to civil rule is being dubbed as yet another "pseudo-transition", that is the incumbent elite responding to pressures for democratization" (Kumar 2005: 373), via promulgation of a number of reforms and even new constitution. He noted the current "transition from military to civilian rule is increasingly viewed as a "patched" one, just like" (ibid) in the second republic (1979-1983), it is therefore not a process to yield social, political and economic improvements. Meanwhile, Nigerians live the period of ferment, anxiety and uncertainties.

Democratization era is related to Nigeria through globalization in a number of ways, the notable ones are;-The ideological hegemony, and outsourcing economic opportunities for the countries and MNC for the North. Most certainly the ideological hegemony attempts to spread and promote the ideals of democracy thereby

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popularizing the values and ideals of democratic struggle, which culminate to pressure on military regimes to liberalize and ultimately democratize, however amidst the lack of proper principles for democratic governance. The second way interprets how democratization is related to Nigeria through the emergence of transnational corporation, particularly, the increase in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Whereas foreign investors stay away from investment opportunities during the military regimes, more FDI is witnessed at the beginning of 1999 democratic dispensation onwards. Suffice it to say the role of globalization through liberalization in promoting democratization has been a salient feature in this era.

Globalization is considered "as complex social phenomenon which interfaces with various elements of social life, and is suffused with ambiguities, variations, uncertainty and incompatibilities" (Nnoli 2000; 173). Democracy as a social phenomenon in the political sphere of globalization, it receives challenges in this era. Porta, (2006) said the challenges of democracy is concerned with adaptation of practices at national level as a result of transnational influence. However, within Nigeria there are challenges that democracy receives such as election malpractice. In the following discussion we shall grasp the challenges of democratic governance in Nigeria. While on one hand globalization and democratization encouraged democratic governance on the other hand electoral malpractice increases challenges and crisis of democratic governance in Nigeria during the fourth republic.

Democratic governance therefore is a process whereby democratic principles such as popular sovereignty, empowerment, political equality, majority rule, functional constitution, rule of law, independent judiciary, periodic free and fair election and

human rights and freedom are enshrined in a polity. However in Nigerian context these principles are not waxing stronger if not functioning properly, especially principle of free and fair election which perhaps is one of the essential three. Election in a democracy is very important because it is medium through which that the expression of the people are shown via legitimacy and leadership succession. According to Dickerson,.et al (1990) election is defined as a post mortem that investigate the record of office holders whose actual performance may have little to do with promises made when they were previously elected. However, the four general elections (1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011) conducted in Nigeria since the re-emergence of democracy in 1999, does not satisfy the aspiration for democratic governance in the country. Yet with exception from the 2015, it is the same political party that has been ruling the country at the centre, thus credibility of those elections is put to question because of its characterized irregularities.

It is worthy to note that, the struggle for democracy in Nigeria was not conceived only as an end in itself to end the military rule or as an externally oriented initiative, but also as means for achieving responsible political institutions, which promotes accountability in governance to the people (Bello, 2011). Meanwhile democratic governance is not merely about election and the transfer of power to civilians but about respect for the constitution, rule of law and for fundamental human rights, socio-economic empowerment and peace, security of lives and property etcetera. The situation in which Nigerian democracy has been in this era, in transforming political and socio-economic empowerment of its citizens still remain an illusion. It therefore raises fundamental questions such as: What is the meaning of democracy and which democracy? It is pertinent to ask these questions because when democratic government

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is fully in place, it is expected to create happiness for the large percentage of the population as against the happiness for the few 'transnationally oriented elite', within Nigeria. It is also expected to create equality, gradual and incremental socio-economic and political transformation and legitimately create an environment that will allow people at all level to exercise control and authority over political and economic activities that affects them.

The interest of this study lies in all of these features and even more, but specifically in the "supremacy of the will of the electorate and regular free and fair elections" (Isma'ila and Othman, ibid: 387). Apam (2011) describes these as the features of democratic state that ensure the responsibility and responsiveness of the elected leaders to the electorate, the hallmark of democracy no matter how it is defined. Ironically Nigeria's multi -party democracy has manifest it's in ability to conduct credible elections in 2003, 2007 and 2011.

While elections and democracy are interwoven, they serve as foundations of democratic governance, expected to make government responsible and responsive. In spite the significance of credible elections to democratic governance, it is sad to observe that malpractice has been synonymous with elections in Nigeria. Elections have been characterized with fraudulent machinations which frustrate democratic aspirations of the people. Results of Nigeria's elections have regularly been indicted with political tension, violence and crisis. Ibrahim (2007: 3) has noted that "outcomes of many elections in Africa have been so confused that the conditions for survival of the democratic ideals have become compromised" thereby making the democratization processes bleak and not promising.

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The tragedy of the country's democratic experience since the re-emergence of civilian rule in1999, according Imobighe (2013) has been characterized by manipulation of electoral process. Election riggers turn out to be the net beneficiaries of the electoral process, and this creates a lot of frustration in the electorate. For instance the political office holders who bought their way to power, mainly use their time to accumulate more fund to again buy their way to power in the next election. They do not feel obliged to be accountable to the electorate.

1.1.1 Military and Democratic Transition in Nigeria

Several scholars have contributed to the understanding of the role of military in Nigeria's democratic transition as well as their role in democratic stability and the quest for democratic consolidation (Ojo, 2009 and 2014; Clardie, 2011 and Ehwarieme, 2011). While Ojo (2014) recognizes the contributions of the military vis-à-vis democratic transition and sustenance in Nigeria, Kaur (2009) recognizes the importance of social economic and political institutions (in which the military is a key player) in sustenance a transition to democracy. Ehwarieme (2011) also argues that the unprecedented survival of Nigeria's democracy since 1999 is as a result of non-military intervention. Others argues that the increase in military spending decreases democratic transition failure (Clardie, 2011 and Ojo, 2009).

It is significant to mention albeit briefly the role of each military regime in democratic transition in the background introduction for the discussion of challenges of electoral malpractice in Nigeria's aspiration for democratic governance. The military intervention in Nigerian politics has been a controversial topic of discussion among

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scholars and commentators. For instance it is argued that the "various controversial military interventions might be undesirable, but it was not unexpected. It might have done some harm, yet it recorded some success" (Shadare and Owoyemi 2012:191). Thus most of the military regimes attempted in one form or another to implement transition program that could hand over to civilian regime. While Nigeria became independent country on 1st October 1960, the first republic lasted only for six years.

Specifically, by January 1966 the military of Nigeria toppled the first republic and took charge of governance. Out of the fifty five years of the country's independence, the military ruled for more than thirty years. Although there was the second republic, 1979-1983, it lasted for only four years. There was attempt for the third republic, elections for the local governments and states levels were conducted, and the presidential election was also conducted but annulled. Meanwhile, the cancellation of the presidential election led to the abortion of the third republic.

Nigeria witnessed its first military intervention just about three months after five years independence anniversary. Although the "coup led by Major Nzeogwu in 15 January 1966 coup was expected to end the misrule, ineptitude and corruption of the preceding five years plus; it lasted for just six months" (Ojo, 2009: 7). It was described as very bloody coup where the Prime-minister and Premier from the north were killed. Nzeogwu's regime was short lived thus there was no succinct democratic transition program. A counter coup was also witnessed led by Aguiyi Ironsi that lasted in July 1966. Ironsi's regime also does not present an articulate democratic transition to civilian regime. Another Northern - sponsored counter coup came up on 29 July 1966 which brought General Yakubu Gowon in as the Head of State and Commander – in-

Chief of the Armed forces. In General Gowon's regime Nigeria went through the civil war, from June 1967 to January 1970.

"The war was fought mainly because the Northerners accused Major Nzeogwu who was from South–East, for killing more Northern Hausas government officials than his Igbo brothers' during the first coup. for example the Governor General, Azikwe from the South East was not killed while the Prime Minister, Tafawa Balewa, and Prime minister Ahmadu Bello, Northerners were killed" (Ojo, ibid). Gowon's regime lasted for nine years without successful transition as promised, in fact his inability for a political transition led to his ousting by Murtala (Adebisi, !998). General Murtala Mohammed ousted Gowon on 29 of July 1975 in a bloodless coup. Murtala was assassinated on 13 February 1976 in an aborted coup and his Chief of Staff, General Olusegun Obasanjo was installed as the new Head of State. General Olusegun Obasanjo continued Murtala's transition program and successfully handed over power to the civilian government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari on 1 October 1979 (Shadare and Owoyemi ibid: 192).

In 1984, the military struck again and General Mohammed Buhari came into power in response to the twin ills of corruption and indiscipline among the public officers of the Second Republic (Shadare and Owoyemi, ibid: 193). The General Buhari regime of January 1984 – August 1985, rightly identified corruption, lack of political and economic discipline, as the reasons for the economic deterioration. The regime also discovered that the state engaged in wasteful expenditure as the civil service was unnecessarily large and the State was perceived as unwisely subsidising education and health sectors. The military regime came up with the measures of a drastic reduction

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in government spending through mass retrenchment, removal of state subsidies to generate revenues. The colours of Nigerian currency were changed to check illegal currencies trafficking within and outside the country (ibid).

The regime was described as brutal and harsh (Ajagbaje, 1990; Osoba, 1996 cited in ibid), it imprisoned several top government officials "without being charged or even tried for any offence. Some were tried secretly by special military tribunals and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, including life, for crimes ranging from unlawful possession of government properties (including cars, spoons, carpets etcetera)" and for contributing to the economic adversity of the country. "The regime made a mockery of the judicial system as former government officials between 50 and 60 years old were sentenced to 200-350 years of imprisonment" (Diamond, 1987; Huntington, 1995; Osoba, 1996 cited in Shadare and Owoyemi, ibid: 194). General Buhari regime was toppled on 27 of August 1985 in a palace coup which brought in General Babangida's regime. Thus there was no effective democratic transition program during the General Buhari's regime.

Babangida restored the human rights that was taken away by General Buhari's regime, but set up a unique kind of military autocracy. Babangida releases guidelines for transition to civil rule, thirteen political associations seek political party registration, and however they were refused registration. The eight years of Babangida Administration can be said to have stood above all its predecessors in matters of political experimentation in which different kinds of political formula were tested during his regime including the two party system. Eventually the transition was terminated, as the announcement of the result for the election was never completed

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(Isma'ila 2006). "What then emerged on 23rd June 1993 was the annulment of the election, which was universally acclaimed as free and fair" (Isma'ila and Othman, 2016: 393). It was however annulled on flimsy and untenable grounds. Pandemonium followed. There were disturbances and civil unrest in many parts of the country.

As the domestic and international pressure became very unbearable for General Babangida, he quickly contrived a novel idea of an Interim National Government (ING). Consequently after the annulment of the most peaceful elections in the history of Nigeria, Babangida "stepped aside" and handed over the mantle of leadership to Chief Earnest Shonekan as Commander in Chief and the Head of the ING, a civilian. The ING was however, declared as an illegal government by a Lagos high court. The fallout of the declaration and the prevailing social unrests provided justification for General Sani Abacha to seize power from chief Shonekan on 17th November 1993 who later died on 8 June 1998.

The Abacha administration was not better than the previous one. Some efforts at democratization were made by the regime. Political parties were formed and registered with active participation of public officers. Elections were conducted at the local Government level, and the state Houses of Assembly. However these elections were commonly believed not to be fair but manipulated by the then military Junta. Governorship and National Assembly elections could not be conducted by the administration. Instead, the transition was fraught with intimidation of opponents, favoritism of those close to corridors of power, government's interference in electioneering processes and party activities, lack of sincerity on the part of the body charged with election matters, allegation of corruption and seeming willingness of the

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Commander in Chief to hand over power to a democratically elected successor. Certainly General Abacha did not openly express disapproval for those calling upon him to succeed himself neither did him publicly manifest an express intention not to succeed himself (Isma'ila, 2006).

These uncertainties shrouded the direction of the political activities in the country. Many politicians were scared away from politics during this regime. On the eight day of June 1998 the Head of the Military Junta, General Sani Abacha died. Until Abacha's death, which some people in Nigeria have described as divine intervention these scenario reflects the opportunities, threats, obstacles achievements and constraints for transition to democracy. Within this environment of sanctions and poor image of Nigeria, General Abdulsalami Abubakar launched a new transition program. The eleven months regime of General Abubakar conducted transition that culminated in the new democratic dispensation. This state of affairs has made it possible for the country to shed off its pariah status in the comity, which had hitherto been the case before the advent of the fourth Republic.

General Abdulsalami Abubakar succeeded Abacha on 9 June, 1998. He was successful within eleven month to draft the 1999 constitution and handed over to the civilian Government of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo - a former military ruler on 29 May 1999. Obasanjo became a civilian President for two terms of four years each and he handed over to another civilian President- Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua- on 29 May 2007. Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'Adua later died on 5th May 2010. His Vice President Goodluck Jonathan was sworn as President. He was re-elected as president in 2011 but lost an election to retired General Muhammadu Buhari in 2015.

1.1.2 Reactions behind the Emergence of Fourth Republic Democratic Dispensation

The decade and half of democratization in Nigeria has spawned a number of concerns that have come to society's front burner as the country struggles to address the myriad of challenges in the country. Part of this concern, no doubt is the clear recognition that the country has not been able to effectively resolve the plethora of issues that have straddled its democratic journey, including the bastardization of the political process and the disintegrative tendencies and social unrests that have become manifest in several parts of the country (Bande, 2014).

The interim military regime of General Abdulsalami Abubakar prepared ground for the return of democracy in 1999. Nigerian elite in their effort to democratize applied the formula of reconciliation to heal the wounds inflicted on the nation by the untoward political agendas of Babangida and Abacha regimes to democratize, which had planted deep ethno-religious divisions among Nigerian peoples. The first presidential electoral process of the fourth Republic was so arranged that whichever way a Yoruba man would become the first president of what is now the fourth Republic. President Olusegun Obasanjo was that man. Obviously, this reconciliatory move was not only to ensure that power was tilted to the Yoruba ethnic group but was placated over the annulment of 1993 presidential election presumably won by their man. It was also to ensure peaceful transition to democracy, following the blowing of the wind for democratization.

Since the advent of the fourth republic not less than forty violent communal and ethnic conflicts within the first three years of the administration were witnessed. Between May 1999 and July 2002 Nigeria witnessed violent conflicts,

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which resulted in great destruction of human lives and properties as well as displacement of thousands of its citizens. Between February 2000 and May 2002, the country witnessed eight violent religious conflicts (Irnobighe, 2003). The consequences are not conducive to the practice of democracy. Offe (1998) notes that, such consequences attest to disempowerment of the population. Riots and violent demonstration may be a positive part of the struggle for democracy. But their clear existence is an indication that all is not yet well with the political order, that democracy if it exists, is yet to be consolidated. Any democratic system that is foisted on this trend "cannot empower the people because it cannot generate discussion over the core issues of democratic class struggle such as socio-economic welfare, equity and justice. The people are too withdrawn from the state to participate in such condition" (cited in Nnoli, 2000b: 895-6).

Apart from the neoliberal economic policies of IMF and World Bank, the fundamental challenge to Democratic struggle in Nigeria, are the overt religious conflicts. Historical condition coupled with the SAP crisis and the resurgence of democratic struggle and its resultant implications led to series of crisis in this period. The Kaduna crisis in Kafanchan, 1999~ and the Kaduna 2000, Ife - Modakeke crises was also ignited on 3rd March 2000, barely a year in the beginning of the fourth republic, the Ife - Modakeke's engaged themselves in another round of violence that claimed the lives of several people and properties destroyed. In Jos crisis of Sep 7th 2001 the story is the same, in fact one year after the Jos crisis, the ultra-modern Jos main market, one of the biggest in West Africa was gutted by fire, believed to be not unconnected with the 2001 conflict.

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Even the popular Sharia question that has transformed from the demand for Islamic legal system in the 1970s to the establishment of the parallel Islamic jurisprudence and administrative system in the 1980s; but in the early 2000s the demand for the establishment of Islamic state in Zamfara and other Northern states divided the Nigerian political scenario between Muslim and Christian. The whole scenario has shrink the democratic space. For instance, although, the remote causes of Kaduna crisis- of February 2000, which president Obasanjo testifies that "whatever religion we proclaimed our leaders have failed", is coupled with severe lingering effects of SAP via the uncertainties of globalization on the political economy of Nigeria. The immediate causes as it affects democratic struggle was an attempt to introduce Islamic judicial and administrative system (Sharia). After almost two months of tense political atmosphere in Kaduna, ethno-religions 'war' erupted; thousands of people were allegedly killed. Property estimated several hundred millions were destroyed, and thousands of people particularly women and children were displaced. The crisis is reported to be the worst since the civil war in 1967 -70, and the most destructive in the history of Nigeria (Abdu, 2001).

Part of the general problem of Nigeria's democratization in the fourth republic era is human rights abuse inter alia the absence of effective participation of civil society in the processes. There is correlation between human rights, civil society and democratization. Human rights emerged from prolonged struggles against intimidation and oppressive conducts. They are tested and measured against common standards of decency, justice and liberty. In a totalitarian regime human rights are usually abused, and denied. Institutional guarantees are absent. Voices of descent are punished or silenced. One of the means of determining the presence of democratic principles is the

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existence of civil society participation in governance. Civil society then is the watchdog of both human rights and the democratization process (Agomo, 2003).

There were no much active participation of civil society in the sense in which we understand it today until the last two decades or so. This was so not because there were no civil society organizations in existence, not because there were no human rights issued to be championed. Indeed the military years of intense denial of human rights of citizens. It was the years of such civil society organizations, as Campaign for the Defense of Human Rights (CDHR), Civil Liberties Organization (CLO), and other diversity concerned with civil and political rights. As at 1998 there were about 77 human rights organizations in Nigeria, a lot more have come on board since 1998. Civil societies, through NGO's have done tremendous work in the areas of gender sensitive, and pro-poor budgeting. They have raised awareness to the plight of the Niger-Delta people. Recently also, civil society activities have lightened in the areas of reproductive health and rights and gender mainstream.

"In the year 2000, the National Human Rights commission received a total of 1,270 complaints. Out of these, 297 have been disposed while 423 are still at various states of investigation" (Buhari, 200 I: cited in Ladan, 2001: 149). The authoritarian disposition of the military, especially repression against opposition through detention without trial, arbitrary arrest and retrospective law characterized democratic struggle in military regimes. However liberal democracy in the Fourth Republic represents a qualitatively better situation than the military juntas in the past. It has ushered in some limited extent form of the rule of law and formal rights.

One of the widely contested issues in human rights as it affects Nigerian democratization in this era is under representation of women in politics. Giving a closer look at four categories or degree of political participation, to locate women's position in the political scale, one would find out that; many are apathetic and not conscious of political environment around them, especially the rural women and the uneducated. Besides being apathetic their category or degree of political participation is that the only few that participate are mere spectators who only participate in voting and literal political discussions especially rural elite women. Some are mainly used as instruments by involving them in meetings and financial contributions, yet their participation in transitional activities does not represent equity. Therefore as far as politics is concerned in Nigeria, a very insignificant number of women have moved to "gladiatorial level of politics" such as standing for and holding public and party offices. However, traditional constrain such as *Purdah/Kulle* (seclusion) in the Hausa part of Nigeria, economic, legal educational, and social constrains are classified as impediments to women" political involvement in Nigerian's democratization (Jegede, 1994:98; Okwusa, 1994, Adeniyi, 1994, Soetan, 1995, Khalid, 200I and Suleiman, 2001).

Electoral malpractice and violence also vindicates the obstacles of Nigerian democratization. In fact it is no longer news to hear that violence in Nigeria's transitions, elections or the democratization process in general. Violence has become part of the 'spoils' of politicking, for thugs and the men of underworld have assume this posture as means to an end in their political participation. In other words, thuggery and rigging in elections become unsavory developments among other misdemeanor, which subsequently endangered the democratic experiment. In practice, small fights

by political pugilists (individuals, political parties and other organizations), if not controlled early and effectively, could result in big fights as a higher level (involving governments and civil society) on a wider front.

1.2 Problem Statement

A detailed review of literature reveals a large amount of research on the impact of globalization towards democratization agenda in Africa and Nigeria in particular (Nnoli, 2000a & b, Kura, 2005; Kumar, 2005 and Kaur 2007). However, not much literature uses both primary and secondary data to examine factors responsible for emergence of Nigeria's fourth republic and the aspiration for democratic governance in Nigeria from the critical perspective approach in this period. This study shall from the critical view point examine the factors responsible for the re-emergence of democracy in 1999 and the quest of democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic.

Perhaps democratic governance have wide range of concern, attraction and literature, not much scholars uses both primary and secondary data to examine the challenges of democratic governance between the periods of 1999-2015 civilian regimes in Nigeria. Except for studies that have used mainly secondary data, such as, Idike, (2014) examine the problems and prospects of e-voting on democracy and electoral process in Nigeria; and Ogbonnaya, (2012) examined challenges of democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic; thus contributed to the understanding of democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic. This is probably related to the fact that it is the first time in the country's political history, it has experienced sixteen years of uninterrupted civilian administration without military incursion. This study intends to

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fill the gap of previous literature by using both secondary and primary data to discuss challenges of democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic.

Equally worrisome is the minimal use of critical investigation approach on the challenges or threats of electoral malpractice on democratic governance literature especially concerning current civilian administration in Nigeria. Except for example Awopeju (2011) using system agent theory to examine election rigging; Idike (2014) uses Cultural relativism theory to investigate the challenges of electoral crisis as it affects national security; and Ogundiya (2010) uses theoretical exploration of democratic stability to examined corruption as the bane in democratic stability in Nigeria: While some used historical appraisals to analyse Nigeria's fourth republic such as Ogbiedi (2010), Obinna (2012), Saad (2012) and Odusote (2014), others were mainly concerned on analysing democratic institutions (political parties, Judiciary, election Management bodies) such as Kura (2011), Ayodeji (2014), Abdullahi and Sani (2015) etcetera. This study will use critical theory approach as well as both secondary and primary data to contribute not only in the literature of democratic governance but also for better critical understanding of the challenges of electoral malpractices threatening democratic transition during the fourth republic period in Nigeria. Perhaps electoral malpractice has increased political corruption, violence, and legitimacy problem as well as ethno-religious conflicts.

The study shall from a critical point of view as well as using both primary and secondary data to determine whether or not election is the first among equals of the principles of democracy in Nigeria's fourth republic. Nevertheless the more election

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is credible the better it harmoniously work with other principles of democracy to attain good democratic governance.

1.3 Research Questions

Based on the above mentioned problem statement, the research questions seek to find, what are the factors responsible for the emergence of Nigeria's fourth republic in 1999? It further explore what are the challenges of the current fourth republic democratic experiment in Nigeria? It also investigate how does the consequences of electoral malpractice threaten fourth republic democratic transition in Nigeria? It also seek to address why does election became first among the equals of the principles of democracy in the Nigerian polity?

1.4 Research Objectives

Following the above problem statement and research questions the objective of the study is to account for the factors responsible for the emergence of Nigeria's fourth republic in 1999. It is also to describe the challenges of the fourth Republic Democratic experiment in Nigeria. It further seek to critically analyse the consequences of electoral malpractices threatening democratic transition in Nigeria's fourth republic. Lastly is to analyse the debate on election as first among equals of democratic principles.

1.5 Justification and Significance of the Research

The justification of this research lies in the fact that it intends to contribute not only in understanding the aspiration for democratic governance or challenges of electoral process in Nigeria, or even the trends and consequences of electoral malpractices in a nascent democratic experiment in the country, but also the need to critically overcome these challenges. Other contributions in this area of study have been restricted to

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quantitative technique for example Ogbonnaya (2012) as well as Ebirim (2014), Ighodalo (2012) and Idowu (2010) uses only secondary data. This study intends use both secondary and primary data of qualitative research method to contribute in interpreting the challenges of electoral malpractice in Nigeria's quest to democratic governance. This study intends to use this good method, which is therefore expected to bridge the gap between those contributions confined to quantitative technique or even those in qualitative technique restricted to only secondary data. Davis (2007:574 cited in Guest, 2013) observed that "a good qualitative research is equalled, if not exceeded, quantitative research in status, relevance and methodological rigor".

The uniqueness of this study lies in the fact that it aims to use a good method to contribute in understanding the challenges of electoral malpractice so as to ameliorate its obstacles to Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment. The difference of this research with the previous ones is that; most of previous ones uses quantitative method and therefore, do not consult with informant to express their views concerning Nigeria's fourth republic. Also those that used qualitative method but restricted to the use of secondary data could not include in their works, the views and expressions of Nigerians regarding the electoral malpractices challenges on democratic governance in the fourth republic. However this study intends to make its own unique contribution towards reform and transforming electoral malpractices in Nigeria using both the views of interviewees and written documents regarding the issue.

The significance of this study is to extend the growing body of literature on democratic governance from the critical theory perspective. The reason for using critical theory emanates from the fact that its approach could contribute towards emancipating the

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electorate from electoral malpractice, through recommendations that could change the statuesque which give room for electoral malpractices. This research therefore intends to contribute not only to the literature of democratization and democratic governance but also to examine the challenges of electoral malpractice in Nigeria. Specifically, it will help bridge the gap in literature by examining challenges of democratic governance with particular focus on fourth republic democratic experiment in Nigeria. It is an attempt to critically depict as accurately as scholarly possible, how electoral malpractice in the first ever sixteen years of uninterrupted civilian regimes accelerated bad governance or weak leadership, economic deterioration, lack or loss of legitimacy in governance, weak democratic institutions, conflicts, corruption and other social malaise crippling Nigeria's democratic struggle.

The study would be critically significant in not only understanding the responsible factors for the resurgence for the aspiration of democratic governance in Nigeria that culminates to the fourth republic; but also critically examine factors responsible for the inability of the current government to satisfy the quest for democratic governance. It will help in better understanding of challenges and consequences of election malpractices to democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment. The study would help policy makers by recommending policies in relation to electoral process and democratic governance in Nigeria. It will also contribute in bridging the gap in the literature of democratic governance and the challenges concerning election malpractice.

1.6 Scope and Focus of the Research

The scope covers factors responsible for the Nigeria's resurgence of the aspiration of democratic governance in general and as it affects challenges facing the fourth republic democratization in particular. It is particularly emphasising on challenges of electoral malpractice in Nigeria's fourth republic. Specifically the intention is to cover the period of sixteen years of the fourth republic, which is the longest period in the practice of democratic experiment in Nigeria's history. The scope is thus restricted to the trends of democratization with emphasis on the principle of electoral process. It is mainly concerned with critical investigation of the situation of electoral irregularities challenging the struggle for democratic governance in Nigeria during the fourth republic era.

Nigeria return to civil rule in May 1999, which is presumably nine years after the end of cold war. Eight years later, specifically in the year 2007, the civilian administration of elected President Olusegun Obasanjo transferred power to another civilian administration of President Shehu Musa Yar'adua. In the subsequent following four years (2011) the country witnessed another presidential election in the hands of President Ebele Jonathan who succeeded Yar'adua after his death in 2010. In 2015 Muhammad Buhari defeated Jonathan in the polls, making it the first time an incumbent is defeated. These elections were marred by irregularities as a result of attitudinal and institutional decay, especially the 2007 election which was one of the most controversial. These irregularities have therefore contributed to the challenges of democratic consolidation and democratic governance in the fourth republic.

The focus of the study is limited to examining the consequences of electoral malpractice on democratic governance in the three civilian to civilian transition with a view to recommend strategies to avert such consequences in the continuing democratization processes. However for descriptive purpose, explanation of transformation of electoral processes from colonial and military regimes shall be drawn for analysis.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

A study of this nature is bound to have some limitations. One of the major limitations to the conduct of this research was the difficulty to get classified data/information, especially the data/information from the politicians who constitutes part of our target population. This is because at the time of this research interview (February- May, 2015) majority of them were apprehensive to the important of the research due to the fact that, they were busy politicking because elections were around the corner which made them find it difficult to accord more value to the research and may affect the volumes of the required information/data needed for this research. In some instances the politicians regards the researcher as a journalist. They also maintained that, often journalists comes to them to interview them for media advertisement, thereby saw the researcher as such. In another case they saw the researcher as an intruder, who would like to know too much and expose from their political activities. This was evident from the fact that, even when the researcher properly introduces himself, they often deviates from the main discussion and got out of the research scope unnecessarily. Yet often times the researcher scheduled an appointment with them but they could not honour it due to their political commitments.

These limitations were however overcome and minimised with the help of research assistant, who is a staff of NASS and familiar with some distinguished Senators and honourable members of the NASS. Moreover the researcher had to reside in Abuja the seat of Nigeria's National Assembly (legislature) for few weeks where he then had relative access and audience from the politicians. Likewise the INEC staff, they were so much committed to the conduct of election, the researcher could not have their audience as planned. This was however minimised, because the researcher had to wait until few weeks after the elections, then was granted audience with some staffs. Another limitation is the fact that, the researcher find it difficult to have audience with Nigerian Police Force. All efforts were made by the researcher to have the audience of the police force but it became fruitless. This was confirmed after series of follow-up and consultations which was prove abortive.

This study initially proposed 20 interview respondents and 2 Focus Group Discussion sessions, one each with the Police and INEC staff but however could not be achieved as a result of turning down the interview schedule and meetings by some prospective interviewees. However, the researcher was able to interview 15 respondents and conducted 1 session of GD with INEC staffs, the numbers which is still good enough for qualitative study (Creswell, 2014; Kothari, 2014 and O'Neill, 2014). Finally, another limitation to this study was time constraint due to the fact that, the researcher uses only a complete semester for the fieldwork and data collection, which was not adequate enough to get all the necessary data and cover all the areas. This was however minimised by staying a complete 7 months in the field starting from February to August, 2015.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

Theoretically all phenomena can be explained and analyzed for clarity and understanding. This research study adopted the perspective of Critical theory in order to better explain and understand the phenomenon of the challenges of electoral malpractice to democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic era. This theory would be operationalized in this work because of its contributions to the analysis of globalization, democracy and democratization in different situations, hence provided a way forward to treat cases with similar features such as democratic governance and electoral processes in the era.

1.8.1 Critical Theory

The theoretical tradition of Critical theory was developed famously by Horkheimer, Marcuse and Adorno at the Frankfurt school, also known as the Institute of Social Research, which is a social and political movement of thought founded in 1923. Their effort was a critical response of Marx, Kant, Hegel and Weber. The theory "is an approach that studies society in a dialectical way by analysing political economy, domination, exploitation, and ideologies. It is a normative approach that is based on the judgment that domination is a problem, that a domination-free society is needed. It wants to inform political struggles that want to establish such a society" (Fuchs, 2015:1).

"Critical theory is potentially more useful and politically relevant than poststructuralist and postmodernist theory, therefore considered most substantive contributions to contemporary social theory" (Kellner n.d a: 2). Reviewing Horkheimer's contribution to critical theory, Kellner (ibid) noted that Horkheimer views critical social theory as

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a synthesis of social science and philosophy, (p. 3), Kellner further observed, Horkheimer noted the limitations of social theories of Kant and Hegel, and the limitations of contemporary metaphysical and positivist philosophies (P.4). Horkheimer noted that the relations between society, culture and economy, state and citizens can best be explained in historical terms. He also criticizes theories which "operate in distinguishing subject and object, because is not accurately describing realities. Rather, in objective, subjective factors are at work" (cited in ibid: p.5).

For Horkheimer, "materialism is concerned with changing the concrete conditions under which humans suffer and in which, of course, their souls must become stunted. This concern may be comprehended historically and psychologically; it cannot be grounded in general principles" (cited in ibid p.7). Horkheimer's materialist social theory thus focuses on "human needs and suffering, the ways that economic conditions produce suffering, and the changes necessary to eliminate human suffering and to increase human well-being. Such a project requires a critical social theory which confronts the social problems of the present age" (p.8).

Critical theory exhibit the relationships between ideas and theoretical positions and their social environment, and thus attempts to contextualize or historicize ideas in terms of their roots within social processes. It is thus "critical activity" which is oppositional in approach involving struggle for social change and the unification of theory and practice.

Herbert Marcuse also contributed immensely to the development of critical theory, his reputation during the 1960s as a philosopher, social theorist, and political activist, was

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considered as "father of the New Left" (Kellner, n.d b: 1). His theory of "one dimensional" society provided critical perspectives on contemporary capitalist and state communist societies and his notion of "the great refusal" won him renowned as a theorist of revolutionary change and "liberation from the affluent society" (ibid). Marcuse theory of the new stage of state and monopoly capitalism, articulates the relationships between philosophy, social theory, and cultural criticism, and providing a systematic analysis and critique of German fascism. (p.2)

His critical analysis focussed on Soviet bureaucracy, culture, values, and the differences between the Marxian theory and the Soviet version of Marxism (P.3). In Marcuse publications and lectures he advice student radicals all over the world. He travelled widely and his work was often discussed in the mass media, becoming one of the few American intellectuals to gain such attention (P.4). Marcuse thought that the best of the bourgeois tradition of art contained powerful indictments of bourgeois society and emancipatory visions of a better society. Thus he attempted to defend the importance of great art for the projection of emancipation and argued that Cultural Revolution was an indispensable part of revolutionary politics (p.5).

Another significant contributor to critical theory was Theodor Adorno, 1903-169. He was certainly sympathetic to the aim that individual disciplines – social and political science in particular, but also history and literary criticism – should gain some sort of philosophical impetus as a result of the institute's work. For Adorno, an intellectual discipline that does its work and then waits for another discipline – philosophy – to come a long and animate it cannot be complete in itself. Rather, it is dead. His book *Dialectic of Enlightenment* remains one of the most innovative and controversial

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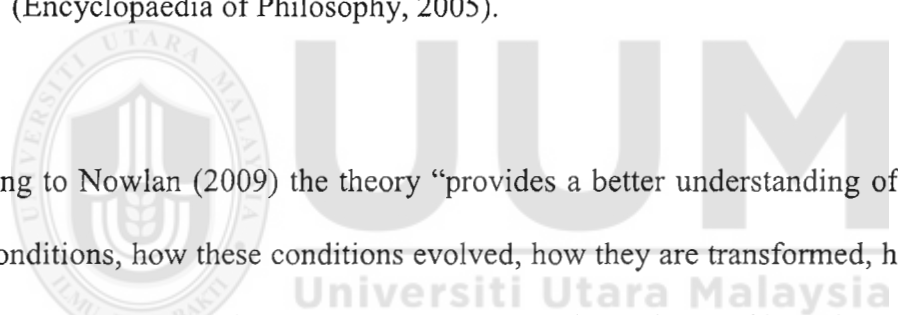
works in the twentieth-century study of culture. Crucially for Adorno and Horkheimer, enlightenment opposes itself to myth. This opposition between myth and enlightenment brings us to what Adorno and Horkheimer might mean by a 'dialectic' of enlightenment. (Ross Wilson, 2007: 1-9)

Although Frankfurt scholars to critical theory shared philosophical concern, they also had Conflicting Paradigms on the Critical Theory of Society. For instance, Marcuse argued that Horkheimer's "manifesto" underplayed the importance of philosophy and consequently he wrote a systematic essay on "Philosophy and Critical Theory" (1968). Horkheimer seemed to agree with this position and himself contributed a "Postscript" which highlighted the role of philosophy. Horkheimer and Marcuse generally agreed on the project of developing a synthesis of philosophy, social theory, and research in a supra disciplinary project. There were some differences, however, with the models developed by Adorno and Benjamin (Buck-Morss 1977; Breuer 1985 cited in Kellner, n.d a: 13).

It therefore significant to understand critical theory "is characterized by certain shared core philosophical concerns, which exhibits a diversity among its proponents that both contributes to its richness and poses substantial barriers to understanding its significance" (Rush, 2006:1). The theory is about reflective thinking on what to do regarding transforming society from domination. The rise of the theory is in connections with several social movements that highlighted various focus of the domination of modern human societies. According to the Stanford Encyclopaedia of philosophy (2005) the theory "represents the intellectual articulation of the conviction that modern capitalist society cannot- at least not without significant reformation or

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substantial transformation-realize the entertainment ideal of an enlightened- that is a rational, just and human-society". It explains thus;

> The theory is concerned with discovering and uncovering, and with describing and explaining. It also always involve questioning and challenging the passive acceptance that the way things are or the way things seems. In other words the theory question and challenges the conviction that what is or what is in the process of becoming, or what appears to be, is also at the same time right and true, good and just and necessary and inevitable: Critical theory does not, at least not automatically accept any of this. However is always particularly concerned with inquiring into the problems and limitations, the blindness and mistakes, the contradictions and incoherence, the injustices and inequities in how we as human beings, operating within particular kind of structures and hierarchies of relations with each other, facilitated and regulated by particular kinds of institutions, engaged in particular kinds of process and practices, we formed, reformed and transformed ourselves, each other and the communities, cultures, societies and world in which we live (Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, 2005).

According to Nowlan (2009) the theory "provides a better understanding of present social conditions, how these conditions evolved, how they are transformed, how they interact with each other, what laws govern their transformation, and how they maintain their validity". Thus its focus has been the explanation and transformation of all the circumstances that enslave human kinds. The aim of critical theory is therefore to empower the enslaved through enlightenment and challenging the situation that dominate human society.

Elections have over the years of democratic transition in Africa and Nigeria in particular assumed significance in determining not only the path to democracy but also democratic outcomes. Election process has been increasingly perceived as a symbol of both participation and representativeness. However the extent to which that is the case in Nigeria is highly contentious depending on the interest of person making the

assessment. Nevertheless one clear issue is that of gross abuse of the electoral process, it has become a tool of violation of the rights of the citizens with impunity. Large volume of literature revealed the trend in which powerful politicians engage in electoral rigging and malpractices during the 2003, 2007 and 2011 elections in Nigeria (Ibrahim and Aturu, 2009; Abutudu and Obakhedo, 2009, Mu'azu, 2009 and Ogbonnaya, 2012). Electoral rigging and fraud which have been frustrating the wishes of the people to choose those who exercise political power have long history in Nigeria. Thus it is not a new phenomenon to associate elections "with political tension and indeed violence and crises in the country" (Ibrahim and Aturu, 2009: 11).

Since critical theory is about empowerment, also its approach concerns understanding of knowledge in relation to power, and it stresses researcher's responsibility to change the inequalities in the statuesque. The study on the challenges of electoral malpractice in Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment can therefore be use as a medium to change the statuesque of those who enjoined electoral malpractice to dominate electorates. The main goal is to challenge and change Nigerian electoral process for the betterment of the larger society. While powerful politicians engage in keeping themselves in power, which requires silencing minority voices through fraudulent electoral process; critical theory on electoral malpractice thus challenges the statuesque to emancipate the electorate from shackles of electoral fallacy.

In an effort to depict the situation of democratization in this era Bello (2011), observed that there is straight relationship between the socio-economic system and democratization, especially the neo-liberal economy and its attendant postulations, as espoused in the Washington Consensus, which are directly antithetical to

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democratization as they leave the people alienated or excluded, deprived and poorer than they were before democracy in 1999. The inequality of wealth, which is generated and perpetrated in a neo-liberal state, prevents effective political equality. Poverty and widespread unemployment causes voters vulnerability to demagogic mobilization in support of an unpopular candidate. Welfarism which ought to protect individuals from market vicissitudes, is eroded in a neo-liberal system, quest for democratic governance from 1999 to date in Nigeria has exacerbated a situation of excessive social inequality and inadequate welfare institutions.

A number of scholars however, attributed the problems and prospects for democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic with the effects of previous long years of military rule (Fayemi, 2000; Igbuzor, 2005 and Audu 2011). Large number of the political class that emerged at the return of democratic rule in 1999 were the product of the previous military authoritarianism. Thus Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) documents high militarization of Nigerian institutions due to the long years of military rule, such institutions include; the family, the educational system, community relations, religion, the judiciary, economy and the democratization process (cited in Igbuzor, 2005).

In relation to this, Jega (1993) described the transition to democracy as circumstances where the state uses its might to cajole, intimidate, divide and even ban trade unions and other professional associations in order to their opposition. He emphasize that it is important to note that since the transition program is entirely a state planned and engineered process, without the active participation of the civil society and yet committed to consolidating the objective of an extremely imposed SAP by IMF and

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World Bank, the basis for popular participation and accountability do not exist. In line of this argument Adejumobi, (1994) reiterate that Nigeria's transition program constructed on the logic of SAP does not share the ideals and ethos of democracy in practice.

Discussing and developing a "pragmatic conceptualization of critical theory as social theory of practical knowledge" in a multi perspectival dimension, Bohman (2004:122) argued that "such a critical theory ought to develop the method of practical knowledge which should familiarize democratic political activities in the age of globalization". He noted that rather than perceiving the complex processes of globalization as a collective coordination problem, it can be perceive as aspect of a "problematic situation" for democratic discussion, which is related to lack of several institutional and non-institutional basis for democracy at the international level.

He further noted that critical theory sees globalization in connection with the goal of achieving the norms of emancipating humankind and democracy. Its main focus is based on the achieving forms of practicalities which will promote the transformations that could lead to better form of democracy. The transformation must move beyond single perspective understandings of democracy which dominate nation-state political life. Thus the challenge is to have a new forms of interconnectedness without increasing the chances of domination, through dispersed and increasingly wider politically relevant public. "This requires creation of transnational democratic institutions with forms of inquiry that are accountable to the publics whom they influence and are influenced by in a robust interaction" (ibid: 142). Robinson (2006) also present an idea and believe that intellectuals are an organic part of society and

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social actors, he question the relationship between intellectualism, globalization and power, and submit that intellectuals have to contribute towards emancipation. He observed scholars have noted that we are living in trouble times, that the system of global capitalism engulfs the entire planet in crisis, where global elites have simultaneously turned to authoritarianism, militarization and war to sustain the system.

He noted that "globalization is today a new phase in the history of global capitalism", this new era is marked by four significant transformations which includes; a) emergence of obvious transnational capital-characterized by integration of all countries into a new global production and financial system; b) emergence of a new transnational capitalist class- a situation where in "every country of the world, a portion of national elite has been integrated into the new transnationally oriented elite", which involves the rise of a new global working class; c) rise of transnational state- where national states become part of the larger transnational states which protects the interests of global over national or local accumulation process; d) appearance of novel relations of inequality- a situation that increases poverty to the have not while increasing wealth to the haves. He therefore noted that for critical theory to be practical, scholars and intellectuals in the twenty first century should exercise a "preferential treatment option for subordinate majorities of the emergent global society". Critical globalization studies theorists thus, have to emancipate the dominated majority through social engagement, active theorizing and political work.

One important political development of democratization affecting Nigerian politics has been the emergence fourth republic and aspiration for democratic governance. The characteristic of democratic governance is the existence and institutionalization of

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democratic structures. This characterization has become synonymous to what Huntington (1993) referred to as resurgence of democracy. In this situation, several groups take advantage of the newly opened political opportunities to create, re-create, and expand their interests and organizations and articulate their grievances, which may have been hitherto suppressed by the authoritarian regime. This includes heightened emphasis on good governance and respect for human rights. But this development is not without serious questions. As a matter of fact the views of Nigerians were respected, however reluctantly. The usefulness of freedom of speech and press to the peasant in rural Nigeria is rarely considered. Same is applicable to the right to run for public office or to vote help them very much, given their total absorption in the daily struggle for survival and the futility of exercising choice in ignorance. Even access to equality before the law and due process does not help very much. For neither have the confidence nor the resources to seek justice in judicial system which is prohibitively expensive and utterly intimidating. Access will only be meaningful and relevant if its provision entails the removal of these obstacles.

One of the starkest challenge of democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic as in other post-colonial African states today in the economic terms is the redundancy of the people. Henriot, (1998:3), said "employment promotion was at best of secondary importance. As consequences, formal employment of the labor force had dropped to as low as 14% in recent years, with no explicit employment generation policy included in government programs". As an impact, a cursory look at the micro and macro-economic development indicators for most developing state paint a rather gloomy and disappointing picture. The Nigerian population of 126.9 million, its average annual growth rate is only 0.6% from 1998-2000; the total net per capita in 2000 is only

$1(Okolie, 2003: 269). The unfortunate aspect of Nigerian's fourth republic in relation to its economic situation vis-a vis democratic governance and electioneering process is that the electorate is being conditioned to put monetary value to its vote. Apparently because the electorate are not economically sound and they know that their elected officials would not pursue any meaningful development and also because their votes may not count, the electorate therefore feels obliged to give their votes to the highest bidder.

Therefore, in situations where existing political culture and socio-economic conditions favor one group while putting others at a disadvantage; where holders of certain powers or privileges are unwilling to acknowledge the rights of others, the assumptions are that crisis of governance has emerged and will escalate if nothing is done to correct such anomalies. Making the type of corrections that will lead to good democratic governance requires a critical transformation, but transformation is often resisted not because people do not see its positive values, but because they are not so keen to admit their blunders which in fact may be induced from within or by factors outside the immediate control of the political leaders.

Considering the impact of the aspiration for democratic governance to Nigeria's fourth republic is both internal and externally derived therefore, machineries for transformation must reflect within these directions. In the case of the internally-induced change, the resulting change is usually a product of political culture and socio-economic encounters which, where seen as opportunities for learning, growth and development and capable of leading to the restructuring attitudes, institutions and resources. When social, economic, cultural or political transformation is externally

driven, the assumption is that these institutions have problems that need to be dealt with by imposing critically different ones. Like the much criticized colonial experience in colonized territories, such culturally insensitive transformations are usually resisted for the very fact that it runs contrary to cherished value systems that are naturally opposed to transformation. Perhaps for the critical transformation to take effect in regards to the challenges of electoral malpractice as it affects democratic governance in Nigeria, there is need to put the transformation machineries in practice. In other words contributions of critical theorists towards practical knowledge is much needed for the emancipation of the disadvantaged or enslaved human groups.

From whatever direction the situation of Nigeria's fourth republic is viewed, "a critical theory of democracy should show us how to transform our form of life in an emancipatory manner" (O'Neill, 2000: 503). Certainly critical theory is always there for us to philosophically articulate human impulses to emancipate ourselves from the shackles of oppression and injustice. In an attempt to transform the pattern of the challenges of electoral malpractice to democratic governance, today and for the future, we must critically restructure attitudes, institutions and resources for better Nigeria. Restructuring should include good governance, respecting constitution and addressing the gaps within it. Apart from strengthening democratic institutions and addressing corruption and mismanagement; there is also need for increasing civic consciousness in Nigerian voters so that they become more empowered and knowledgeable and more willing to defend and utilize their votes.

1.9 Research Method

This section describe the methodology employed in undertaking this research work, it consist of reason for adopting qualitative research as well as the explanation of the

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research tools employed such as research design and sampling technique employed in the research. It explain the data sources, thus both primary and secondary data would be used to collect and analyse the data in this research. It also explains the data validity/ credibility of methodology employed in the research. In depth interview method has been used in collecting and processing the primary data pertaining the challenges of election malpractice to the democratic experiment in Nigeria's fourth republic. It also consist description of the method of data analysis and the Nvivo software used in the study.

1.9.1 Research Design

The study adopt a qualitative research design to investigate challenges of electoral malpractice on democratic governance in Nigeria during the sixteen years of the fourth republic. There are large volumes of literature concerning qualitative research definitions as there are contributions on the subject. According to Guest et al (2013:3) "in order to avoid dichotomous positioning of qualitative research with respect to its quantitative counterpart, qualitative research involves collecting and working with text, images, or sounds". The method is about documented or recorded communication. It is mainly an observation through assessment by the use of research techniques. Certainly the method has its own techniques and instruments e.g. computer programs, texts, interviews etcetera.

Qualitative research method is considered particularly suitable for understanding experiences such as conduct of election by civilian government in Nigeria. It draws on an interpretative orientation, which focuses on the complex and nuanced process of the creation and maintenance of meanings that cannot be easily provided by other

methods (Creswell, 1998; Rice, 1966a, 1966b; Rice & Ezzy, 2001 cited in Roy and Chatterjee; 2006: 87-88). It aims to elicit the contextualized nature of experience and action. In this study, the respondents are Nigerians who fall in the age 18 years and above defined as those eligible to vote, particularly those who have participated in 1999-2015 election processes. Therefore a qualitative research design is a process of collecting and analysing data, developing and modifying theory, elaborating or refocusing the research questions, and identifying and dealing with validity threads which are usually going on more or less simultaneously, each influencing all of the others (Maxwell, 2008). Thus descriptive study design is adopted in this research, its concern therefore centred on describing the characteristics and determining the frequency with which something occurs or its association with (electoral malpractices and democratic governance) something else (Kothari, 2004).

1.9.2 Justification for Adopting Qualitative Research

The justification for using qualitative research method lies in the fact that "qualitative researchers are concerned with meaning of how people make sense of their lives, experiences, and their structures of the world" (Atieno, 2009:3). Thus researcher concerning the challenges of electoral malpractice on democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. "Data are therefore mediated through this human instrument, rather than through inventories, questionnaires, or machines" (ibid). Flick, (2009:12) also justified that qualitative research is of "specific relevance to the study of social relations, due to the fact of the pluralization of life worlds. This pluralization requires a new sensitivity to the empirical study of issues".

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According to Barbie (2001: 304-5) "its instruments include textbooks, Newspapers, web pages, speeches, laws, letters and many more". Dawson, (2002:118) said, the researcher "using this method systematically works through each document assigning codes, which may be numbers or words, to specific characteristics within the text. The researcher may already have a list of categories or may read through each document and let the categories emerge from the data". As Powell and Renner (2003:1) puts it "this guide outlines a basic approach for analysing and interpreting a narrative data- often referred to as content analysis- that you can adapt to your own extension and evaluations".

Although there are certain similarities between narrative data and case study data, there are also significant differences, for instance narrative has to do with collecting data concerning individual. In the words of Creswell (2007:6);

> case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audio visual material, and documents and reports) and reports a case description and case-based themes.

A qualitative research inquiry originated from research question. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) indicated that: Qualitative research has many ways for collecting first-hand information in the field. It clearly indicates that the approach, study phenomenon within the context of its originalities, attempting to interpret data in a way how people consider them. Halliru (2012) justified, qualitative research study involves the use and collection of a different data that describe things the way they are, why and how they are, such as history taken, an interview or case study.

While electoral process is a social phenomenon, examining challenges of electoral malpractice on democratic governance in Nigeria during the fourth republic will best be served by qualitative research method. Qualitative research on social phenomenon focus on the operation of social process in greater details, it allow qualitative researchers a "degree of flexibility in the conduct of a particular study; facilitate the examination of sensitive or difficult topics if a relationship of trust develops between a researcher and researched; and enable researchers to make connections between different aspects of people's lives, such as domestic sphere, employment and leisure time" Griffin (2004:7). Qualitative research portray richness and in-depth detail that quantitative research cannot, "qualitative research method allow for much detailed inquiry of issues- answering questions concerning who is (by the issue) why, what factors are involved, do individual react or respond differently to each other" (Nicholls 2011:4).

1.9.3 Sampling Technique

A non-probabilistic, purposive sampling technique will be suitable in the conduct of analysing challenges of electoral malpractice in Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment. Purposive sampling is suitable for qualitative studies where the researcher is interested in informants with the best knowledge concerning the research topic. When using purposeful sampling, decisions need to be made about who or what is sampled, what form the sampling should take, and how many people or sites need to be sampled (Creswell, 2013 cited in Elo et al 2014). Non-probability sampling is a sampling procedure which does not afford any basis for estimating the probability that each item in the population has chance of being included in the sample (Kothari, 2004). Non-probability sampling is also known by different names such as deliberate

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sampling, purposive sampling and judgement sampling. In this type of sampling, items for the sample are selected deliberately by the researcher; his choice concerning the items remains supreme. In other words, "under non-probability sampling the organisers of the inquiry purposively choose the particular units of the universe for constituting a sample on the basis that the small mass that they so select out of a huge one will be typical or representative of the whole" (ibid:59).

This technique is relevant in this study because Nigeria as a country is large, only a small portion of the population can be utilize as describe in non-probability sampling technique whenever sampling element is huge. In the context of this research therefore, respondents to the interview could emerge from any group of Nigerian electorate such as Politicians, Electoral officers, Non-governmental organizations as well as from the Academia. These respondents were selected base on the fact that they possess best knowledge regarding the topic of the research. For instance, politicians consists of the teeming population involved in political activities such as process of formation of political parties, voting and contestation in seeking for political offices. The relevance of electoral officers emerged for the fact that, they have the best knowledge concerning the rules and processes of organizing the conduct of elections. While on one hand non-governmental organizations, although participate in election process, they could be critical to weaknesses of government, they are part of this research informants. The academia on the other hand especially political scientists, contributed both in theory and practical understanding of Nigeria's electoral process and aspiration for democratic governance.

A purposive qualitative sampling method shall be used, taking into account only those who were willing to participate in lengthy interactive interviews. The ethical principle of informed consent has been adequately taken care of. In-depth interview technique would be used for collecting necessary information along with respondents' personal narratives. This is supplemented by the observation method. An interview theme list will be prepared and used as a tool for data collection. Data collection will continue until a research saturation is reached. Troy and Chatterjee (2006) observed that majority of scholars recommended that the size of purposive samples be established inductively and sampling continue until "theoretical saturation" (often vaguely defined) occurs. They referred to saturation as a point at which no additional data are being found. Creswell's (1998) recommended between five and twenty-five interviews for a phenomenological study. However fifteen respondents were interviewed and one session of group discussion was conducted in this research.

1.9.4 Sources of Data

Qualitative research method of data collection and analysis in in- depth interview methodology is required in this study, the sources of the data therefore includes secondary and primary sources. Heaton (2000) refers to the combination of secondary and primary data collection and analysis as complementary analysis. It rely mainly on secondary data with primary research conducted in support of the former. It is therefore used to provide additional comparative or collateral evidence using different sources of data to verify the result of the main analysis. The most commonly sources of qualitative data include interviews, observations and documents (Griffin, 2004 and Nicholls, 2011).

1.9.5 Data Collection Instrument

The qualitative researcher often is the instrument, relying on his or her skills to receive information in natural contexts and uncover its meaning by descriptive, exploratory, or explanatory procedures. Qualitative researchers value case studies (or multiple-case studies), for example, whereas quantitative researchers tend to value large sample sizes, manipulation of treatments and conditions, and true experiments or quasi-experiments (Guest, 2013).

1.9.6 Secondary Data

For the secondary sources, it shall consists mainly published documents comprising scholarly literature on globalization, democracy, democratic governance, electoral process and malpractice in general and as both relates to Nigeria in particular. Such literature include those from textbooks, journals, and conference and seminar papers. Others include published articles, newspapers, magazines and other periodicals, e-resources on relevant issues could also be utilized.

Among these published documents are from the American Sociological Association, American Journal of Social sciences, American journal of political science, Annual sociology review, Sage e-journal publication, Jstor e-journal publications, journal of sustainable development in Africa, Council of science research in Africa, Medwell journal, Journal of Humanities and Social sciences etcetera. United Nations Development Program Reports have also been used. Others include published and unpublished articles from Conferences and Seminars especially from IMF and World Bank, Conferences on Democracy and Democratization in Nigeria organized by the Centre for Democratic Research and Training, Bayero University Kano; and the publications and Conference organized by National Institute for Policy and Strategic

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Studies, Kuru, Jos. There are also special publication by the University of Lagos Sociological Review on Globalization and Sustainable Development in Nigeria as well as that of Centre for Democracy and Development in 2007 2011 and 2014 as part of the Nigeria Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).

Perhaps descriptive method of data analysis would be adopted to review the data collected. The aim is to use qualitative content of data analysis to empirically interpret the effects of electoral malpractice on democratic governance in the Nigeria's fourth republic.

1.9.7 Primary Data

Interview in semi structured form as well as the in-depth interview methods of data collection in qualitative technique use of primary data has been utilized in this study. Meanwhile the population of this study is Nigeria as a country covering its 36 States. Thus Nigeria is divided into six geopolitical zones, with six states in each zone, however north-west zone has seven states. These zones are: North-West; North-East; North-Central; South-West, South-East and South-South. Effort was made to reflect inclusion of this research interview respondents from all the zones. The respondents are as follows:

Respondent 1- Honourable Member of the Parliament (MP), National Assembly, Representing Ndokwa West and Ndokwa East and Ukwuani Federal Constituency, Delta State, South-South zone.

Respondent 2- Honourable Member of the Parliament (MP), National Assembly, Representing Ajeromi/ Ifelodun Federal Constituency, Lagos State, South-West zone.

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Respondent 3- Grass root Politician, Wuse Federal Capital Territory Abuja from North-Central zone.

Respondent 4- Grass root Politician, Damaturu Yobe State from North-East zone.

Respondent 5- Distinguished Senator, Member of Parliament, National Assembly from Bayelsa Senatorial District, Bayelsa State, South-South zone.

Respondent 6- Academician, PhD Political Science Department, Bayero University, Kano

Respondent 7- Academician, Political Science Professor and former (immediate past) Chairman of (EMB) Electoral Management Body-INEC (Independent National Electoral Commission) of Nigeria.

Respondent 8-Academecian (Professor)/ NGO Executive, African Research and Development Agency (ARADA).

Respondent 9- Academician, Political Science Professor, University of Abuja, Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

Respondent 10- Academician, Political Science Professor, Bayero University, Kano

Respondent 11- Electoral Commissioner, Kano State Independent Electoral Commission (KANSIEC), Kano State, North-West zone.

Respondent 12- Electoral Officer, Fagge Local Government, Kano State Independent Electoral Commission (KANSIEC), Kano State, North-West zone.

Respondent 13-Senior Programme Officer, Centre for Democracy and Development, Nigeria Office, Abuja

Respondent 14- Electoral Officers II and III, EMB Staffs (Deputy Director and Assistant Director Statistics Department and Electoral Process Department respectively). Independent National Electoral Commission Headquarters, Abuja.

Respondent 15- Grass root Politician III from Enugu State, South-East.

1.9.8.1 Interviews

Interviews have been the primary method of data collection. Interviews are the most commonly used method in qualitative research (ACAPS, 2012). This study used interview data as primary source of evidence to gain detailed, rich and holistic understanding of experiences, opinions and attitudes (Griffin, 2004; Nicholls, 2004; Heaton, 2000 and Atieno, 2009). The procedure begins with a set of open-ended questions, however considerable time was spent probing respondent's view, stimulating them to provide details and clarifications, which the researcher analyse the data collectively (Harris and Brown, 2010:1). In the words of Harrell and Bradley (2009: 37) this method is a" guide used, with topics and questions that must be covered. While the interviewer has the circumspect concerning the order in which the questions are asked, the question are standardized and probing is inculcated to ensure correct coverage of the area intended". The process is conversational with a view to dig deeply for effective understanding of the topic for reliable answers.

1.9.8.2 In-depth Interview Method

In-depth interview is a method of data collection used in qualitative techniques. The key features of in-depth interview are intended to combine the structure with flexibility. Under the in-depth interview, one-on-one interview and focus group interview can be utilised. Boyle and Neale, (2006) stated the usefulness of in-depth

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interview as when the researcher need detailed information concerning interviewee's thought and behaviour or need to explore new issues in- depth. The method is used often to provide context to other data, offering a more complete picture of what happened in a particular situation and why. The interview is interactive in nature and the researcher poses a range of probing questions and other techniques to achieve depths analysis in terms of penetration, exploration, and explanation. The interview benefits the investigator to generate and gain relevant information (Creswell, 2007).

1.9.8.3 Validity of Data / Credibility

Because of the "depth and detail (in an interview, for example, people may talk at great length about themselves and their beliefs) we are more likely to gain a complete, true to life, picture of whatever we are researching" Livesey, (2006:6). To ensure that the interpretation of 'stories' given by participants were understood, the results of fieldwork was fed back to some key participants- the University lecturers, Non-governmental Organizations, Politicians and Electoral officers during the final stage of data analysis. Meanwhile the researcher's personal observation of the data (both primary and secondary data) satisfy the validation of the data.

1.9.8.4 Data Analysis

It is significant for a researcher to begin an analysis through inductive reasoning with sufficient information, thereby sorting and categorization of data into a set of underlying themes. According to Powell and Renner (2003) researchers are expected to construct interpretive narratives from their data and try to capture the complexity of the phenomenon under study. The data shall be reviewed, coded and modelled in order

to address the research questions. The themes that evolved in the codification should be analysed in the context of each research question in order to address the findings.

From the perspective of establishing credibility, researchers must ensure that those participating in research are identified and described accurately. Dependability refers to the stability of data over time and under different conditions. Conformability refers to the objectivity, that is, the potential for congruence between two or more independent people about the data's accuracy, relevance, or meaning. Transferability refers to the potential for extrapolation. It relies on the reasoning that findings can be generalized or transferred to other settings or groups. The last criterion, authenticity, refers to the extent to which researchers, fairly and faithfully, show a range of realities (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Polit & Beck, 2012 cited in Elo et al, 2014).

Creswell enumerated six stages of credible and accurate data analysis as follows;

1- preparing and organizing data

2- Explaining and coding the data base

3- Describing findings and forming themes

4- Representing and reporting findings

5- Interpreting the meanings of findings

6- Validating the accuracy of the findings

This techniques of study is flexible and the collection of data is clean and appropriate. It has been suggested that the researcher's validity of the work should be accurate through using techniques like triangulation, and support, member checking, long term observation, participatory or active participation. It has an advantage as it utilizes

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several ways of generating data (Creswell, 1995 and 1998; Yin, 2003; Robson, 2002; cited in Halliru, 2012: 71-72).

Meanwhile the interview guide or questions should be flexible to suit the situation or circumstances of the interview, meaning that the researcher can make changes to the planned guide where necessary, according to the different responsibilities and experience of the interviewees (Boyce and Neale, 2006). Certainly, in the case of this research the guide or questions are as follows;

1-Can you discuss on the factors responsible for the re-emergence of the quest for Democratic Governance in Nigeria from 1999 to present?

The researcher would therefore collect, analyse and address the extent of the different views or perspectives that the re-emergence of the quest for Democratic Governance in Nigeria from 1999 to present. The findings would be reviewed, translated and arranged into meaningful data which would be presented in a descriptive form.

2- How would your account for the challenges of democratic experiment in Nigeria's fourth republic?

The researcher would collect and analyse the data that will be modelled on how the account for the challenges of democratic experiment in Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment been presented by respondents.

3-Can you elaborate on how the consequences of electoral malpractice are threats to democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic?

The data would be collected, analysed and modelled in such a way that it will describe the consequences of electoral malpractice threaten democratic governance in Nigeria during the fourth republic era.

4- Can you argue regarding why does election became first among the equals of the principles of democracy in the Nigerian polity?

The data would be collected, analysed and modelled in such a way that it will describe two views from respondents- proponents and opponents of election as first among equals of the principles of democracy. Election is only one among other important principles of democratic governance. However, election credibility determines legitimacy or otherwise of the exercise of other principles of democracy. More so the respondents' views must reflects the context of Nigeria's fourth republic.

In order to have an open and "honest" response, the interviewees must be informed about the purpose of the study prior the beginning of each interview. The researcher also must enlighten the interviewees the confidentiality of information gathered from the interviews. The interview should first explain the nature and purpose of the study to the key participants. And then the interviewees would be questioned about their experience concerning the challenges of electoral malpractice on democratic governance during the fourth republic in the study area. The process would be repeated with other discussants during the course of the main fieldwork. Method of Processing Data shall therefore safeguard data so as to let the data "speak" without any bias to any specific theoretical paradigm. Data will be collected directly from Nigerians irrespective of their educational and religious background. However, where there is

need in the processing, significant variations could emerge thus could be categorized according to major variables such as employment status.

1.9.8.5 Use of Nvivo Software

Nvivo is a computer software package used to improve the analysis of qualitative research. "It reduces manual tasks and allows the researcher more time to discover tendencies, recognize themes and derive conclusions. Nvivo eases qualitative analysis in five important ways; managing data, managing idea, query data, modelling and reporting" (Bazely 2007 cited in Hilal and Alabri, 2013; 2). Nvivo software has been helpful in this research, in the sense that it made it easier for this study to categorize data into themes. And by creating graphs to demonstrate the relationships between the main themes and sub-themes, it became helpful for development of models which visually describe conceptual and theoretical data.

1.10 Operational Definition of Key Concepts

1.10.1 Globalization

"It is a historical process involving a fundamental shift or transformation in the spatial scale of human social organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across regions and continents. It is also a catch phrase often used to describe a single world-economy after the collapse of communism, though sometimes employed to define the growing integration of the international capitalist system in the post-war period" (Baylis, et al, 2011; 565). In this context it is an increasing contact with powerful countries and powerful international institutions which ultimately influences democratic arrangements in Nigeria.

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1.10.2 Challenges of Globalization

Refers to the negative consequences of bringing together of peoples and culture as well as interconnectedness of economies and spread of democracy around the world. It is thus exchange, spread or growing of ideas, goods, products and technological developments around the world. Nigeria has been part and parcel of this experience. In the context of this research therefore, it can be referred to as the negative consequences of globalization on democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic.

1.10.3 Globalization era

Globalization era in this context refers to the historical period of increasing influences of powerful international institutions and powerful capitalist countries that encourage democratic arrangements in Nigeria; especially within the period of 1990, as well as the specific period between 1999 to date that Nigeria is practicing democracy.

1.10.4 Democratization

Potter et al, (1997) writes "the word democratization refers to political changes moving in a democratic direction". In the context of this research it is a sober reflection and assessment of the opportunities, threats, obstacles achievements and constraints of the resurgence for transition to democracy, which has been encouraged by the forces of globalization. Democratization is thus a trend of struggle over democratic objectives and has remained a major issue in globalization. The democratization trends in contemporary Nigeria aims at the establishment of democratic values geared towards the increased participation of the populace in decision making. While democratization is dependent on the expansion of social values and structures to facilitate the increase of participation in the exercise of state power. One noticeable political development of

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globalization in Nigeria is the push towards democratization. This indicates considerable emphasis on good governance and respect for human rights. But this development is not without serious questions. As a matter of fact despite weakening the power of government through economic globalization, the views of Nigerians were respected, however reluctantly.

1.10.5 Democratic Governance

According to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE, 2011), Democratic governance is a process where institution of governance function according to democratic process and norms both internally and in their interaction with other institutions. In the context of Nigeria absence of functions of institutions according to democratic process and norms characterized the polity. In the context of this research democratic governance therefore, is a process whereby democratic principles such as popular sovereignty, empowerment, political equality, majority rule, functional constitution, rule of law, independent judiciary, periodic free and fair election and human rights and freedom are enshrined in a polity. However in Nigerian context these principles are not waxing stronger if not functioning properly, especially principle of free and fair election which perhaps one of the essentials.

1.10.6 Democratic Transition

"Is about operation and institutionalization of democratic principles, values, structures and processes leading to a fully sustainable democratic form of governance" (Bako, 2001; 2). However due to weakness of Nigerian state and democratic institutions especially in fourth republic (scope of the research) democratic principles have been

characterized with electoral violence, corruption, excessive monetization of politics and ethno-religious politics.

1.10.7 Elections

Elections are means of selecting those to represent the people in different public positions within the polity (Ighodalo, 2012). Elections are critical aspects for democratic governance of modern political societies. They are considered as apparatus for political choice, mobilization and accountability. In the liberal democratic paradigm that has become the most popular form of democracy in today's globalization era, elections are expected to cushion transition from one civilian regime to another and ease in legitimizing sitting governments.

1.10.8 Electoral Process

Idowu, (2010) refers to electoral process as all the pre and post-election activities without which an election is either impossible or meaningless. The process therefore involves registration of political parties, voter's registration, resolution of election disputes, swearing of election winners' etcetera. Meanwhile, electoral process is certainly about rules and procedures of conducting an election. Therefore until these processes are conducted in an efficient manner, an election can be considered as free and fair.

1.10.9 Electoral Malpractice

Ebirim (2013) sees electoral malpractice as a process by which the rule and regulations that govern the conduct of election are manipulated to favour specific interests. It is achievable through numerous tactics and strategies including outright rigging and

falsification of electoral result. However, electoral malpractice can take place before, after and during election. In the context of this research electoral malpractice represent manipulation of pre or post-election (or even both) conduct or activities which normally manifest through rigging and falsification of election results.

1.10.10 Fourth Republic

Refers to the period within which democratic system of government is practiced for the fourth time. While the first attempt from 1960 was disrupted by military in 1966, the second from 1979 attempt was toppled in 1984, 1993 attempt was aborted at cancellation of Presidential election. Meanwhile the fourth republic began from 1999 to date

1.11 Conclusion

Scholars described democratic governance as process which characterizes effective functioning of democratic institutions that many countries around the world have been aspiring to attain within the last four decades. They noted that domestic predicaments within a country necessitated democratization, as well as powerful democracies through pro-democracy institutions have contributed to the increasing spread of democracy globally. They further noted the significance of electoral process as an essential path towards democratization process. The argument of this study however lies squarely on the controversial electoral processes experienced in the sixteen years experiment of fourth republic democracy in Nigeria. Specifically it argues that as a result of electoral malpractice in the fourth republic, the aspiration for democratic governance has not yet meet the expectations of its stakeholders. The chapter further argues that with critical approach, these challenges could be overcome. Perhaps, the

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need is to empower and enlighten stakeholders on strengthening democratic institutions and civic consciousness of Nigerian voters, public and political office holders. The chapter therefore explained research methodology adopted in the study and defines concepts frequently used the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant literature in relation to the key research problem of the thesis. The discussion however includes reviews on perspectives and conceptualizations on globalization as it influences and challenges democracy, democratization, democratic governance. A review of electoral process and malpractice as they affects Nigeria's fourth republic has also been made.

2.1 Perspectives and Conceptualizations on Globalization

Globalization is multidimensional phenomenon affecting different aspects of social life, in the political aspect, it has often been referred to as "political globalization" (Held, 1999 and Moghadam, 2005). Due to its multifaceted conceptualizations, it has been surrounded with value loaded or confusing perspectives. "Disputes and confusions about globalization often begin around issues of definition" (Scholte, 2005a:4). The reason for this is the difference between what is considered as globalization in the western world and its impact in the developing or post-colonial world. "In the former it can represent limitless opportunities for identity transformation through liberation of citizens or the creation of post-materialist society fearful only of risk" (Grugel, 2003:261). Understanding the disputes regarding the meanings, perspectives and conceptualizations of this phenomenon from different scholars' point of view, thereby

identifying and operationalizing a unique definition as well as what process it entails and why is it significant to understand it in this section is the broad task to this review.

In a much elaborate archival qualitative data, Clark (1997) perceived that five major international political forces shape Globalization- Westernization-an international trend for the past several centuries. Global balance of power- distribution of international power. Hegemony- control of cultural, economic and military of state internationally. Autonomous power of state over control of international processes. Globalization- is shaped by influence of global economic system sustained by powerful state. Similarly, Kellner (2002), sketches in a dialectical framework, the aspects of critical theory of globalization that analyse the main pillars of transformation in world politics, economy and culture. He articulates the incompatibilities of globalization and the ways it has been imposed from above as well as how it can be resisted and redefined from below. He argues that the way of understanding the phenomenon is theorizing it, for the fact that it is from the beginning the product of technological revolution and restructuring of global capitalism where culture, politics, economy and technology are connected. Kellner noted we should resist the phenomenon due to its one sided optics, hence look at it as highly incompatible set of institutions and social relations which involves movement of people, capital, goods and culture.

He raised the question of the debate concerning the "post" (i.e. post industrialism, post Fordism and post modernism) help in shedding light on globalization. However, he argued that the 'post' discourses only concentrate on what is new or different in an existing situation, he nevertheless said such discourses can easily be misused. He thus

maintained for the discourse of 'post' to have any relevance, it needs to be related to scientific analysis regarding technological revolution and the global revolution of capital, or else it is just a jargon. For him, to effectively speculate post modernity, there is need to analyse the phenomenon and the roles of techno-science and new technologies in view. In other words, interpretation of scientific and technological transformation and the global restructuring of capitalism have shaped a unique historical redefinition of globalization which helps in understanding of the imperatives of the discourse of the "post".

Nyang (1998) described that globalization manifested in five important ways. The first involves the geographic shortening of distances and the ease of human travel via faster means of locomotion, such as supersonic planes, nuclear- power ships, high- speed cars and bullet trains. The second is shaping our world by virtue of humanity's scientific and technological development, people now communicate across vast distance by telephone, fax telex and e-mail. Third manifestation is the emergence of a world culture driven by universalizing factor; growing impact of English language as common lingua-franca, the integration of almost all societies and culture in to world economy, the universalizing tendencies of science and technology and the gradual emergence of a world moral order whose building blocks are drawn from humanity's religion and secular heritages. Fourth manifestation is the homogenization of human societies, a trend that has been facilitated by the universal adoption of the western ways of life. Fifth manifestation is the global fear of extinction that ends the cold war has become a thread of unity among those working energetically for peace in human communication around the world.

According to Mazrui (1998) globalization consist of a process that leads towards global interdependence and increasing rapidity of exchange across vast distance. He described the four engines of globalization as religion, economy, technology and territorial expansion. He emphasize that these forces shape contemporary universal out looks. He further averred that globalization is a trend, dealing with interconnectedness and inter relations of global forces of production. Although Mazrui was successful in addressing the concept, impact and consequences as it affects the aforementioned engines that shape global outlook. He limited his analysis on demonstrating how the western world dominates and universalized its culture, economy, etc.

In his dealing with the theoretical perspective on globalization, Scholte (1997) admits that in as much as the term globalization is often used vaguely and inconsistently, it still shows a trend under which social relations appear to be borderless and distance less, thus human activities are increasingly conducted in one place. He notes it is until around 1960s the phenomenon was comprehensively figured that it has intensely and rapidly increase frequency in the lives of great size of humanity. He further noted that there are figures of 830 million television receivers, 40,000 transnational corporations: several thousand operational satellites 15,000 Trans border citizens associations US$ 1,230 billion in foreign exchange transaction every day, over a billion commercial airline passengers per year, various global ecological problems and metaphors of global village. Scholte observes that many account of globalization suffer from over simplification, exaggerations and wishful thinking.

This notwithstanding. He devises four main objectives towards a more measured understanding of the process. First, it is uneven process with more negative

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consequences affecting the south than north. Secondly, it point toward cultural imperialism. Thirdly the process of globalization has introduced additional dimensions of geography to social relations through information communication, technological, cultural ecological and psychological interactions/relations some of which are contradictory. Fourth, and most importantly, globalization is not a panacea for people, depending on their sex, class, race, nationality, religion and other social categories-generally the dynamic of the phenomenon had unequally benefited people.

Relating globalization with movements of people and capital, using secondary data, Othman and Othman (2013) used the concept of Diaspora to analyze today's globalization. They noted that scholars used the concept interchangeably, depending the suitability of their respective fields. It refers to people living in foreign countries but still believed to have their citizenship in their country of origin (Othman, et al, 2013, 484). They further noted globalization facilitated these movements in form of (provision of world class infrastructure in the form of airports and harbor) transportation and communication technology, not only in the release of faster, more extravagant new life style but also consists of the overall management of the human resource. Like many scholars they emphasize that infrastructures such as the internet supported by satellite, microchips, portable phones, optic cables etc. enable human communication to overcome the barrier of geographic border and time, hence has given huge advantage to businesses.

Perhaps Othman and Othman's is a noble contribution to the study in globalization; its focus has been limited to the understanding of how the phenomenon helps movement of Diasporas around the world faster and more widely spread. It is also limited to the

understanding of the success Malaysia as a developing country has in this era to manage the attraction of Diasporas despite the challenges and threats associated (such as in politics and cultural identity) with Diasporas living the country. The contribution is thus not a discussion related to democratization, even though, it is a discussion of a developing country like Nigeria, notwithstanding the success of Malaysia in the realms of politics, economic, social and international relation far outweighs that of Nigeria, despite the fact that they achieve their independence around the same period.

While looking at globalization from the sociologist viewpoints, Connell (2005) noted they respond in two ways. The first way has been inquiring into the social conditions and consequences of the new trend in international economic organizations. The second response was studying the consequences for urban inequality. He however further noted most sociologist followed the second path, where they replace the "idea of globalization as an economic strategy by an idea of globalization as a new form of society".

In a philosophical outlook, Omorogbe (2003) understood the concept to mean the processes by which mankind get closer together. It has been facilitated in recent times by modern means of communication and transportation, which has "turned the world into a global village", you could have your dinner in Lagos and your breakfast the following morning in London. Through the CNN (cable network news) you could see and know what is happening on the other part of the world. Thus you notice the importance of one local happening or the other in relation to the happening in some other parts. And through improved telecommunication, you could talk with anybody in other parts of the world.

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Like in Scholte (1998) and Othman and Othman (2013) views Omorogbe, also notes through all these advancement in transportation and communication, mankind is fast coming closer together getting to know more about one another becoming more and more interested in what is going on in other parts. He further notes the process of globalization is unavoidable because "it is part of human nature". That man by nature is a social being with an irresistible urge to associate with his fellow human beings. Man cannot survive without associating with his fellow human being and it is irresistible (Omorogbe, 2003:77). He then discourses the advantages of the phenomenon and the dangers in it. He observed that the advantage in first place it ensure the survival of mankind through interaction. It fosters mutual help mutual love, mutual concern and mutual understanding. It facilitates contact with one another in other parts of the world and brings people all over the world closer together. It should help to remove prejudice and misunderstanding, for example even in the 1950s, 1960s, and as recently as 1970s, Europe and American were made to believe that African did not wear clothes that went about naked. No educated European or American can exhibit such ignorance about Africa today, thanks to globalization (Omorogbe, 2003, 78-9).

Omorogbe observed that the first danger to guard against globalization is the loss of one's cultural identity, and even national identity. For instance some European countries like Sweden have voted against replacement of their currency with common European currency. This is for the sake of guarding their national identity. Regional or sub regional common currency is part of the process of globalization. It would eventually get to the level of a common world currency. This is what has made Omorogbe to ask whether nations would give up their national identities? Another

danger of globalization is that it's a subtle form of Neo-colonization. America is already aggressively doing this through the CNN and through its control over United Nations Organization (UNO), which she mobilizes to fight her enemies and others who refuse to submit to her.

Accordingly there is also the danger of the getting submerged in the anonymity of the crowd being pulled along by the force of globalization. The result of this is in authenticity, the individual; having lost his self-identity by submerged himself into the anonymous crowd of globalization, being to live in an inauthentic life. He is no longer himself; he is no longer the person living in him. He has become a globalization Robot, been carried along by globalization. Thus, it can be concluded, globalization is good but one must embrace it with caution and against the dangers inherent in it (Omorogbe, 2003:80). Omorogbe's article is indeed well detailed; however it concentrates on narration of the advantages and dangers of the phenomenon. However there is need to mention specifically, how to embrace the advantages as well as, guard against danger of globalization at the level of nation-state not only at individual level.

Gary et al have observed that, globalization has become a catchword for the international economy in the late 20th century (Gary et al, 2001) They further pointed that it is about interdependence through flow of goods service and financial capital, which is synonymous with development for a number of nations. According to them however, there is an acute awareness that the gains of globalization are very unevenly distributed within as well as between societies. Their article is restricted to conceptualization of economic activities that increase and shape the trend of

globalization. They seem to be oblivious of other dimensions and issues on globalization such as its impact on culture, religion etc.

In contrast to Gary et al (2001) Michael Mann referred the term globalization as the expansion of social relation around the globe (Mann, 2001). He observed that many scholars indicate that globalization is a singular trend moving toward consolidating global society, which tends to centre on economic matters. He was thus careful to note, others conceived globalization in its technology and culture versions. He posited the rise of a singular global culture, or world order- normally seen as a convergence of the many existing states into one. His position apparently indicates that globalization is not singular but multi-dimensional, and it integrates as well as integrating.

It has been noted that no universal definition of globalization has emerged (Omoweh, 2000). This is due to the fact that globalization covers nearly all facets of human endeavor that is politics, economy culture, information technology, health etc. Omoweh opines that there is an absence of theoretical frame works in most of the discourses on globalization in Africa (and universally). Notwithstanding this handicap, he is able to delineate the discussion on globalization from two broad schools of thoughts, development and dependency perspective. As for the development schools, it can be traced to the neo-classical theory of economic development as postulated by scholars like John Maynard Keynes (1962), W.W. Rostow (1964) Roy Harold (1967) etcetera. Those scholars were concerned with one economic problem or the other of their times. The postulations of these scholars are today along the line of the "international financial institutions (IMF and World Bank)", and the core countries of the North Vis the USA, Western Europe and Japan. Their view represents the

development school of thought that sees globalization as a means for further supra territorial integration of goods, services and capital. And that gain of globalization could trickle down to the counties of the third world particularly as the missing links of development like capital and technology would now be place more at its disposal. Little or no consideration is given to the historical experiences of the under developed counties, their economy and the policy in all this.

It is in response to this and other unsettled issues that dependency school on globalization came up. The dependency school on globalization dates back to Raul Presbisch (1972) who blame the U. S. based transnational for the development problems of Latin American countries in the 1950s. While Presbisch and Neo Presbischian scholars were concerned with structural crisis caused by dependence and underdevelopment in Latin American they argued that those problems originated or were imbued through the period of colonialism. That is they inspired and shared common methodology with notable African political economics like Claude Ake (1986) Dan Nabudere (1982) and Samir Amin (1982). Their major contention is that since the rise of capitalism, international financial capital has not only over taken other factors of production, but also influences its use and revolution in its quest to make monopoly profits.

Following the widespread arguments among analysts regarding the different aspects of the world that is being globalized and with what impact, there is a consensus that at a minimum, five developments are being globalized, these are; Investment, Trade, Production, Technology and Democracy. However, some other scholars argued that the scope and aspects of the impact of globalization should include; "Culture,

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Language, Migration, Environment, trafficking of women, Drug trafficking, Declining of state sovereignty, Protests, Ethnic and religious conflicts" (Schaeffer, 2003:2-3). The interest of this study lies squarely on how democracy is being globalized, the process in which democratization is spreading around the world, specifically how the phenomenon influenced the quest for democratic governance in developing democracies like Nigeria.

Summarily, globalization as multi-dimensional social phenomenon is also a historical process dealing with increasing interconnections or internationalizations which affects or influence local happenings around the world with different impact. In the context of this study it is a reflection of its increasing influence towards the aspiration for democratic governance around the world. Next section would briefly reviews perceptions regarding influence of globalization on democratic struggle.

2.1.2 Influence of Globalization on Democracy, Democratization and Democratic Governance

"A number of scholars describe the past four decades as a period of increasing global democratic change" (e.g. Eichengreen, 2006, Huntington, 1993 and Diamond, 1992 cited in Isma'ila and Othman, ibid: 389). "Between 1975 and 2002 there was a quadrupling in the number of democratic countries" (Eichengreen, 2006:3). "Volumes of literature links globalization with issues of democratization in three unique opinions, which are; a) globalization as the politics of democratic disempowerment; b) globalization as an opportunity for (liberal) democratic global governance; c) globalization as the radical remaking of citizenship" (Grugel, 2003:262-3).

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Depicting and analyzing the global spread of democracy three decades ago, Larry Diamond's "Globalization of Democracy" (1992) succinctly "account the major democratic development on regions and countries in the late 1980s and 1990 with an emphasis on the developing world". He therefore examined "this progress in quantitative terms, and advance both formal definitions of democracy and conceptual typology that permit more refined measurement". He further analyzes the "leading causes of this most recent way of global democratic expansion" (Diamond, 1992:2). His conclusion speculate the "prospects and conditions for democracy in the coming decade".

Globalization is an intricate social phenomenon inter related with several aspects of social life, it also spread with variations, ambiguities, incompatibilities and uncertainty. The phenomenon produces unique impact on democracy- a social phenomenon with political dimension. "Like the former, the latter is the outcome of social struggles or the concretization of popular power. Such concretization often has negative and positive effects, around which social forces are aligned and wage struggles" (Nnoli, 2000 a, 173-4). It is this line of argument that Philippe et al made assertion of existence of different types of democracy with "therefore different practices results to similarly different effects. The particular form of democracy in a particular country depends on socio economic situations and its embedded state structures and policy practices" (Philippe et al 1993:40).

It is significant to note that democratization has different patterns in the different parts of the world. About 30 countries transits to democracy between 1974 and 1990, doubling the number of democracies around the world. Huntington, (1993:3) asked,

"Were these signs of expanding global democratic revolution which could ultimately reach every country? Or does it represent its reintroduction to countries that have experienced it before?" Huntington postulates three different waves of democratization, the first, second and third waves, he refers to the last one as the current wave. His democratization waves are:

"First wave -1828-1926: Examples; Italy, Germany, Argentina,

Second, short wave; 1943-62: Examples, W/Germany, Italy, Japan, India, and Israel

Second reverse – 1958-75: Examples: Portugal, Spain, and Numerous other in Latin American, Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe" (Cited in Potter et al, 1997).

This study cannot describe the numerous factors responsible for the spread of democracy in Huntington's democratization waves. However it could highlight the major factors that contributed to the spread of the third wave'. Huntington (1993: 3) enumerated five important issues of the third wave as follows:

1. Authoritarianism and its legitimacy problem as well as its economic failures usually associated with militarism

2. Increase in education within the urban middle class in the 1960s which raise standard of living as a result of unprecedented economic growth

3. Shift of Doctrine of national catholic churches from depending the statuesque to opponents of authoritarianism

4. Policy changes, particularly from the European Community, Soviet Union and United States

5. "Snowballing" effect i.e. because it happens in one place it subsequently happens in another (Huntington 1993: 3).

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Potter, et al (1997: 2) observed that Democratization is the main "global phenomenon in the twentieth century. It spreads with particular vigor since the 1970s; in 1975 at least 68 percent of countries throughout the world were authoritarian". They noted the rest of the countries held some sort of political and civil rights. They examines, "the word Democratization refers to political change moving in democratic direction" they assessed why some political regimes move in a democratic direction than others. They also described what is meant by "moving in democratic direction and how one identify actual political regimes throughout the world as a more or less democratic".

Rudra's (2005) "globalization and the strengthening of democracy in the developing countries", corroborated that "trade and financial liberalization increases the chances of developing countries to become more democratic". However, he observed that yet there is "no developed formal hypotheses about causal relationship between globalization and democracy" (ibid: 705). He also acknowledged that "the two trends are related but not in direct manner that has normally been portrayed". He uses theories of embedded liberalization and conflict based theories of democracy to describe the process that influence decisions to strengthen democracy as trade and capital flows increases. His argument was that "increasing exposure to international export and financial markets lead to improvements in democracy if cautions are simultaneously used to strategize stability and political support" (ibid: 715).

It is buttressing as Moghadam (2005) contends that "Political globalization- is an increasing trend toward multilateralism (in which the United Nations play a key role) toward an emerging transnational state apparatus and toward the emergence of national and international non-governmental organizations that act as watchdogs over

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governments and have increased their activities and influence" (ibid::35). In the same vein, political globalization is described as "increasing number and power of human associations which influence or govern the world as a whole due to the increase of Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs) and International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs)" Held (1999:35). As such there were "37 IGOs in1909 by 1996, they were 260, and there were 176INGOs in 1909 by 1996 they became 5,476" (cited in Isma'ila and Othman, ibid).

Although political globalization increases multilateralism through trans-nationalization which spread and strengthen democratization especially in developing countries, it has contradictory effects on democratic governance.

2.1.3 Challenges of Globalization on Democracy, Democratization and Democratic Governance

Enough literature demonstrated that while globalization has been influencing democratization, it has also been challenging democratic governance. For example, Scholte (2005b) critically observed the relation of globalization and democracy, he noted that the "phenomenon has caused the state form of governance not to live and develop on its own and it encouraged the emergence of many centres of regulation" (p.315). He opines that although "globalization has impacts on several forms of social stratification, including, age, gender, class race, urban/rural divides, country and (dis) ability; it has contributed to slim social hierarchies in certain respects, certainly the process has widened gaps in life chances structurally" (p. 316).

He explained that the liberal democracy framework, which centre on multi-centred governance of the world, has not been effective method for rule by the people. His

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position is that the "wide ignorance among citizens about globalization and its governance has severely restricted the possibilities for democratic regulations of trans-planetary relations" (p.247). He therefore "criticised that across state, sub-state, supra-state and private regulatory institutions, the decision making process that govern globalization have shown major shortfalls of public participation and accountability" (p. ibid). The outcome "deeply entrench structural inequalities which have highly skewed opportunities of citizen's involvement in the governance of contemporary globalization" (p.248). He however assessed, globalization is considered to be a "macro-sociological aggregative fact" which undermines the achievements of democracy due to the fact that the proper relations between "decision takers and decision makers" is missing. The phenomenon is considered as a burden on democracy as it is pursued in "existing liberal representative systems" (ibid; 134). Similarly, Grugel (2003:271) said:

> Global governance agencies not only do little to alleviate the problems faced by a majority of the world's population or to guarantee the conditions for global peace and democracy; they are themselves a source of inequality. This is the case as far as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Porta (2006) observed that increasing expansion of IGOs has been influencing democratization and democratic consolidation. He noted economic globalization increases interdependence which indicated the movement of production to countries with lower wages. "It pushes large number of peoples from under developed south and east to developed north and west. It also shows growth of MNC in late 1990s controlled 20% of world production, 70% of global trade and 80% of Foreign Direct Investment" (ibid, 670). He further affirmed that "the phenomenon does not resolve global inequalities, and that with economic aspects of globalization, the state renounce its

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repressive powers and therefore consider globalization as involution of the state"
(ibid).

He also noted that due to increase in interdependence, the globalization era contributed
immensely in cultural changes around the world through "the shortening of time and
space through communication processes that affects the production and reproduction
of cultures via organization of social relations and transactions assessed in terms of
extension, intensity, velocity and impact" (ibid; 671). He affirmed that globalization
pointed and recognized democracy as the only legitimate regime today. He indicate
his awareness regarding "the debate among scholars that while others consider the
trend as imperialism, others consider today's global culture as the product of the
cosmopolitan and the rich" (p. 672). He express fear against the danger of cultural
globalization which manifest in "one single way of thinking since the collapse of
Socialism, US and its allies enact policies to mitigate inequalities of the capitalist
model; and also limited the number of strategic options open to countries in the south
of the world" (ibid, 673).

Noting that the phenomenon increases conflict at both transnational and national levels
because, it increases unemployment, job insecurity and hazardous working
environment, it is therefore a challenge for social movement. He added that the
"phenomenon generated protest against "destruction of physical habitat", and the re-
emergence of varieties of nationalism, ethnic movement, religious mobilization and
Islamic fundamentalism are thus reaction to alien cultures and values" (p. 675). While
cultural dimension of globalization threaten national identity, new technologies
however, ease communication around the world through media that escape normal

censorship. It is clear that political, cultural and economic activities have been transformed by "increasing interaction that aggravated new conflicts and also opportunities for expressing these conflicts at multi-territorial levels to the extent those international organizations such as WTO, NAFTA, and GATT are targeted" (p. 676). Anti-globalization protest began with 1999 in Seattle, since then protest continue to manifest whenever and wherever global summits are held.

He also conceived that USA and other international financial institutions- the IMF. WTO and World Bank regulate and facilitate liberal market economic system. "Thus deregulation and privatization are seen as tactics enshrined by international financial organizations and governments of the rich nations, particularly the group of eight (G8) and the group of seven (7) to the benefit of MNC" (p. 677).

Globalization is therefore, not only about economics and new technology, but also the political globalization, designed to control the affairs of the system as the IGOs increasingly spread the governing processes can no longer be handled by national governments, but rather by the IGOs. This was made abundantly clear after the second world war, when "there was increase in worldwide scope of IGOs-the number rose from 37 to 309 between 1909 and 1988 and the number of IGO conferences from a couple per year in the 19th century to close to 4,000 annually at the end of the 20th century" (ibid, 680).

In order to handle the pressing global problems discussed above, Porta recommends, "political representation of citizens in global affairs independently and autonomously of their political representation in domestic affairs". He suggest "cosmopolitan

democracy, requires democratic states but also democratic supra-national institutions".

He propose "reform of existing IGOs including reorganization of leading UN institutions, such as the Security Council in order to increase the power of developing countries" (p. 683). He further recommends for second UN chamber that would allow "representation of civil society, opposition groups and national governments; limitation or abolishing of veto power subordination of international financial institutions to the UN General Assembly" (p. 685). There should also be reform of IGOs on the platform of one- state- one-vote. His long term proposal was the need for creating "Global Parliament" and ensuring improving the strength of international political system.

It is pertinent to note that democratization needs political freedom from the state; freedom to organize, speak and protest. Perhaps, aspiration of democratization rest squarely towards achieving democratic governance in which principles of democracy would function and operate with in democratic societies. Democratization is therefore a processes of struggle to achieve democratic objectives, and has remained a key issue of globalization. "And the impact of the struggle over democratic objectives has largely manifested in the political history of the transitions toward democracy" (Isma'ila and Othman, ibid: 390). However, the processes of this struggle has been condemned as "the hunting menaces of a cultural homogenizing globalization that immiserates billions of people and promises politically sterile and enfeebled forms of democracy" (Matusik cited in Burch, 1999: 121). He argues such democracy is an outcome of the multidimensional globalization processes fostered by the new world order.

Rather than see fragmented identities and fractured loyalties he conceives of "post national identities" that overcome the narrowly partisan construction of nation, race, gender, religion, and such. He also tells a story about stories. The first story, trumpeted in the first world, hails the apparent victory of liberal democracy and free marketeering since 1989. A second story recounts the increasing social, political economic and cultural exploitation caused by flaccid democratic arrangements and culturally homogenizing effects of integrated global markets. This is the story from the margins and from impoverished third world and fourth world. A third tale outline the prospects for new political and economic forms that heighten multicultural democracy in the light of the overlapping and invented identities arising from the complexity and heterogeneity embedded in global relations (ibid:123). However, Burch has noted, this tell is obscured by the naiveté and gloom, respectively, of other stories.

Relating the exploitation of "political and economic globalization", and cultural imperialism, Nnoli (2000) considered democracy irrelevant, because while the globalization during colonialism created an undemocratic state structure, which nationalists waged a relentless struggle to democratize, the current globalization is abolishing the state as the focus of that struggle. Nnoli, (2000a: 175-6) said the following objectives transpired current democratization struggle:

1-The distribution of material power

2-The incorporation of excluded social groups in to the political process

3-The right of citizen or the struggle for the promulgating of the bill of rights

4-The rule of law including access to the law has been useful in the struggle against tyranny.

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5-Elections, including how people emerged as candidates, Elections have to be free and fair to contribute to the democratic process.

6-The effort to separate and balance powers

7-The quality of democracy depends a lot on how parties are formed and who finance them.

8-The extend and quality of popular participation in the governmental process,

9-Active involvement of public opinion

10-Government's responsiveness to public opinion (Nnoli, 2000a: 175-6).

Globalization spreads the value of liberal democracy, with emphasis on multi-party elections. Unfortunately globalized democracy does not check-mate the rulers, it is therefore unlike popular democracy. It does not have the platform of popular pressure on the regime to respond to the interests and needs of the people. "This is why every African regime is embracing multi-party democracy, including the most tyrannical regimes". Because it only gives them international respectability without checking their ineffectiveness, corruption and authoritarianism. "It does not require the reform of the inherited and repressive state structure and does not needs to address the problems of the poor, such as poverty, ignorance and disease, which constrain them from effective political participation in multi-party elections" (Nnoli, 2000a: 180).

The phenomenon helped in the growth of liberal democracy in different parts of the world, especially in Africa. The end of the Cold war witnessed unchallengeable triumph of liberal democracy, thanks to globalization for universalizing it. Isma'ila and Othman, (ibid: 383) noted "the international community, led by the only surviving super power, the US, is championing its cause and using its control of the media and

economic resources to promote it. Meanwhile, development discourse now focuses primarily on how to liberalize markets and democratize societies the American way".

It is imperative to understand that although globalization influence the spread of democratization, it also challenges democratic governance. For example, on one side, the IMF managing Director (2002) said "globalization represents a political choice in favor of international economic integration, which for the most part has gone hand-in-hand with the consolidation of democracy". On the other side, Hay (2011: 312) said the challenge of the phenomenon on the "accountability, autonomy, capacity and sovereignty of the nation state is put to question". Perhaps the democratic character of governance in contemporary societies is at stake. He emphasize that "globalization of politics is displacement of political capacities and responsibilities from the national level to the genuinely global level, through the development of institutions of global governance" (ibid: p. 314).

Having explained Globalization as an outcome of concretization of popular power that has positive and negative effects on Democracy which accelerated the spread of democratization and democratic governance. Thus the need to review concepts of democracy, democratization and democratic governance in this discourse is becoming an important aspect to the study, see the next section.

2.1.4 Clarification of Concepts: Democracy, Democratization and Democratic Governance

It is important to note that democratization and democratic governance originates from the concept of democracy. "While the three concepts are interconnected, they are independently unique and distinct with different variables" (Isma'ila and Othman,

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ibid: 388). They noted democracy is constitutional rule or government where people select amongst themselves representatives to discharge responsibilities concerning their welfarism and allocation of values and resources effectively. Thy also added that "Democratization is about movement or struggle by people to possess values of democracy, that is, to be able to work with the principles of democracy such as political parties, elections, constitutionalism, freedom and rights, etcetera in their system of politics or government" (ibid). Regarding democratic governance thus they said, "It is about functioning of those principles of democracy in a political system. It is therefore one thing to struggle or even have democracy, but it is entirely another different thing to have effective functioning of democratic processes or principles in a political system" (ibid: 389). Thus situation in which vibrant and sustainable institutions of democracy exist, democratic governance is most likely to exist, but the absence of those features in a democracy "can be considered as a doom for democratic governance".
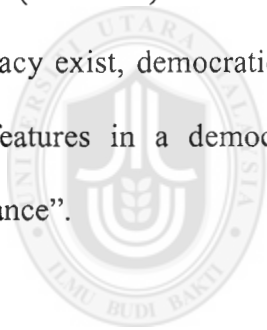
It is also pertinent to note that definitions of both democracy and globalization are countless. Thus scholars, commentators and political scientists around the world and for long period of time attempted to defined democracy from their various capacities of disciplines. Defining democracy therefore enjoyed wide coverage however, depending on defining it as a concept or a system of government. "It has been noted that defining democracy therefore is conceptual and theoretical impossibility due to the fact that the concept of democracy itself is a process of perpetual becoming. The democratic ideal remain just that an ideal. Indeed the completely democratic society is a political and historical mirage" (Williams, 1995:65).

Considering or otherwise the differences among scholars and researchers to come up with comprehensive definition of democracy, numerous efforts have been invested to highlight its contradictory characteristics. For instance, using Dahl's (1971), "Polyarchy" Diamond, (1992: 14-15) said democracy is characterized with three features as follows;

> 1- Meaningful and extensive competitions among individuals and groups (especially political parties) for all effective positions of government power, at regular intervals and excluding the use of force; 2- a highly inclusive level of civil and political participation in the selection of leaders and policies, at least through regular and fair election such that no major (adult) social group is excluded; 3- and a level of civil and political liberties freedom of expression freedom of press, freedom to form and join organizations sufficient to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation.

Given the above characteristics he conceived the procedure of measuring the level of democracy in different countries. He noted that if a country combines the characteristics of freedom of speech, freedom of association, the supremacy of the will of the electorate, regular elections, and accountability should be described as democratic. A semi democratic country therefore combines some of these characteristics, however a country should be considered undemocratic if these characteristics are absent in its polity.

Ojie (2006) cited in Ebirim, (2014:3) explained democracy from the liberal perspective approach as:

> The essential idea of democracy is that the people have the right to determine who governs them. In most cases they elect principle governing officials and hold them accountable for their action. Democracy also impose legal limit on the government's authority by guaranteeing certain rights and freedom to their citizens.

"Any regime where the consent of people is sought to be obtained without freedom of expression of divergent opinions, does not qualify for being called democracy even if it maintains certain democratic institutions" (ibid: 5). "Democratization is a process which leads to a more open, more participatory, less authoritarian society" (Boutrous Ghali, 1996). It refers to the "transformation process from a non-democratic regime to a procedural democracy to a substantive democracy, either as the first government in a newly independent country or by replacing authoritarian in an older one" (Powell and Powell. 2005: 2). They noted however that the process may take some years, decades or even stagnate and therefore may not be completed.

Using quantitative method Potter et al formulation of democratization rests on a set of seven concepts grounded for the most part of David Held's (1976) models of democracy and Robert Dahl's (1989) democracy and its critics. They distinguish five main types of political regimes. They distinguished this typology regime to different attribute of state and civil society. The state is characterized by assembly of an institutional patterns and political organizations, coercive administrative, legal-distinguished from other organizations in society by having the capacity to monopolize the legitimate use of violence within a giving territory. Each state also aims to provide security from foreign intervention for people within its boundaries by conducting relations, both peaceful and war like, with other states. On the other hand, the concept of civil society is distinct from the state and can be said to name the space of unforced human association and also the set of relational networks-framed for the sake of family, faith, interest and ideology. Civil society can be harsh or sparse in terms of the number and vitality of association and relational networks within state boundaries. It

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is important not to see the state at totally 'separate' or impartial with respect to the association of everyday life (Potter 1997:3-4).

Understanding Democratization has been categorized into three phases:

> (i) the liberalisation phase, when the previous authoritarian regime opens up or crumbles; (ii) a transition phase, often culminating when the first competitive elections are held; and (iii) the consolidation phase, when democratic practices are expected to become more firmly established and accepted by most relevant actors (O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986; Linz and Stepan, 1996 cited in Rakner, Melocal and Fritz, 2007:5).

The last phase can be considered essential function of democratic principles which yields good democratic governance.

From the democratic governance clarification thus, we can begin with the concept of Governance which has increasingly attracted international attention. It has been define as "manner in which power is exercised in the management of country's economic and social resources for development" (World Bank, 2005). "It relates to the processes of granting public power and the use to which such power is put, which ideally, should be for the service of the people" (Imobighe, et al, 2013:244). It is in other words a "reciprocal processes, in the sense that people conferred power to their representatives (managers of state power) with expectations and aspirations to formulate and implement sound policies that will promote the corporate interest of the entire people" (Isma'ila and Othman, 2016: 383). Meanwhile, on one hand if the government fails to conduct this obligation, then its purpose will be considered defeated, thus issues of bad governance arises. On the other hand Elaigwu (2014:244) said "good governance deals with how those who have the authority of the state make efforts to achieve the goals

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or the ends of the state-the maintenance of law and order, the provision of welfare for its citizens and the pursuits of national interest in the global arena".

The phenomenon of democratic governance therefore recognizes the interconnection of issues. It is useful concept that touches on the significant challenges of state reform and the quest for development and progress of the people of a state. Despite this connection, democracy and governance are conceptually distinct phenomena with different theoretical and philosophical underpinnings. Ibeanu and Egwu (2007: 17), writes "the concept of governance gained a recent entry into political discourses and was popularized by the World Bank's intervention in the debate on the African crisis in the 1980s, whereas the idea of democracy had existed since the Greek city state of Athens and came to be popularized subsequently by theory of representative democracy". They further explained that the "formal, institutional and procedural elements of democracy can exist without effective governance in the sense that it does not necessarily guarantee that public officials produced by electoral process will be subjected to the norms of transparency, accountability and the rule of law" (ibid: 21). The experience of Nigeria during the intermittent periods of civilian administrations seems to support this view. Contra wise, the experience of the Asian Tigers seems to suggest, it is possible to have good governance that can advance development without democracy (ibid: 23).

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE, 2011) described "Democratic governance as a system of government where institution function according to democratic process and norms, both internally and in their interaction with other institutions". The United Nations Missions (UNMIT, 2005) opined thus:

The culture of democratic governance moves beyond the mere procedures of democracy and the establishment of democratic institutions. A state which identifies with the culture of democratic government is one which welcomes a wide scope of political participation embracing a pluralistic system of political parties, a vibrant civil society and media, integrating women and minorities in all levels of government, protecting right and dignity of children and involves integrated approach to sustainable governance for and by all the people (UNMIT, 2005).

In the report of Governance for Sustainable Human Development, UNDP outlines the following as major features of democratic governance: "1) Participation 2) Rule of Law 3) Transparency 4) Responsiveness 5) Consensus Orientation 6) Equity 7) Effectiveness and Efficiency 8) Accountability 9) Strategic Vision" (UNDP, 2007). Thus democratic governance "comprises competition for political power and access to power are based in principle on the number of persons supporting a party or individual. The contested issues are usually resolved through the principle of majoritarianism with the assumption that a minority group can be a part of the majority" (Cheema, 2007: 3).

In an explicit quantitative analysis discussion Ibeanu and Egwu, (ibid: 19), noted "democratic governance in practice, is not only expected to promote the core values of democracy , it is also about deepening democracy in such a way that state institutions and political parties are accountable to the citizens". It is therefore "a form of governance that enables the electorate to determine who should rule, and also provides adequate institutional mechanisms through which people demands for representativeness and accountability can be articulated and in practice accommodated and actualized" (Muhammad, 2015: 82). Unfortunately the features of the sixteen years of the experiment of Nigeria's fourth republic democracy does not depict the conceptualizations of democratic governance describe above. In fact not only does the

fourth republic not accommodate and actualize the aspirations of the electorates, it also lack strong institutions to enhance accountability and representativeness. Undoubtedly therefore, Nigeria's fourth republic aspiration for democratic governance has been characterized by corruption, civilian authoritarianism and infrastructural decay (Idada and Uhunmwuangho, 2012; and Oke, 2010).

2.1.5 Democratization in West Africa-Ghana and Nigeria

Only recently, Africa embrace democracy and the rule of law, but "it is still one of the most corrupt and badly governed regions of the world" (Diamond, 2008: 1). Observers of political activities in the West African sub-region indicate hope regarding the impact of third wave democracy on West African countries at the beginning of 1990s. However, the expectations are yet to fully materialize. For example Côte d'Ivoire's stability was a model in the sub region, and then imploded. The elections in Sierra Leone and Liberia marked the end years of civil wars, they are still trying to forge stable political environments after landmark elections in 2002 and 2005, respectively. The return of democracy in the sub-region was against the background of repressive military regimes and one party dictatorships. "The sub-region had become a hotbed of authoritarianism before the early 1990s is an understatement. Coups and counter-coups became distinctive features of the politics of the sub-region" (Arthur, 2008: 9). Nigeria had six successful coups, Ghana had five, and Burkina Faso and Benin have had four successful coups each.

Like other counties in Africa authoritarianism in West African countries loss weight due to the pressure for pluralist political system and International influence from developed democracies and international organizations that supported and funded

democratic struggles. This coincided with the end of cold war period. The regular pressure to liberalize economies through structural adjustment programs was characterized with multiparty politics and upsurge of ethnic and other sectional conflicts as a result of liberalizing the authoritarian regimes. Citizens agitate for transparency and accountability, addressing corruption and economic recovery (Carter Center, 1994).

Like Nigeria, Ghana is experimenting democracy for the fourth time. After long years of military rule, Ghana was one of the West African countries that were hit by the third wave democratization in early '1990s but Nigeria in the late 1990s. "Ghana's post-independence history began in March 1957 with a liberal democratic rule which soon degenerated into a quasi-dictatorship; and as a result, the first military coup of 1966" (Boadi 2000:2) Within the following fifteen years, "Ghana made two other brief attempts at liberal democracy between 1969-1972 and 1979-1981; but each was overthrown after twenty seven months" (ibid). The military for the third time ruled the country from 1981-1993 when the country returned to democracy under the 1992 Constitution, which today is in its twenty third year.

The international community applauded Ghana as the West African country that appears to be consolidating its democratic process, particularly the manner in which free, fair and peaceful elections in the country were conducted (Attoh and Robertson, 2014). "Since its transition to democracy in 1992 the country has held regular, competitive elections every four years. The independent Electoral Commission of Ghana organizes concurrent, direct elections for president and a unicameral national parliament" (Ichino and Fredrickson, 2013:4). In the year 2000, peaceful alternation

of power from the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) to the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) was first witnessed in the country.

"Despite the emerging culture of political stability, still faces a number of challenges – abuse of incumbency, ethnicity, and overdependence on donor inflow; but in its successes and challenges, several lessons can be distilled for the rest of Africa and indeed the entire South". (Frempong, 2008: 184). Transparency and accountability and are highly insufficient. The conditions of service for the politicians especially the executives and Parliamentarians are susceptible to official corruption. The political culture is underdeveloped due to marginalisation, corruption and violence. During the 2000 run-up elections for example, "the nation had witnessed many violent acts by the youth including arson and physical assault on political opponents. There were repeated allegations that in the political parties, party oligarchs were supplying alcohol and drugs to induce the youth into "action" against their opponents" (Sarpong, 2009:53).

Therefore, while Ghana's democracy continues to grow under the Fourth Republic and her democracy has made significant strides; in comparison to other countries in African, "serious democratic deficits still remain. Although external support has been significant in Ghana's democratic growth, continued democratic progress and deepening would require sustained and well-targeted external assistance". (Boadi, 2010:2). International promoters of democracy have been actively involved in the sub-region's elections. For example, "the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the European Union (EU), the Dutch government-funded Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) and the

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National Democratic Institute (NDI) are but a few of the other major donors to the Ghana electoral reform efforts" (ibid: 3).

2.1.6 Challenges of Democratic Governance in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

For a comprehensive review of Nigeria's challenges of democratic governance in the fourth republic there is need to understand that it is more than two decades since the beginning of "third wave democratization", which has been related to 1990s influence of globalization that increase the spread democracy around the world. Meanwhile within the twenty five years of increasing spread of democratization around the world, Nigeria enjoyed about sixteen years of civil rule, i.e. from 1999- 2016. During this period there were three elections which are considered as transitions from civilian to civilian i.e. 2007, 2011 and 2015 elections. The assumption is that although this period is considered as the period of "nascent democracy", yet the democratic experiment within the said period can be observed and assessed especially in terms of its consolidation or otherwise. The terms of reference of the consolidation therefore includes, expectations and aspirations from the people of Nigeria, particularly in respect to the challenges towards fundamental principles of democratic governance.

There are several indices used to measure impact of democratic governance, such as the one used by Freedom House, their indices includes elections and good aspects of governance and civil liberties-rule of Law, civil societies and good governance. The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) enumerates five dimensions of measuring democratic governance, which includes; electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, functioning of government, political participation and political culture. On the part of Bertelsmann Transformation index consists of stateness, political participation, and

rule of law, stability of democratic institutions, political and social integration and economic integration. There is also the Regional Democratic Governance Measurement Initiatives specifically Ibrahim Index of African Governance; its criteria comprises, safety, rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity and human development. UNECA African Governance Report covers political representation, institutional effectiveness, service delivery, and taxes and corruption. Global Barometer also made its contribution through multi-country regional attitudes surveys (UNDP, 2012).

Resurgence of constitutional rule brought the new democratic opportunities in which the various constrains of democratic governance on the continent were expected to be addressed. These include, among others, strengthening the basic institutions of democratic governance such as the political parties, parliament, executive and judiciary; "the sanctity of separation of powers and the rule of law"; the challenge of political participation; reducing corruption in the public and political spheres; reduction and management of ethno-religious conflicts; transparency in the electoral system and the conduct of free and credible elections. However, the experience in the last two decades seems to suggest that these challenges are far from being properly addressed.

Nigeria's experience since the return to civil rule in May 1999 provides a clue for understanding the continued challenges of democratic governance. The fact that civil rule has return with constitutional framework of governance, there is little promise of democratic consolidation, because the basic institutions of democracy and governance such as the political parties, judiciary, parliament and executive remained weak and

vulnerable to the manipulation of corruption, ethno-religious inclinations and personalization of power. Like other transitional societies today, Nigeria faces the challenges of transformation towards the process of democratic governance. Specifically, the challenges are visible in the state and institutions of governance which are not accountable as well as not addressing the concern for development and progress of the people. These challenges appears most critical in the country, where various forms of extreme personalization of power and corruption, gross human rights abuses, constitutional challenges and political exclusion of women, ethno-religious conflicts, electoral malpractice among other political vices have been compromised.

Nigeria's democracy has been ultimately unstable since the return of democratic governance in 1999 in the country. "The political space has been consistently in face off with violent ethno-religious crisis and political assassinations, inter and intra-party fracas and civil disobedience" (Ogundiya 2010:231). Perhaps, Democratic governance is as earlier discussed is also a function of so many factors, including enhanced economic development, developed democratic culture, stable party system etc. "Indeed a nation inundated with corruption cannot be viable economically neither can the system generate enough affection required for the survival of democratic system. This is the situation in Nigeria where corruption has become part and parcel of the political culture". (ibid, p.235). Perhaps the culture of corruption is basically the greatest challenge Nigeria is facing, it is the shortcoming of Nigeria's polity (Olofin, 2001; Yusuf, 2001).

Fundamentally, Nigeria's political culture is embellished in political corruption which manifest itself in the use of and negative influence of money in politics, election

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rigging and thuggery. The major form of corruption that has remained obstacle to Nigeria's national progress is the 'political corruption'. As Apam (2011:24) succinctly puts it, the way of doing politics in this context, "is not to live for it but to live from it. Politicians assume the role of political entrepreneurs who invest heavily in politics with the aim of claiming super profits and dividends in the ruthless appropriation of state resources". Obuah, (2010) found that 20 percent of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product goes to corrupt practices. The issue of corruption scandals in the executive arm of the government or in the Parliament to support or block a motion in its plenary sessions, irrespective of the importance of that motion to ordinary Nigerians have become unfortunate part and parcel of governance in Nigeria's fourth republic.

Predominantly using secondary data Ogbonnaya (2012:690), assessed that the legacy of erosion of the culture of rule of law and subsequent enthronement of the culture of arbitrariness and impunity which result to high level corruption has fundamentally impacted on power relations and democratic institutions such as the political parties, the Executive, Judiciary and Legislature as well as other agencies like election commission. "The consequence of this has been the existence of subdued judiciary, weak oversight capacity of the legislature and dumbness of the electoral bodies both at the federal and state levels" (ibid: 691).

Perhaps it is no longer a news to hear that rigging, over stuffing of ballot boxes, falsification of election results or undue delay and manipulation of court judgement in many of election Tribunals in Nigeria. Indeed, the view "that the history of election administration in Nigeria is the history of electoral fraud and violence" (Ajayi, 2007) is widespread. In fact once a candidate has the money to give out to the handlers of

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relevant election, his name will be announce as the winner of that election. Meanwhile, this give out money usually come out from the state treasury, because if any person that has been sworn into an office while the case of his election is still hanging in the court, he can hire the best lawyers to manipulate the process in order to delay the process, especially when it is clear the outcome will not be in his favour. For instance the case of Edo and Adamawa states in 2007 governorship elections.

While busy manipulating election for a political office, Nigerian politicians as it can also be conveniently argued that at the same time they are busy dividing the larger population along ethnic and religious lines which normally result into ethno-religious conflagrations. Inter- and intra-ethnic rivalries, religious crisis and insecurity constitute imminent challenges to democratic governance in Nigeria since the return to democracy in 1999. For example, militancy like that of Movement of Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) in the Niger Delta region, renewed demand for Biafra-Movement for Actualization of Sovereign state of Biafra (MASSOB) and the increasing notoriety of the Odua People's Congress (OPC) in the South- West. These crises resulted in loss of human and material resources that cannot be quantified. While the militancy in the Niger Delta took heavy toll on the nation's economy because of its independence on oil for foreign exchange earnings, "the Boko haram insurgency in the North has at last count left over 16,000 policemen, soldiers and civilians including politicians dead" (UNCIRF, 2012; New crime News, March, 31st, 2012 cited in Ogbonnaya, et al ibid:689).

It needs little telling to understand that what has been critically missing is the issue of democratic governance, which has to do with the way the nation's public affairs are

managed and how public participate in the affairs of the state. Among the most important principles of democratic governance is the principle of participation, which is however missing in Nigerian context. While Muhammad (2014:38-9) suggests the concept of participation as collective engagement of human resources in the process of national development, he also noted that popular participation is the conscious and predetermined involvement of society in the process of governance and development. Therefore the major goal of democratic government is the provision of maximum participation through responsive and responsible government in its liberal tradition of periodic election, active involvement of civil society in decision making, development of competitive political parties and the flourishing of the rule of law. However, in the Nigerian context issues of participation have not been given appropriate concern.

Although existence of competitive and vibrant political parties in any polity is a sine a sine qua non for democratic governance, 2002-2012 era; the role of People's Democratic Party (PDP) which has been the ruling party at Federal level for sixteen years of the fourth republic indicates direct relationship between personality and the conduct of the country's political party. As Dode (2010:1) has rightly argued that the Democratic experiment of the fourth republic in Nigeria" has not scored high when placed in the same matrix with countries that are heading towards stable democracy". He noted that while opposition political parties are expected to serve as alternative purpose where the electorate should freely choose at their wish, in Nigeria "they have been strategically weakened through the overt and covert strategies of the ruling PDP and the lack of total commitment on the part of the politicians to national course" (ibid: 2). He further argued that Nigerian political parties have today failed to deliver toward good democratic governance in terms of representation of their people, aggregating

social interests as well as serving as intermediaries between state and society. "This is not only because over 90% of the political parties lack credible ideology and manifestoes but also "they are fragile, they have only developed shallow roots in the society" (ibid).

Judging by the situations of redundancy of democratic principles and weakness in democratic institutions such as the three arms (Executive, Judiciary and Legislature) of government, political parties as well as the prevailing uncertainties on issues and themes (corruption and ethno-religious politics) in Nigeria's politics, it is clear that there are serious challenges in the polity. It would not be wrong to assess that "the democratic process in Nigeria has to face challenges from the socio-economic and political arena but it is mainly due to the existence of weak political institutions that its sustenance has been made difficult" (Kaur 2007:232). The challenges thus affects the wider scope of governance with numerous implications both internally and within global view.

It is unfortunate that Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) in 2014 rank Nigeria in the 37th position out of 52 African countries, in overall governance with score of only 45.8%.. It reveals that the country is rank the 44th position in terms of safety and rule of law with only 38.1%. The revelation further indicated that Nigeria is in the 26th position with 48.9% in terms of participation and human rights. It has also been ranked in the 31st with 43.9% in sustainable economic opportunity, and 34th with 53% in human development, all within the year 2013. Perhaps it is sad to acknowledge that Nigeria in the age of today's globalization and in its fifteen years of

uninterrupted civilian or the so called nascent democratic administration, it is one of the worse governed country in the world.

It is imperative to add that the roles of agents of globalization (transnational organizations) also contributed to the bane of democratic governance in the country. A comprehensive look at the 'modern nation-states political development around the world shows that they are formed, managed and promoted through popular struggles for the independent and sovereign development, as well as the freedom and well-being of their individual citizens" (Bello, 2014:11). However, the collapse of Communism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe became a particular defining moment in the sense that it signaled the resurgence of the ideas of liberal democracy across the world, popularly known as "Third Wave". Thanks to Multilateral Financial Institutions and agencies including the World Bank that, hitherto, supported "strong government" and different versions of authoritarian rule as the "guarantor" of development came to realization that without democracy, Africa's prospect for growth and development was dimmed. Despite the fact that Trans-national organizations (agents of globalization) have influenced democratization which ultimately resulted to aspiration and so-called implementation of democratic governance in Nigeria, they have done little to ensure the principles of democratic governance are duly respected.

In the context of globalization of the world, the impression is often given that "democracy is good; to be undemocratic is bad" (Elaigwu, ibid: 242). However, "local politics in the global era has not only been shut down, rather it has been transformed and …reinvigorated by the multiple identities and fluid processes of current era" (Munck: 5 cited in Grugel: 275). As Fayemi (2000:7) succinctly observed;

with the end of the cold war came economic globalization and trade integration factors that have, ironically, deepened economic problems in new democracies, weakening the nation-state and exacerbating ethno-jingoism as a result….the overriding majority of the African populace is completely detached from the democratization and there is little indication that their lot will be improved under democratization.

Indeed Nigeria has been seriously affected in the age of democratization due largely to its weakness to face the reality of sustainable development, growth and stabilization of democratic governance. Perhaps for Nigerians, survival seems to be the primary concern above any other consideration, consequently while some Nigerian (trans-nationally oriented elites) leaders in collaboration with MNC, International organizations, western countries, U.S and World Bank siphoned and looted the country's treasury, demarcated lucrative and better paying jobs for their families and their close allies within and outside the country. The under privileged people have resorted to all kinds of supplementary activities or menial jobs in order to make ends meet.

As a result of worsening political and economic dislocation in the globalization era, "over 70% of Nigerians are poor and lived on less than 1$ per day. It is shocking revelation as Okolie revealed that life expectancy of Nigerians is 47 years" (Okolie, 2003; 269). The big question on lips of many concerned people is that what is actually responsible for the weakness of Nigerian political economy? How would democratic governance be fit in inequality and deteriorating economic situations in society such as Nigeria? Does Nigeria have a way out of these crises?

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Although, MNC and few countries benefit due to increasing FDI as a result of democratic dispensation, the business environment is mostly designed to benefit the powerful countries. Shah, (2011) found that due to less or lack of accountability of governments and companies in the business proceedings, some actions manifest to have encourage corruption. In fact these policies in the form of imperialism are the bedrock of globalization. They are created by international institutions, particularly the World Bank and IMF. In spite Critique of these institutions for years in regard to their role for increasing poverty through structural adjustment program, deregulation, removal of trade barriers etc. they have also created situations for corruption to grow. For example, transnational activities have strengthened the capitalist market relative to other institutions in Nigeria to such extent that it is safe to say that the market now effectively subsumes Nigerian society. For successive years the Corruption Perception Index of the Transparency International has been rating Nigeria as one of most corrupt nation, it is today probably the most corrupt country in the world.

A democratic governance run for and by a people with the problem describe above surely has inherent seed of destruction. This is because it is dealing with degenerate potentials that are so ignorant and easily manipulated by unscrupulous politicians seeking their selfish ends. Therefore identifying and assessment of these challenges as they affect Nigeria especially as they affect electoral process is critical in outlook.

2.2 Elections, Electoral Process and Election Integrity

In the form of interpretation of qualitative secondary data, numerous scholars contribute to the literature of elections, its process and malpractice (Ebirim, 2013; Ighodalo, 2012; Osinakachukwu and Jawan 2010; Idowu, 2010 and Herreros, 2006).

"Elections are means of selecting representative of the people in different public positions within the polity" (Ighodalo, 2012: 164). He noted that Elections are critical aspects for democratic governance of modern political societies. They are considered as apparatus for political choice, mobilization and accountability. In the liberal democratic paradigm, that has become the most popular form of democracy in today's globalization era, elections are expected to cushion transition from one civilian regime to another and ease in legitimizing sitting governments.

Herreros (2006) sees "election as a way of selecting 'good types' of politicians who would pursue the common good instead of their factional interests". Dickerson (et al, 1990) defines election as a "post mortem of the record of those in office, whose performance may have little to do with promises made when they were last elected" (cited in Idowu, 2010:54). He further stated that "election is often confused as electoral process. Thus he refers to electoral process as all the pre and post-election activities without which an election is either impossible or meaningless" (ibid). The process therefore involves registration of political parties, voter's registration, resolution of election disputes, swearing of election winners' etcetera. Meanwhile, electoral process is certainly about rules and procedures of conducting an election.

Election therefore facilitates and shapes democracy. While democracy is considered as the best form of government due to its ideology of promoting peoples' will, it is the people's mandate to choose who should govern them in a free and fair 'electioneering'. Therefore, election process constitute an essential principle in liberal democracy. Election is" rather a process, known as electoral process or electoral cycle which can evolve in a continuous manner almost without interruption between two elections. The

electoral cycle can be divided into three (03) phases, namely, pre-electoral phase, electoral phase and post-electoral phase" (Hounkpe and Gueye, 2010: 11). Election is highly significant in a democracy because it is a medium through which the people express their legitimacy and leadership succession.

> This is a way of censuring, reposing function in a ruler that is popularly accepted and ejecting an unpopular leader. This method shuns mutiny and chaos in a system hence it reflects peaceful hand-over from one administration to the other so long as the process is devoid of election rigging (Osinakachukwu and Jawan, 2010:130).

It has been noted that for elections to thrive there should be the establishment of a well-defined, competent, relatively independent and non-partisan electoral body that will be responsible for the conduct of elections. There is need for the existence of impartial judiciary that will interpret electoral laws and as well as adjudicate on electoral matters. Mass media devoid of influence from the politicians should be instituted together with police force that will help supervise the conduct of an election. Indeed one of the major element of electoral process is to ensure an election is free and fair and the result of the election must reflect the wishes of the people. Therefore any activity that hampers the conduct of an election can be considered as 'subversion of people's sovereignty', thus lack integrity.

"Election integrity is any election that is based on the democratic principles of universal suffrage and political equality as reflected in international standards and agreements, and is professional, impartial, and transparent in its preparation and administration throughout the electoral cycle" (GCEDS, 2012: 5). Electoral integrity as a conceptual framework has become a major tool used by election researchers and practitioners to measure the degree of freeness and fairness of elections in

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contemporary democracies (Onapajo, 2012: 1). He noted that in attempt to define the concept, electoral researchers and practitioners focus more on conceptualising elections that cannot be considered as possessing integrity, which are conceived as "flawed elections", "manipulated elections", "electoral malpractices", or "electoral fraud" (EIP, 2012; also see van Ham, 2012 cited in ibid: 2). It is a "way to conceptualize election negative phrases such as' electoral malpractice', 'flawed elections', 'manipulated contests', and 'electoral fraud', as well as positive terms, where elections are described as 'credible', 'acceptable', 'genuine', reflecting the 'will of the people', or the standard diplomatic rhetoric of 'free and fair'" (cited in Norris, 2012: 2).

Using theoretical framework of cultural relativism Idike, (2014) critically examine the problems and prospects of e-voting on democracy and electoral process in Nigeria. He refers to electoral process as a complex process that encompasses the good intentions and undesirable outcomes of election administration, particularly in emerging democracies where general elections are often marred by culturally hued electoral malpractices. In the Nigerian case, the truth remains that the electoral process is immensely characterized by a culture of electoral malpractices.

In a democratic system where elections are devoid of crisis, long term disputes or political violence, are amicably resolved. Such system enhances the prospect for political stability, peace, development and continuity in governance. However where elections are synonymous with violence, thuggery, intimidation, rigging, ballot box snatching and stuffing and other forms of electoral malpractices, they bring to question the very essence of democracy and compromise the nation's security.

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2.2.1 Electoral Malpractice

Ebirim (2013) sees electoral malpractice as a process by which the rule and regulations that govern the conduct of election are manipulated to favour specific interests. It is achievable through numerous tactics and strategies including outright rigging and falsification of electoral result. Electoral malpractice can take place before, after and during election. Bamisaye & Awofeso (2011) defines electoral malpractices as the reflect determination of politicians, political actors and political parties to capture power by all means and at all cost. For him, politicians involve all sorts of electoral malpractices such as rigging of elections and the intimidation of voters in order to subvert the electoral process. Election rigging according to Nwabueze (2005) cited in Ibrahim, 2009); are electoral manipulations that are;

> "palpable illegalities committed with a corrupt, fraudulent or sinister motive to influence an election in favour of a candidate (s) by way such as illegal voting, bribery, treating and undue influence, intimidation and other form of force exerted on the electorates, falsification of results, fraudulent announcement of a losing candidate as the winner (without altering the recorded results)".

It has "become an increasing problem in incipient democracies that emerged as a result of the so-called "Third Wave" of democratization that swept across the developing world from the 1980s onwards" (Menocal, 2003).

2.2.2 Dimensions of the Challenges of Electoral Malpractice in Nigeria

In Nigeria as elsewhere in Africa, one of the objectives of the transition to democracy has been a free and fair electoral system, the hallmark of liberal democracy. According to the International Institute of Democratic and Electoral Assistance (IDEA, 2001) by definition, liberal democracy is a procedural system involving open political competition, with multi-party, civil and political rights guaranteed by law and

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accountability operating through an electoral relationship between citizens and their representatives. However, the citizens of Nigeria have clearly been denied a true experience of liberal democracy according to this definition.

According to IDEA (2001), important institutional factors that are major impediment to the electoral process in Nigeria include the limited autonomy of various electoral bodies (particularly their lack of financial empowerment) and their weak human resource base. Unreliable voters register combined with serious logistic and communication problems are characteristics of the flawed electoral process. Psycho cultural factor primarily derived from the history of today's immense political corruption, factors that have undermined the social and economic basis for the emergence and sustenance of democratic political culture in Nigeria. These political factors are set against the background of a major structural factor institutionalized.

Among the most serious and blatant cases of electoral fraud are;

    i.   Rigging, overstuffing of ballot boxes, over bloating ballot register, special treatment of voters and election officials, disappearance or destruction of ballot box etc.

    ii.   Distortion or doctoring of results.

    iii.   Annulment and falsification of election result

Despite the serious nature of the above irregularities in the electoral process, the April 2003, "election forgery" and the 2007 "falsification of election results" as well as 2011 "electoral flaws" in the presidential, gubernatorial and the Assemblies elections have seriously undermined the country's democratization processes. These acts, a master stroke against democracy and the democratization process, have posed threats to the

country's corporate existence. Other factors that are consistently cited as undermining competitive electoral politics in Nigeria include;

1. Lack of discipline in the forms, spirit and implementation of the election process.

2. Excessive monetization of politics in general.

3. A "winner takes all" philosophy pervasive among the political elites;

4. The general level of poverty and illiteracy.

5. The absence of clear ideological underpinning of the parties.

6. Religious bigotry and to a limited extent ethnic chauvinism

7. Political corruption

Election rigging connotes any form of undue authority or power that influence and manipulate election result in a dubious way to protect a particular interest against the interest of the generality of the electorates. When the interest of the people are articulated in a free and fair election, the government in power tend to enjoy the sovereign legitimacy of the people but election rigging can thwart the interest of the people hence the dubious imposition of an unpopular candidate. The sad end is governments' lack of people's support which is one of the basic principles of democracy.

2.2.3 Challenges and Consequences of Electoral Malpractice to Democratic Governance in Nigeria

Manipulation of election proceedings (such as in voters' registration), rigging, thuggery, nullification and outright falsification of election results as well as Cynicism are the most crisply analysed variables in the scope and aspects of electoral malpractice and violence in Nigeria. It is however pertinent to note before the fourth republic Nigeria has been democratizing through a series of transition to civil rule organized

and implemented by non-democratic regimes. The first transition (1954-1960), which gave birth to the first republic (1960-1966), was organized by the British regime (Mackintosh, 1966, Post and Vickers, 1973 Post 1960) while the subsequent ones which led to the second, third and now fourth republics were carried out by the military regimes (Kurfi, 1983, Oyediran, 1981, Ujo, 2000a and 2000b; cited in Bako, 2001; 3). Nevertheless, the 2003, 2007 and 2011 elections were organized and implemented by civilian democratic regimes.

To understand the challenges and consequences of electoral malpractice, there is need to review the violent reaction of the electorate after election malpractices. Odama (2010) noted that the history of elections via political violence and electoral malpractices in Nigeria can be examined in four phases; elections during the colonial period, elections in the first years of independence 1960 - 1965, elections during military rule and autocracy, and elections under civilian regimes in between the military rule and autocracy and today's civilian fourth republic. He observed that the background of electoral malpractice and violence in Nigeria dates to period before 1960. He stated that when the British colonial masters conducted the first election, the legislative council's election in Lagos and Calabar from 1922 that culminated in the 1958/59: there was documented evidence that the British took decisive measures to rig each set of elections that they presided over.

Any serious review of the challenges of democratic government, electoral malpractice and violence in Nigeria should consequently mention albeit briefly the attendance effect of spilled over from colonialism to successive elections conducted after the colonial era in Nigeria. The problem intensified with the 1964 General elections.

Despite an all-party consensus to ensure a free and fair election at a meeting called by the then Prime Minister, all agreements reached were widely breached. Specifically the agreements to lift bans on public meetings were breached, permits for rallies in the North were denied and mass arrests of their candidates and polling agents in the North. On account of these arbitrary abductions, arrests, detention, intimidation of its candidates, copious evidence of which was submitted to the President, United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) demanded the postponement of the elections, the government refused and UPGA boycotted the elections. Despite the boycott, elections purportedly went on in Northern and Western Nigeria and the federal territory, Lagos, where the' governments were in control. The boycott was effective in the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) controlled areas - the East and the Midwest. On account of the boycott, the Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) despite its clear unpopularity, as evidenced by the absurdly low votes it received even without opposition, claimed victory in the West. In the aftermath of this travesty, the Western Region became engulfed in possibly the bloodiest civil resistance to the government and its sympathizers that the country had ever seen which led to military took over in 1966. Ademoyega (1981:19) opined that:

> The elections of December 1964 turned out to be a farce. It was completely boycotted in the Eastern Region, where the NCNC Government used its power to ensure that no election was held. It was also partly boycotted in the west, North, Mid-West and Lagos, with the effect that the election results lacked credit and were nationally unacceptable. However, while the UPGA rejected them, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and its allies of the NNA, which single headedly carried out the elections, accepted them thereby culminating in a national stalemate" (cited in Osinbajo, 2008).

Three elections conducted during the period of military rule were the elections of 1979, under the first coming of General Obasanjo, the 1992 - 1993 elections under General Babangida and the 1999 elections under General Abdul salami Abubakar. Each of

these elections was equally controversial. The 1979 elections came up with the so called twelve -two-thirds controversy that was resolved summarily by the military. The elections of 1992-1993 were frequently delayed, cancelled, postponed and adjusted to produce a result predetermined by the military. The results of the June 12, 1993 were not only criminally and brazenly annulled on the excuse that the military was uncomfortable with them. Either by an act or by design the Association for Better Nigerians filed a case in a Law Suit and obtained an injunction against the election result, while the Association campaigned for the continuation of the military regime. The cancellation of the results of the 1993 general elections aggravated inter-ethnic tension and hostility, which eventually culminated in the demise of the third attempt at instituting enduring democracy in Nigeria. The 1999 elections occurred with flawed electoral rules, without a legitimate and valid constitution, and with the electoral agencies under the firm control of military rulers. Thus it is widely suspected that the results were predetermined.

From 1983 onwards, five sets of elections conducted under the civilian regimes were the general elections of 1983 under the Shehu Shagari's National Party of Nigeria (NPN) government. There were also general elections of 2003 and 2007 under Olusegun Obasanjo as well as the 2011 and 2015 general elections of the Jonathan administration, all by Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). In the 1983 elections, the ruling NPN government perpetrated all sorts of electoral atrocities. The voting process, voter registration, and actual votes cast were all grossly distorted. To produce the so-called 'landslide' and 'bandwagon effect', the order of elections was reversed and voters register inflated that the presidential elections be held last, the NPN government decided that these elections would come first. Onike (2009), assessed that the "2003

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general elections dismayed and scandalized the ruling party's open and brazen resort to manipulation and forgery of election".

Indeed, the 2007 elections were characterized by rigging, ballot snatching at gun points, criminal manipulation of voters' list and brazen falsification of election results. The 2007 election was indeed a product of do or die affair, the outcome of which is the abolition of the Nigeria electorate and it was a case of raped electoral process. According to Williams (The Nation, Oct. 8 2009, pages 41 and 42), the 2007 elections have been adjudged as the worst in the history of the nation and arguably mankind since the advent of liberal democracy. Never in the history of the nation has an election brought so much pains and misery to the people. In fact, the conduct of the 2007 general elections was remarked by head of the Election Observation Mission (EOM), the European Union (EU), which the election is "far short of basic international and regional standards for democratic elections." According to the EOM, the 2007 elections

> were marred by very poor organization, lack of essential transparency, widespread procedural irregularities, substantial evidence of fraud, widespread voter disenfranchisement at different stages of the process, lack of equal conditions for political parties and candidates and numerous incidents of violence...."(Cited in National Daily; June, 2010).

The survey of disputed elections in Nigeria should reflect the 1999, 2003 and 2007 election reports that showed a consistent killing of candidates, intimidation of voters and harassment of politicians. Security officers and the police in particular, were widely criticized by national stakeholders and international observers alike for their failure to protect voters, abuses of their human rights, failure to uphold the law and in some case their direct complicity in election disruption, violence, vote rigging,

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intimidation and ballot box theft. In the case of 2011 Presidential election, although has been commended by EOM as one of the most successful in Nigeria's political history, cases of stuffing ballot boxes, under age voting and outright falsification of election results have been reported in some states. In fact, with regard to post election violence the Leadership Newspaper, Wednesday, April 20, 2011) had: On its front page, "Post-election violence" – "121 dead": "Kaduna 50, Kano 30, Bauchi 16, Katsina 8, Gombe 17" and Displaced "15,000". The story continued on its page 2, "Post-election Riots: 70 corps Members Escape Death in Minna". Those involved were all National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) members. Still on the same page, "Election Violence: IG Orders State Commissioners on Red-Alert". And, "Post-election crisis: FG Sends Reinforcement to Kaduna". (Cited in Omotayo; 2011:1). The 2015 election is unique because incidence of violence was not recorded as a result of challenging the election result however, there were loss lives as a result of jubilation.

As can be seen from this survey of elections under colonial, civilian and military regimes in Nigeria, all elections share a number of common characteristics and trend. First, they have been particularly characterized by massive frauds, intimidation and even assassination of political opponents, the brazen subversion of the 'sovereignty of the vote' and controversy. The governments in power and politicians have their own designs and have generally perpetrated and maintained a culture of electoral violence and warfare. No election has been conducted without a great deal of controversy either before, during or after elections.

Secondly, while there has been continuity in violence and warfare, there has been lack of continuity in the political organizations through which both violence and warfare

have been conducted. Each period has thus, produced new political formations reflecting not only the penchant for lack of principle and shifting allegiance among members of the political class but also the total de-ideoligization of the issues on which members of the class were divided into antagonistic camps.

For example, the major political parties in the 1951 - 1966 periods were the NPC, the NCNC and the AG, because by 1979 and 1983, the major political parties in the field became the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), Nigeria's Peoples Party (NPP) and Great Nigeria's People Party (GNPP). Between 1987 and 1993, the members of the political class were herded into the National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP). During Abacha's ill-fated self-succession bid, the two herds metamorphosed into the famous 'five leprous fingers' on the same 'leprous hand. Between 1999 and 2003, the five 'leprous fingers' changed into three main political parties: Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Alliance for Democracy (AD) and All Nigeria People Party (ANPP); by 2003-2007 further metamorphoses occurred with the appearance of Action Congress for Democracy (ACD), Action Congress (AC) and others on the scene. The appearance of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) in 2011 and All Peoples Congress (APC) in 2015 also reflects this trend of de ideoligization and antagonistic camps.

2.3 Gap in Literature

In Nigeria various literature have been developed in order to address the issue of globalization, democracy, democratization and electoral process to some extent democratic governance. For instance, Okolie (2003) describes how the post-colonial

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state of Nigeria has been wallowing from one development fad to another. Okolie thus observed that colossal failures of these policies stimulate the persisting scandalous poverty, penury and continuous slide in the economy. Okolie's contribution does a fairly good job of analyzing the Nigeria's historical challenges of development from 1960's to date. The weakness of the work stems from the fact that it languishes in economic development especially how Nigerian leaders succumbed to SAP. It does not reflect on the impact of Political Transition towards democratization in this era.

Owugah (2003) examine the complex and paradoxical nature of globalization processes as well as its future. He also gave adequate attention in exploring the feasibility of adopting either the Asian paradigm that were successful in adopting globalization policies, and /or restructuring domestic political and economic models or policies in Nigeria. More so he examined the option of the civil society to resist globalization process, admitting that the resistance or anti -globalization protest was more at the international level. Having rejected both options, he concentrates on the need to organize and mobilize the civil societies that have been alienated by the globalization process. On the whole Owugah did a good analysis of the response of Nigeria to globalization thus he appeal for domestic political and economic restructuring which will enhance active participation in globalization.

Owugah's article has given a clear picture of what our research intends to portray particularly in its appeal for domestic political and economic restructuring aimed to enhance active participation in globalization. However the gap in which this study is concern is that restructuring should not be limited to domestic effort but also to include the international community's effort, particularly the agents of democratization have

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to restructure their harsh liberalization proposals in order to avoid bleak prospects on Nigeria and other third world countries. Furthermore Kura (2005), "Globalization and Democracy: A Dialectical Framework for Understanding Democratization in Nigeria" is an engaging critical analysis relevant to this study, however it is only an article it has no detail or comprehensive coverage or focus as a research like the " Malpractices in Nigeria's Fourth Republic Elections: Democratic Governance Challenges" intends to cover.

Nnoli, (2000) assess globalization, and underline its positive and negative impact on the struggle for democracy in Africa. He notes Africa has suffered from globalization in the past, particularly from the atrocities and humiliation of foreign domination in the past, particularly from the colonial rule. He analyses how democratic struggle is against the inherited colonial state, and assessed that African politicians lacked the discipline, purposefulness and strength of character to continue on the democratic path in the face of strong challenges to their power and interest in the use of state power for the private accumulation of wealth. The consequences has been the state of political instability and crisis of democracy. Nnoli's article does a better job of analyzing globalization and struggles for democracy in African context. The gap in the article emanate from the fact that it covers Africa as a whole, the scope is not narrowed to particular country in Africa. Specifically, it has not discussed on electoral process or even resurgence of democracy and its challenges in Nigeria in particular. Alubo (2002) was also concerned about the social impact of globalization with particular emphasis on economic implications on culture and economy. His study does not cover the impact of globalization on democracy or democratic governance in Nigeria.

Ogundiya (2010) analyzes the effects of corruption as the causes of lack of democratic consolidation in Nigeria, his focus does not include other constraints such as constitutional crisis, insurgency, militancy and electoral malpractice. Also Ibeanu and Elaigwu (2007) exhaustibly discuss democracy and political governance in Nigeria in respect to the quest for addressing the problems of the constitution, corruption, children and women's rights, and ethno-religious conflicts etc., but has no specifically discuss electoral malpractice in Nigeria. Furthermore, Ogbonnaya (2014) has a remarkable contribution to the critical analysis of the challenges of democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic, however it has not been linked with discussion on influence of global appeal for democracy in the fourth republic. Moreover Ebirim (2013) and Osinachukwu and Jawan (2013) contributed towards the effects of electoral malpractice and electoral process respectively, although were concerned about democratic consolidation in Nigeria, their contributions have no details of the trends that culminated the fourth republic. While Idowu's (2010) contribution also centered on corruption, the police and the challenges of free and fair election in Nigeria, Ighodalo's (2012) is about election crisis, liberal democracy and National security in Nigeria's fourth republic.

Oni, Chidozie and Agbude (2013) uses both primary and secondary data to discuss electoral politics in Nigeria's fourth republic democratic governance; their contribution is an article limited to the role of security agencies in election. Probably, it has no elaborate space to link the role of international promoters of democracy that contribute to emergence of Nigeria's fourth republic. Therefore neither of these contributions relate their work with the specific challenges of electoral malpractices

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on democratic governance nor with international trends influencing democratic transition in the country.

Awopeju (2011) uses system agent theory to examine election rigging; Idike (2014) uses Cultural relativism theory to investigate electoral crisis; and Ogundiya (2010) uses theory on democratic stability to examine corruption and democratic stability: Others used historical appraisals such as Ogbiedi (2010), Obinna (2012), Saad (2012) and Odusote (2014). This study uses critical theory on electoral malpractice to challenge, change and transform the challenges of democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic.

This study therefore tries to fill the gap by identifying the areas that have not yet been studied in the challenges of electoral malpractices to democratic transition especially as it applies to the peculiarity of democracy in Nigeria which includes; the trends of globalization, democratization, civilian to civilian transition, democratic governance, electoral process and malpractice within the fourth republic. This is with a view to adopt strategies that will restructure attitudes, institutions and resources towards a better democratic practice. This study will therefore highlight the need for credible electoral processes as recipe to good democratic governance, as the key to sustainable growth and development of the country's socio-political and economic situation in today and for the future.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter examines the related literature on challenges of electoral process as it affects the re-emergence for democratic governance in Nigeria in 1999. It generally

argues that, trends of globalization influences democracy, democratization and democratic governance. It also argued that globalization challenges democracy democratization and democratic governance. It further clarifies the conceptual differences between democracy democratization and democratic governance. The chapter therefore argued that democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic has been challenged by a number of predicaments, electoral malpractice is one them. Meanwhile, review of related literature on electoral process, electoral malpractice, election integrity and dimensions of electoral malpractice as well as challenges and consequences of electoral malpractice to democratic governance in Nigeria reveals the nature of the threat on Nigeria's fourth republic. Lastly the chapter attempt to fill literature gap, thus contribute to the study of electoral malpractices and democratic governance in Nigeria.
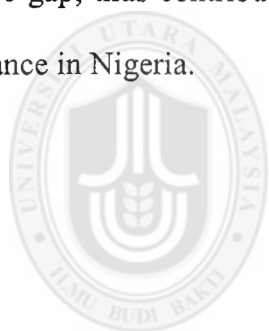
CHAPTER THREE: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter consists a description of the location or background of the study area. Description of the type of land, people, and economy of Nigeria would be highlighted in this section. It also contain the description however briefly of some prominent pre-colonial political systems in Nigeria. It shall briefly discuss the early contact of Nigeria with outside world. An explanation of the colonial political administration would be made. The description of post-colonial political period would also be part of this chapter. Highlight of contemporary government and politics would also be discussed. There would also be a description of internal and external dynamics of transition to democracy in Nigeria.

3.1 Land, People and Economy

Situated wholly in the tropics, Nigeria lies between latitudes 4 degrees and 14 degrees North and longitudes 3 degrees and 15 degrees east. Temperatures are high, rainfall is seasonal, but it is heavy in the Southeast and light in the far north. North of this the vegetation changes to savannahs. The wooded grass land become more open towards the north, where they form part of the Sudan, the great tropical grass land belt that stretches across Africa, south of the Sahara desert from the Atlantic Ocean to the valley of the upper Nile (Perkins, et al; 1980

Nigeria lies at the extreme inner corner of the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa. The prominent physical feature of Nigeria is the Niger River. It rises in the mountains north east of Sierra Leone, traverses the whole of the French Sudan, enters Nigeria, and then flows down south into the gulf of Guinea. Despite its length and dispersion, Nigeria's river system has not been a great commercial waterway for trade with the outside world, nor has it contributed significantly to the growth of an internal exchange economy. Navigational obstacles such as seasonal variation in water levels and shifting sand bar at the mouth of the Niger have not only restricted its use to sea going ships to very shallow draft but also limited the development of river ports. Moreover, the heavily populated areas in the far north and in the west' are at the considerable distance from theses rivers. "The river system therefore has not facilitated and indeed in some respects, has hampered economic intercourse among the ethnic groups in Nigeria" (Coleman, 1986: ii).

Meanwhile, a glance at the geographical description of political map of West Africa shows that four out of the countries in this region are members of the common wealth of nations. The largest of these countries is Nigeria, which with an area of 928, 773 km square is nearly four times the size of Sierra Leone, and eighty nine times the size of Gambia. On the South, Nigeria is washed by the Gulf of Guinea, on the west and north; it is boarded by the Republic of Benin and Niger; and on the east, joins the Cameroon Republic. Nigeria is the 32nd largest nation in the world geographically. Its greatest length from the south to the north is 164km square and its maximum breadth from east to west is approximately more than 1, 934 km square. Nigeria is the 14th largest country in Africa. Its coastline, on the Gulf of Guinea, stretches 774 km. Nigeria shares its international border of 4,470 km with her four neighbours: Chad,

Cameroon, Benin, and Niger (Coleman, ibid). Until 1989 the capital was Lagos, with a population of about 12,500,000, but the government moved the capital to Abuja.

Out of the country's total land area of 231 million acres, roughly three quarters' constituted arable land under forest reserves, allowing about 15 percent for permanent pastures, which cover about 56 percent of the land area. Only 15 percent for permanent pastures, about 31% of the land constitutes agricultural land with the 90% of the areas presently not used for any specific purpose, the percentage of the land that can be available for agricultural purposes goes up to 40% that is about 92.5 million acres … The savannah lands of Nigeria and the millions of native cattle, goats and sheep present an attractive potential for developed livestock production. The country also has great potentially for fishing (Alkassum, et al 1985). Vegetation and soil types are varied, making the land suitable for a variety of agricultural purposes.

It has also large reserves of solid minerals, which includes coal, columbine, lignite, and Tin, bitumen, and Topaz, Kaolinite, Talc, Marble, Barite, gypsum and iron ore. The proven reserves of crude petroleum and natural gas are well over 27 billion barrels and 120 trillion standard cubic feet respectively. It has been asserted that these abundant resources "are capable of forming a solid base for development. With political stability, good governance and exemplary leadership. Nigeria has a high potential of becoming a great nation in this millennium" (Eloho, 2000:1). The Nigerian currency is expressed in Naira (N) and Kobo (K). 100K equal One Naira (N1). The currency denominations are in N5, N10, N20, N50, N100, N200, N500 and N1000.

The estimated Nigerian population in 1991 was over 140 million, about 30 million less than the estimates made before the census results were published. "The figure implies

that the population of the country grew at the rate of 2.7 percent per annum between 1952/53 (When a credible census was taken) and 1991" (Tafida, 1995: IV). However, according to Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics, the total population of Nigeria was last recorded at 166.2 million people in 2012 from 45.2 million in 1960, changing 268% during the last fifty years. It is the 8th most populous nation in the world. It is said that one out of six Africans is a Nigerian. Nigeria covers a quarter of all the people in the continent, its economy is the largest in the ECOWAS sub – region. It accounts for 50 percent of the region's population, 78 percent of imports (Yusuf, 2002). Interestingly this assertion is viewed in this way: Nigeria is a complex country, rich, populous and large. Its "heterogeneous ethnicities have through the course of historical and political association since 1914 emerged one of the enigmatic phenomena that have confounded those who seek to analyse the socio economic and political labyrinth of this African giant" (Fejokwu, 1996: iv). It is not a surprising assertion thus that no serious analysis of the challenges of electoral malpractices on democratic governance in Nigeria can be made without describing the role of ethnicity and religion.

Nigeria is a multi-ethnic country, "more than 470 ethnic group resides in the country" (Ibeanu and Egwu, 2007: xxvi). The available list of Nigerian languages as aptly observed by Kier Hans Ford and others published in studies in Nigerian languages, No. 5 of 1976 list "394 languages and over one hundred dialects" (see Analyst Magazine, 2003: 36). However there are three major ethnic languages in the country, which are *Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba* and *Igbo*, they constitute over 40% of the population. The inter mixing and intermeshing of dialects and languages, which has gone on for millennia in this country, has accordingly made it obvious that any attempt to use ethnicity as a basis for political representation will not only be economically

retrogressive but also be a recipe for a complete political disaster. This is further confirmed by the pattern of settlement and of migration, which do not conform to the picture of Nigeria as being constituted by separate blocks of monolithic ethnic groups each with its own language, identity, separate territory and its own leaders and spokesmen (Tafida,, ibid). Virtually all the native races of Africa are represented in Nigeria, hence the great diversity of her people and culture as a result of migrations of the *Bantus, Semi- Batus, Shuwa Arabs, Tuareqs and Fulanis*.

3.2 Nigeria's Pre-Colonial Political Systems

Large volumes of literature describes set up of Nigeria's political systems before the colonial period (Clapperton, 1829: Boahen, 1966: Ifemsia, 1965, Shea, 1975: Udo, 1980, cited in Anabugu, 1989: Ajayi, 1997: Kamilu, 2003: Osagie and Ikpomwosa, 2013 etc.). The political system consisted of old Kingdoms with complex system of administration developed since before the contact with the Europeans. These include the Borno Kingdom in the North-East, Fulani Caliphate and the Hausa states all in what is now called Northern Nigeria. In the South, there were the Oyo Empire, the Benin Kingdom, the Igbo political system and the Niger-Delta city states (Osagie and Ikpomwosa, 2013). It is however important to note most of these were from early times non-centralised states, but later transformed to centralized states before 1900. The basic characteristic of non-centralized states was collective leadership, meaning that authority was dispersed, no single individual served as a symbol of authority. The non-centralized authority endured up to 1900 within the people of Igbo, *Tiv, Idoma* and Niger-Delta, centralized authority existed before 1900 in Kanem-Borno, Hausa, *Jukun, Yoruba, Nupe, Igala* and *Edo* lands (Mayowa, 2014; Jacob, 2014).

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It is therefore worthy to note that Nigeria political system was not under one single political entity before colonialism, rather under traditional rule or empires as in the case of Kanem-Borno and Hausa-Fulani under the Songhai Islamic empire. The geographical location did not experienced a unified administrative system until the British annexation and subsequent amalgamation. Meanwhile, each ethnic group developed its own distinct political system and structures within its own territorial boundaries. However, there were trading and cultural contacts between Hausa and Fulani and the Yoruba as well as between Edo people of Benin and the Yoruba of Ile-Ife and Lagos. In fact Kano city in the Hausa land developed as an urban centre in the West central Sudan and consequently played active role in pre-colonial trans-Saharan trade and other hosting merchants from several parts of the world especially North Africa (Clapperton, 1829; Pokrank, 1982: Shea, 1975 cited in Anagbugu, 1980: 79).

For convenience sake pre-colonial political system in Nigeria can be divided into two parts-pre-colonial political system in the northern Nigeria and the pre-colonial political system in the southern Nigeria.

3.2.1 Pre-Colonial Political System in Northern Nigeria

The Northern Nigeria has organized a unique political systems before the invasion of British colonialism, its political institutions also independent of one another. Although not all pre-colonial traditional political system were centralized authority, even the centralized kingdoms operate their leadership with the consent of the people, thus they are not tyrannical in totality (Mayowa, 2014).

3.2.1.1 Kanem- Borno Empire

Kanem Borno is located in the now North-eastern Nigeria. Apart from Kanem-Borno Empire prior to the 19th century, the people of Northern Nigeria did not evolve a single political unit. The whole region was made up of different politically independent states. However, with the successful campaign Jihad of Usman Danfodio in the year 1804, the different states were organized into single political unit. The history of Borno dates back to the 9th Century when Arabic writers in North Africa first noted the kingdom of Kanem east of Lake Chad. Bolstered by trade with the Nile region and Trans-Saharan routes, the empire prospered. In the following centuries, complex political and social systems were developed, particularly after the *Bulala* invasion in the 14th Century. The empire moved from Kanem to Borno, hence the name. The empire lasted for 1,000 years (until the 19th Century) despite challenges from the Hausa-Fulani in the west and *Jukun* from the south.

Kanem Borno Kingdom has a reputable history of having lasted for about one thousand years and therefore one of the longest surviving kingdoms in the world (Ifemesia, 1965). It was organized under the central supreme ruler ship of the *(Mai)* King, whose imperial rule was assisted by twelve council members. The main "responsibilities of the (Nokena) council members was to offer advice to the King concerning state policies" (Ajayi, 1997:36). Provincial system of administration was operated with four provinces (south, east, west and north), each under provincial governor- *Kaigama*-south; *Yerima*-north; *Mastrema*, east; and *Galadima*-west. The King's ruler ship in the empire was terminated and replaced by the Dan Fodio dynasty in the 19th century i.e. the 1804 *Dan Fodio Jihad*. However, British colonial conquest brought the end of the dynasty.

3.2.1.2 Hausa States Pre-colonial Political System

Regarding the Hausa states thus, which comprises *Kano, Zaria, Katsina, Gobir, Rano* and *Daura* before the first half of the 19th century were not under any political umbrella. Lenshie and Ayokhai, (2013: 3) observed that their traditional political system "is based on hereditary monarchy developed in the context of centralised system". The system evolves through socio-economic and political transformations, thus "provided the forum for creating rulers and their subjects in their respective states" (ibid). Their borders relationships, even though were arbitrary were however identifiable. "Each knew and understood the limit of state boundaries and hence, limited their operations" (ibid). However, the processes of state formation in Hausa states in precolonial Nigeria was overtaken by the Usman Danfodio led jihad (1804-1817). "During the jihad, the populations of the Hausa states were spontaneously disaggregated and later, re-aggregated to establish a new state, the Sokoto Caliphate" (Lenshie and Ayokhai, ibid).

Unlike the Kanuri, no ruler among these states ever became powerful enough to impose his will over the others. Each state had its particular system of administration independent of any other states. The typical head of Hausa state is Sarki (Emir) who was assisted in the administration by district heads. Being the chief executive officer, the Emir was in-charge of religious, justice and political affairs, he has the powers to appoint the district heads. "With introduction of Islam in the 14th century, Muslim system of administration was codified especially when the Judge (Alkali) was introduced to take charge on the justice affairs" (Ifemesia, 1965: cited in Osagie and Ikpomwosa, ibid: 8). By 19th century the Hausa states were unified as a result of revivalism and expansion of the 1804 Jihad. Meanwhile single administration was

established with Sultan as the head of the Caliphate, who had little to do with day to day running of the affairs of the various encapsulated emirates within the jurisdiction of the Caliphate whose seat was at Sokoto. More public offices were introduced, however before the caliphate the prominent offices were, the *Galadima, Waziri, Magajin Gari, Sarkin Dogarai and Sarkin Dogarai*. The caliphate administrative reign came to an end in 1903 as a result of British occupation.

3.2.2 Pre-Colonial Political System in Southern Nigeria

Like the northern political system, the south also organize a unique political system before the invasion of British colonialism, its political institutions were also independent of one another. However south-eastern part particularly the Igbos and Niger-Delta were sort of decentralized states but the south-western part, particularly the Yoruba's were more of centralized state structures.

3.2.2.1 The Yoruba Pre-Colonial Political System

Located at the south western Nigeria Oyo Empire in the Yoruba land "stretched from the Niger west wards to include not only the peoples of *Dahomey* but also *Ga*. The Yoruba Kingdoms were not highly centralized like those in the Northern Nigeria and they were not also decentralized like the Igbo societies. Thus the Yoruba political system is at mid-point of the two examples. The Empire developed an efficient political system where checks and balances were important guiding principles of administration (Alabi, 2008; Muyideen, 2013). It has supreme constitution in its political structure, it also has capital punishment for violating the constitution. The government was monarchical like that of Benin and other West African Kingdoms and Empires and their inheritance succession was patrilineal. The supreme head of the

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Empire was the Alaafin (Lord of many lands). He was assisted by *Oyo Mesi* in charge of administration. The *Alaafin* executes state justice effectively through the courts, while provincial administration was headed by *Oba* who is loyal and paid tribute to him. *Oba* is a symbol of authority, his social, political and cultural positions were highly respected. The *Oba* depended on his chiefs, slaves, wives and servants as means of effective communication between him and his subjects. Together with his senior chiefs were responsible for Law making. "Thus the enactment of new laws, imposition of taxes and decision to wage wars were carried out jointly by the *Oba* and his senior chiefs" (Muyideen, ibid: 84).

However activities of the *Obas* were monitored, checked through *Alaafin's* representatives- *Ilari* in each of the provincial area. The checks and balances within the Yoruba political institutions was not limited to kings and chiefs alone, other institutions are both keep in check (Alabi, ibid). Although Oyo Empire was ably protected by its strong military under the command of the *Are Ona Kankanfo*, the empire came to an end in the 18th century and by 19th century the Danfodio Jihad attacked and sacked the empire using Ilorin as its operational base.

3.2.2.2 The Benin Pre-Colonial Political System

The Benin was most renowned ancient kingdoms in the Guinea forest of southern Nigeria due to its first contact with Portugal and other Europeans on the coastal frontiers. The centralized political system was headed by *Oba* who was the chief executive officer as well as the judicial and legislative affairs of the kingdom. According to Igbafe, (1979:1) "the *Oba* was the pivot around which everything revolved, the supreme religious as well as the civil authority in the land". He was so

powerful and at the centre of administration he was assisted by chiefs like *Eghaevbo n'ore and Eghaevbo n'ogbe* who were appointed by him. The only chief who checks on the powers of the Oba was the *Iyase*-prime-minister. There were also seven councillors in the kingdom whose functions were similar to *Oyo mesi* in Oyo Empire. The *Uzama* was another higher ranking chief who among his responsibilities is head of quarters or villages outside the wall of immediate Benin City. Although the *Uzama* was not member of the Oba's council, he used to be consulted by the Oba on important matters of the state policy, hence was part of the enlarged state council (Osagie, 2002 cited in Osagie and Ikpomwosa, ibid). The Benin pre-colonial political system was severely weakened in the 18th century as a result of a number of political upheavals crisis, by 1897 it was finally crushed by the British invasion.

3.2.2.3 Igbo Pre-Colonial Political System

The Igbos occupies the former Eastern Region (now South-East geo-political zone) and a part of the former Mid-Western region. The Igbos, unlike the Yoruba and the Hausa – Fulani, "had a complex and complicated system of administration in pre-colonial era. Igbo society is reputed to have had a more decentralized political structure than any other major group" (Coleman, ibid: 28). Unlike Benin and Yoruba, the Igbos were organized in vast relatively small independent villages. They did not have centralized kingship system of government, hence they have been described as segmentary, fragmented, acephalegous or stateless people. Within decentralize societies, "stable government is achieved by balancing small, equal groups against each other and by the ties of clanship, marriage and religious association. Therefore their system was based upon the family group. Each family was expected to choose its head in each of their villages" (Muyideen, ibid: 86).

The Igbos had their political organization in pre-colonial times through communities or village groups, thus governance was made through village group councils. The village council consist of all adult men (Amala Oha). The village councils were presided over by the oldest man in the village who held Ofo stick, a symbol of their descendent groups' ancestors (Stride and Ifeka, 1971 cited in Osagie and Ikpomwosa: ibid). Although the council consist of the old men in the village, wealthy individuals were also members of the council to discuss matters of interest in respective villages. According to Isichei (1976:21) the "Igbo political institutions were designed to combine popular participation with weighting for experience and ability".

Although the village group council had no political power other than that given to it by the elders of the respective council, in each village there was political unit of village council which manage its own affairs, yet it was still subject to the authority of the village council of elders. The Igbo, generally had no kings or chiefs. The executive, legislative and judicial powers were vested in the Oha-na-eze, the council of elders; the family; the Age – Grades and the Umuada (IbeneKwu, n.d). The male population in Igbo land were classified into different age group with specific rights, duties responsibilities and obligations in performance of service to the village group or council. The senior group were concerned with peace, war and leadership, youth were concerned with social services such as sanitation (Osagie, 1997:2 cited in Osagie and Ikpomwosa, ibid). This political system was operated in Igbo land until the imposition of colonial rule by the British.

3.3 Early Contact with the Outside World

As mentioned elsewhere the first contact of Nigeria with outside world started with slavery on which volume of literature exist (Perkins, 1980, Boahen, 1980, Izuakor, 1987, etc.). "Slavery become economically unsustainable as result of industrial revolution in the 19th Century, due to its un lucrativeness slave trade metamorphosed into what has been described as legitimate trade, which undoubtedly served as precursor of official colonialism" (Kamilu, et al 2003: 43). The major element of the argument for the abolishing of slave trade was that the "African's orientation on the economic viability of his homeland should be diverted from slave to agricultural exports as well as the introduction of Western civilization through African conversion to Christianity" (Oduwobi, 2011:19). In order to avoid stale analysis and unnecessary detail "because many History books have done sufficient justice to the issue of slavery", and that slavery was an extremely dehumanizing and devastating experience in Nigeria and for which the West must be compelled to pay reparation to its victims" (Alabi, 2000 cited in Kamilu, et al 2003; 34 – 4), this section will only describe the major activities.

Any serious description of Nigeria's history as background of a study area must describe or mention, albeit briefly the early contact of Nigeria with the outside world, particularly the contact with Europeans. Perhaps large volume of literature concerning the early contact of Nigeria with European exist. Like other authors, Perkins et al describe that; "The early contact with Nigeria has much in common with that of the other Countries that gradually grew of along the shores of the Gulf of Guinea. Historical and Geographical description of this shows the names such as the Grain coast (Spice Grains), the Ivory Coast, the slave coast and the oil rivers are in part recalled" (Perkins et al, 1980: 8).

The people living along the guinea coast made their first contact with Europeans more than five hundred years ago, when Portuguese seamen sailed along their voyages eastward, and in 1472 they reached Lagos. Initially the Portuguese established commercial contact with the Kingdom of Benin, they expected to harvest a rich mine of gold in the region. But they found instead of gold a pepper and ivory, though not in such quantities as they later found in India. In the late 1672, the Royal African Company still hopes to discover the gold mines supposedly existing on the Guinea coast. However, "expectation remains elusive as ever". During one of their enterprising voyages, Ruy de Sequeira (Portuguese) arrive Benin in 1472. Thirteen years later, John D. Aveiro sailed to the Benin River where he purchase some pepper, blue cloth and ivory, which he took back to Lisbon. It was gathered that Oba Ozolua of Benin, who show readiness to permit trade with the Europeans, allowed the Portuguese to establish a factory at the Port of Ughoton (Gwato). "This establishes a long period of regular maritime contact between Europe and part of what later come to be known as Nigeria" (Izuakor, 1987; 35).

It was established that from 1830 and beyond, palm oil became the dominant Nigerian export as the demand for slaves declined. But in the 17th and 18th centuries, slaves remained the premier Nigerian export. In 1771 alone, 163 English ships shipped 13, 301 Nigerians from the Bight of Benin to the West Indies. It is estimated that the 74, 000 slave shipped annually to Americas, the English merchants where responsible of 30, 000 of them and out of this number, 14, 000 came from Bony and Calabar. The vast majority of the slaves supplied as mentioned by Izuakor, (ibid: 37) came from the hinterland, mainly Igbo land and Yoruba land. As in Lagos and Badagry were generally kidnapped victims, war captives, delinquent and criminals. "It is established

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that the ninetieth century Yoruba incessant civil wars became a veritable source of slaves" (Izuakor, 1987:40).

Any reasonable description of Nigerian's hinterland contact with Europe must also mention briefly the role of Mungo Park, a young doctor in the service of the African Association, who broke the jinx of those divided on the source of the Niger. Because some thought it flowed west into the Nile or lost itself in the desert sand and still others assumed that it joined across unknown country until he reached the upper course of the Niger and discovered that this river flowed east. In a second expedition in 1805, Park sailed down the Niger as far as Bussa Rapids near Jebba, where his boat was wrecked and he and his companions were drowned. In 1823, a small British expedition under the captainship of Clapperton that failed to reach the Niger Discover Lake Chad. The expeditions went as far as where it met Muhammad Bello who succeeded his father Usman Dan Fodio, the leader of the Sokoto Jihad and caliph of the Sokoto Caliphate. After crossing the Niger River Clapperton died.

The outcome of the expedition proved that the Niger flowed into the Gulf of Guinea through a vast delta; and that the so -called oil rivers was mouths of the Niger. A few years later, the Lander brothers ascended the Niger as far as Rabbah, and then made their way for hundreds of miles up its chief of tributary, the Benin. The outcome of theses expeditions thus attracted many other expeditions. By that time there was no doubt that the Niger-Benue provided a navigable waterway leading far into the interior, and gradually trade was opened up with the people alongside the river (Perkins, et al: 1980:9). It is obvious the expeditions open a "frontier of opportunity" (Izuakor, 1987: 41). Specifically, after John and Richard Lander had solved the 'Riddle' in 1830,

vigorous attempts in 1832, 1841, and 1857 were made to put their achievement to practical use.

With the support of Merchant Firms and the British government therefore, the hinterland opportunities were revealed and exploited. Perhaps penetrating into what is now the Nigerian hinterland was faced with difficulties that resulted to tragic loss of lives. The Europeans had the notion that the hinterland was a white man's grave. Along the coast "Noxious vapour" were believe to cause malaria sickness and death among the European in the hinterland. Thanks to 18th century industrial revolution, the credit for the penetration of the hinterland also go along with the scientific invention of quinine as an antidote to malaria fever. However, before these scientific cum – technological inventions, the early contact businesses were conducted aboard ships, usually chiefs and middle men were invited for 'breaking trade; often greeted with gun salute and sumptuous dinners.

It is thus observed the hinterland contact increased involvement in industrial revolution, therefore, the use of machines to process hinterland's tropical produce such as cottons, palm oil and groundnut, is reciprocal to liberalizing slave trade, hence potential for large market and legitimate trade grew up. It is thus possible to discern two changes of the early contact with outside world in Nigeria. The first was the change from slave trade to legitimate trade. This was vigorously facilitated by the suppression of the slave trade and slavery throughout the British Empire. The second change concerns the gradual shift of the frontier of opportunity from the cost to the hinterland. From the description of the early contact of Nigeria with outside World, it is obvious that influence of commerce or the big businesses from part of the now

developed world especially Britain has begun to establish its position for what has been recognize as colonial era. However this can best be appraised when the colonial background is discussed in the subsequent section.

It is imperative to note the difference between what is democratic experiment and what is political system as it affects Nigeria like in other African countries. While on the one hand political system refers to the practice of administration developed by different kingdoms before colonial invasion, the pre-colonial kingdoms were associated with one form or other elements of democracy. On the other hand the colonial era was characterized with struggle for independence by nationalists, the era has little or no democratic experiences due largely to the oppression of colonialists. Post- independence era is assumed to be the period in which Nigerian political elites attempted to institutionalize and consolidate democratic principles of governance. However the journey of the post-independence democratic experiments was painstaking one, not only because of the intermittent incursion of the military in governance but also because of the abuse of democratic principles such as electoral malpractices.

3.4 Colonial Political Administration

The background of colonial political administration in Nigeria dates back to 1861 occupation of Lagos that culminated in the establishment of the protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria between 1861 and 1900 by the British imperial forces. This subsequently led to the administrative amalgamation, the British Empire was at its Zenith, and thus effective presence of colonial masters had been established (Paden, 1986). "Colonialism involves nationality or racial relationship between cultures that

hinges on the imposition of one over the other. It was realized through conquest and exercise of sovereignty over one political system by another" (Paki and Edoumiekumo, 2011:277).

The formal commencement of British colonial administration began in 1900 with inauguration of three geo-political entities namely Lagos colony, protectorate of Southern Nigeria and protectorate of Northern Nigeria (Oduwobi, 2011and Brown, 2013). The administration of all the three protectorates was achieved through utilising indigenous socio-political structures and systems as basis of local government, popularly known as indirect rule system. Indirect rule began when Federick Lugard was appointed high commissioner to northern Nigeria after having served in India, Egypt and East Africa. Lugard realised there existed an established system of rule in the region, with the Sultan of Sokoto Caliphate regarded as the spiritual and religious head. The Sultan was held in high esteem and had Emirs that ruled other emirates who reported to him. It consisted few Europeans available in supervisory capacities over the various indigenous authorities applying indigenous administrative concepts to the extent to which these were permissible to the British.

However in 1906 the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria were merged under a single administration called the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria headed by a governor. The major changes in the administration was introduction of the territory divided into three provinces headed by provincial commissioners. The provinces consisted of districts under district commissioners. The state of Nigeria emerged in 1914, as the Colony and Protectorate

of Southern Nigeria were amalgamated with the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria headed by governor (Lord Lugard).

High commissioners were appointed as the head of the administration of all the Protectorates in 1900. The protectorates were divided into provinces and divisions respectively under residents and district officers, with assistant district officers. The divisions consisted the various local government units in which the head of each unit styled the Native Authority. In the Northern protectorate, Borno and Kano the emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate, were transformed into local government areas as the Shehu and the emirs (including the Caliph of Sokoto) were appointed as Native Authorities. This was convenient since the Northern protectorate had a centralised system of government before colonialism. However in the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria a great majority of the communities of the protectorate were non-centralised. Perhaps under the practice of indirect rule indigenous authorities were appointed in the administration of their localities, but "the character of such appointments seldom had roots in the indigenous political system. The political headship became distorted through the substitution of the traditional democratic practice by an autocratic genre with the appointment of those styled as Warrant Chiefs" (Oduwobi, 2011:23).

While in the North Revenue was raised through the imposition of taxes under the supervision of village and town heads as well as district heads, in Yoruba areas the revenue was generated from court fees and fines. Before 1911 the Native Authorities retained a portion of the taxes collected in their areas of jurisdiction, while the remaining share went to the protectorate government. "However, from 1911 the portion allocated to the Native Authorities was converted into a treasury (called the

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Native Treasury) which became the basis for the establishment and maintenance of a local government bureaucracy characterized by budgetary allocations" (ibid: 25).

Although colonialism came much later to Nigeria as in other parts of Africa and in comparison to other parts of the world, the impact of colonialism on Nigeria should not be under estimated. For instance, the impact has provided less time for the country to develop a national identity and political stability. The salient outcome of amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates was the constrained political unity of the country based (divide and rule policy) on bi-polar administrative pattern. Since then the concepts of North and South dichotomy have become a source of concern in Nigeria's politics (Brown, 2013).

3.4.1 Challenges of Colonialism on Democratization in Nigeria

Since democratization is about political changes moving towards democratic direction, it is an embodiment of processes for the entrenchment of the ethos of democratic culture such as human rights, accountability, rule of law, regular and credible elections and other principles of democracy. Colonialism is a contradiction of most embodiments of democracy. Obinna (2011:2) aptly argues "it is illogical to expect the colonial administrative processes to proceed along the ethos of democracy". This is because the main "objective of colonialism is the direct and overall political domination of one country by another on the basis of state power being in the hands of a foreign power. Its second objective is to make possible the exploitation of the colonized country" (Ocheni and Nwanko, 2012: 46). Meanwhile colonial administration was by no means democratic, rather colonialism "aims at the

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exploitation of the mineral, human and agricultural resources of Nigeria" (Okoro, 2012: 836).

On examining what colonial experiences have got to do with background of the challenges of democratization in Nigeria, we are made to note that colonial experience on African soil are 'markedly' similar particularly in the West African region, especially where the colonies are part of the British Empire. Colonial rule was ruthless, tyrannical and denied the colonial subjects the racial equality of black and white. It was paternalistic and deprived the colonial subjects of their in alienable right to manage or even mismanage their own affairs. The political economy of Nigerian democracy was incorporated into the international capitalist system through the colonial state, multilateral corporation, marketing boards and monopoly over finance capital. Other mechanism was through control of public funds, tariff in industrial and agricultural policies (Abba, et al, 1985, William, 1981 cited in Kuna 2003).

Concerning the constitutional developments pursued during the colonial dispensations also, the predicament is same as above. Although constitutional provisions were basically for the institutional integration of segment of the country, but on the contrary, almost all the colonial era constitutions and the first Republic constitutions have been ensured by external control of the British Parliament, to stabilize their imperial motives. For instance the democratic "tokenism" of the franchise bestowed on Calabar and Lagos provided under the Clifford constitution in 1922, was an expedient co-optation of certain cronies to ensure colonial state's strengthening of socio-economic and political situations (Obinna, 2012).

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In Ake's (Ake, 1991:2) analysis on political legacy of colonialism of colonial state he noted;

> it redistributed land and determined who should produce what and how. It attended to supply labour; it churned out administrative instruments and legislate taxes to induce the breakup of traditional social relations of production, the atomization of society and the process of "proletarianisation". It went into the business of education to ensure that workers could do the jobs they were required to perform and would remain steadfast in the performance of their often tedious and disagreeable tasks. It built roads. Railways and ports to facilitate the collection and export of commodities as well as the import of manufactured goods. It sold commodity boards. Indeed it controls every aspect of the colonial economy tightly to maintain its power and domination and to realize the economic objectives of colonization.

Unlike other colonies in West Africa like Chad where colonialism was carried with much eased, because the people offered little resistance due perhaps to their decentralized political system and as well as provided protection to them against powerful neighbours that surrounded them and often raided them to catch slaves, the case in Nigeria was different. King Kosoko met British attack and annexation of Loges with stiff residence; in fact Kosoko and his forces that British decidedly attacked on 27th December 1851 based the allegation that he was promoting slave trade, had to take to their heels and in no time were in control of everywhere. Akitoye, an ex – king who was taken refuge in Abekouta was invited reinstated by the British to the throne and was consequently compelled to sign a treaty to abolish salve trade, protect missionaries and encourage legitimate trade in 1854. King Dosumu who succeeded his father Akitoye, was also tricked by the British to sign treaty of cession on August 1861, thereby making Lagos a British possession.

Subsequently Lagos become colony in 1862 and its governor was appointed by the consul for the Bight of Benin. Thus not surprisingly, Kamilu et al reiterated that the British imperialism in Nigeria has vividly revealed the covetousness of capital, willing to reap where it has not sown, annexing and plundering other peoples landed properties and resources with the force of arms, cunning manipulations, trickery and outright deceit in order to secure raw materials and market so that ever increasing profit could be recorded. "The motivating factor for capital is profit and will to stop at nothing to achieve this and imperialism. Albeit in Nigeria was a tool that was to accelerate this objective" (Kamilu, etal, 2003:46 – 7).

Like in other colonized countries in Africa, colonialism was divisive and insensitive to the socio-economic relations and in shaping the future political dispensation. For instance, the so-called amalgamation of Southern and northern protectorates in Nigeria by the British imperialists was not intended to promote national unity in Nigeria and neither was it to promote rapid economic development of the country. The primary reasons behind it all was to minimize administrative cost, increase the British exploitation of country and maximize British interest in the country. It was intended to keep the two part of the country divided so that common and concerted effort for in depended struggle could be difficult.

The consequences of this divide and rule policy as is still prevailing in the country's socio-economic and political problems especially in the form of calling national sovereign conference from parts of the country in order to "correct the mistake of amalgamation in 1914" (ibid: 55). Interestingly too, this predicament is submitted thus as the unilateral unification carried out by the colonialist which neither thought nor

received the consent of the Nigerian ethnic nationalities and people. It is mainly orchestrated by imperialist tendencies. And imperialism is basically lacking "in altruism and morals, its motive force is economic gains and any act of benevolence rather than being primary is secondary. The British embarked on the amalgamation of Nigeria not to promote Nigeria's national interest but to foster both colonial and neo-colonial British exploitation of the country" (ibid: 56).

Colonial administrative systems were not based on democratic foundations. Governance followed 'from the top down' approach that was largely arbitrary and not geared towards the well-being of the governed. The purpose of colonial government was to control the population and ensure the continuous exploitation of natural resources for the benefit of the colonizing power. Without doubt, colonialism or colonial rule is apparently foreign domination, which saw the seed of its challenge and subsequent overthrow. Several factors are said to be responsible for the end of colonial rule in Nigeria. What made demise of colonial rule in Nigeria as in other West African States more or less inevitable, and why this occurred earlier than was expected by the colonial powers was argued by Boahen "that colonial rule, rather inadvertently, gave birth to a number of forces capable of overthrowing it" (Boahen, 1989:147). The first and by far the most important of these forces was nationalism, which can be defined as the consciousness, on the part of individuals or groups of Nigerians, of membership of a desire to achieve political and economic freedom, over all socio and economic development as well as efforts to assume leadership of government businesses.

3.4.2 Nationalism, Nationalist Movement and Political Party Activities

The concept of Nationalism like many in social sciences has attracted considerable attention in literature (Coleman, 1986; Onuagulachi, 1990). Accordingly, "since the first encounter between Europeans and the people inhabiting Nigeria there have been a variety of manifestation of what might broadly be called nationalism, if by nationalism one means sentiment or activity opposed to alien control" (Coleman, ibid:169). In this sense nationalism would include not only the recent and contemporary movement among Nigerians to create self-governing Nigeria, but also earlier militant resistance of the 'Delta rulers', such as the famous king Jaja and Sultan of Sokoto. The history of nationalism in Nigeria would therefore encompass Euro-Nigerian relations during the past four centuries.

All these forms of resistance comes under the 'rubric of nationalism', it is useful for analytical purposes, and imperative as Coleman admits, in terms of manageability and focus to make its distinction as: Traditional and modern nationalism. He therefore espouses that traditional nationalism comprises early revolts provoked by the imposition of alien political or economic coercions, and nativity or messianic movements that provide psychological or emotional outlets for the tension and frustrations produced by rapid cultural change. On the other hand, modern nationalism "comprises activities and organizational development aim explicitly at self-government, and independence of Nigeria as a nation-state existing on a basis of equality in an international state system" (ibid: 70).

It is imperative to note the futures of colonial political and socio-economic conditions, lopsided as they were, generate ill feeling and Xenophobia for the colonial regime, the

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ill felling were with all classes of society, from the peasant farmer in the rural areas to the senior civil servants in the urban centres, and produced a common profound awareness of all these people of their plight as a race. It is not surprising therefore "in 1947, during the Bristol Hotel incident, the leaders of Nigerian Youth movement and the NCNC joined hands in protesting to colonial administration over the incident in which Nigerian celebrity had been refused accommodation at the Bristol Hotel on racial grounds" (Onuaguluchi, 1990:5). The uproar this incident caused in the country only with the help of political leaders in Lagos compelled the colonial government to abolish racial discrimination in all public places throughout Nigeria.

The processes of colonialism were intensified by social changes introduced through Christianity, Western education and the Western way of life into Nigeria. Christianity was introduced by European missionaries who wisely or unwittingly condemned everything native – names, art, and system of marriage, music and dancing. A typical feature of the impact of the imperialist domination on Igbo society can be seen in their names. Hence the Igbo usually have two names i.e. the traditional Igbo name and the English name. Obviously, this is a combination of two cultures, what Frigg's (1964) calls 'Prismatic Sala model societies' upon which Nigeria can be said to be example of those societies. However, the condemnation of everything native arouses a great deal of more ill feelings from about the end of nineteenth century onwards and this becomes intensified with the years. If today, one of the positive manifestations of Nigerian nationalism is the attempt to revive Nigerian music, dancing , art and the change of names say Arthur Aguncha Nwanko back to Aguncha Nwanko; it is in reaction to this whole colonial and missionary condemnation as well as prismatic characteristic of Nigerian societies.

The introduction of Western Education also contributed to the rise of nationalism. Hence increases colonial and postcolonial efforts towards the aspiration for democratic governance in a number of ways. First, it provided the educated Nigerians with a lingua franca, which greatly facilitated communication not only among the diverse ethnic groupings in the country but also among the countries in the world under the hegemonic influence of globalization of English Language. Moreover, the acquisition of knowledge, the English Knowledge in particular, enables the educated Nigerians to amass various ideas – political, economic and religious, from the vast world of English literatures, and some of these ideas opened their eyes to the post- colonial situation.

Before Sir Arthur Richard assumed duty as the Governor of Nigeria in 1943, political activities in Nigeria were confined to Lagos and, to a lesser extent Calabar. The provision of the elective principles in 1922 by Clifford Constitution, Herbert Macaulay "formed the first political party in Nigeria – the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) in 1923 which contested election. In 1936 Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) emerged as the first nationalist movement in Nigeria with a mandate to achieve national unity at the expense of sectional or ethnic unity" (Brown, 2013:174). It was only in Lagos that elections were held and some Nigerians were elected members of the legislative council of the colonial government, other Nigerians in the council were unofficial members nominated by the colonial government (Onuagulunchi, 1990). These parties had or no interest in what was happening outside Lagos. However, the formation of National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon as a national party took the interest of the whole country at stake. The party was formed under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay, a Yoruba, with Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, an Igbo, as the secretary.

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In 1946 Richard constitution represented a substantial political advancement for Nigeria because for the first time the unofficial member in the legislative council outnumber the government officials in the council. Even thought for more steps further. Meanwhile, the NCNC needed the introduction of universal adult suffrage so that all persons in the council would be elected by popular vote. This therefore increase political activities upon which the NCNC decided to fight the Richard constitution to the extent of sending delegates to London in 1947 with the aim of seeking the audience of colonial secretary but only succeeded in creating an impression in the mind of the British people an awareness of the political problems in Nigeria and the yearning of its people. It is not surprising therefore, when NCNC activities become the source of the 'tripartite and shaky' federal structure of Nigeria in the first republic.

From the foregoing thus, we can draw that nationalist movement and their political parties' activities describe the nature of pre-independence politics, it also shows the type of political orientation Nigerians derived from colonial rule. Remarkably, this orientation had considerably increased the process of democratization in Nigeria. It adds, more substance to this argument as democratic governance encompassed many norms that shape our political lives including thousands of technical standard (Purportedly) universal human right. "These and ever increasing number of other rules have acquired a super territorial, rather than a country specific character" (Scholte, 1999: 16). It wouldn't be wrong therefore to suggest that the resurgence of cultural organizations (such as the Igbo state Union, the Egbe Ome Oduduwa in 1945 which later turn to Action Group (AG), the Jami'yyar Mutanen Arewa which turn to Northern people's Congress (NPC) in 1949, the United Middle Belt Congress in 1950s as formerly the TIV/Plateau Cultural Organisation) which subsequently turned to

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political parties, demonstrate the impact of democratic politics among the Nigerian peoples. It is obviously this kind of impact that increases readiness of Nigerian to aspire for democratic governance.

While colonial masters exercise control of government businesses in the colonial era directly, the process is a watershed for post colonialism. Colonization in the form of pervasiveness and lack of reform and transformation of institutions, relationships, values and mentality has not actually ended but has taken a qualitative step forward. This is so revealed in the next section.

3.5 Post-Colonial Quest for Democratic Governance

Post-colonialism or neo-colonialism as is being used interchangeably (Nkrumah, 1965; Alleg, 1970; Osoba, 1987; Ikenna, 2009; Attah, 2013 etcetera) is associated with the legacies of colonialism. It is the survival or revision of the political, social and economic features of colonial system despite formal independence. "Neo-colonialism in the sense of a development stage of an ex-colony must be recognised as transitional and temporal, however, in Nigeria, it has almost become a permanent tool that reproduces 'underdevelopment" (Attah, 2013: 71).

While the colonial period in Nigeria lasted less than a century and ended over half a century ago. Yet its implications continue to play a part in the political and socio-economic developments of the country. Nigerian government at independence inherited bureaucracies and economy that did not have the capacity to meet the tremendous challenges that lay ahead. The nationalist turned politicians' government, nonetheless, came to power on the promise that they would work towards meeting the

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needs of all citizens, especially in the areas of health care, education, sanitation and infrastructure. Yet weak government structures, lack of funds, and limited number of qualified leaders proved to be immense obstacles to the successful implementation of policies. But expectations were high and could not be fulfilled immediately; hence political dissatisfaction and unrest resulted.

For example, pre-independence political activity that laid the groundwork for the emergence of political parties along regional/ethnic lines and the patron-client relationships contributed to the political unrest. Certainly, British forceful amalgamation "sowed the seeds of division and conflict in Nigeria by bringing together people from different regions, religious and ethnic backgrounds, under one political platform" (Jauhari, 2011: 53). Unfortunately the first civilian government after independence, "guided by its own political ambitions, made no attempts to bridge this divide. The divisions were further deepened as a result of the growing infighting between the various groups for gaining political control" (ibid).

Understanding the background of Nigeria's aspiration for democratic governance in relation to post-colonial era therefore, lies beneath some changes to the composition of the state managers. The characters of the state managers remained much as it was in the colonial era, however, to some extent, the elites are responsible for government businesses. This implies that the elites "also acquired certain anti-democratic traits; arrogance, disdain for popular debate of public issues, exclusively, elitism and executive high-handedness" (Obinna, 2012:2). The period "continued to be totalistic in scope, constituting statistic economy. It presented itself as an apparatus of violence,

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had a narrow social base and relied for compliance on coercion rather than authority"
(Ake, 1991:3).

Not only did the independence government introduced a west minister model of parliamentary democracy, like the type in Britain, the first republic politicians stepped into the shoes of the departing colonialists. For taking over of the Government Reservation Areas (GRA's) as well as pursuing self-serving goal. Meanwhile, the quest for personal power or ethno cultural constituency characterized the post-colonial politics. Thus principles such as citizens' freedom, liberty, equity, equality, social justice and human rights were over shadowed by regionalism, ethnicity and religiosity.

In other words, Nigeria's response to its background for democratic governance has to also be explored within the context of the impact of its post-colonial experience, and the pressing or urgent objectives identified by the leadership and the strategies to achieving those objectives. The reality of granting independence to Nigeria has undoubtedly emerged from colonialism, and this brought the country not only into the so-called independence but also into post- colonialism. Other dangerous dimension of neo-colonialism is the unabated and continues economic expropriation of the country. The colonial mentor as aptly observed in Ekwe – Ekwe – (1993: 44) "Only made a tactical withdrawal on the political front while securing her grip behind us in the economic field" (cited in Owugah, 2003:246).

Thus 'de-colonization', which is the question of eradicating foreign colonial rule in Africa, and was a most sensitive issue on which several African leaders wanted to be heard by expressing their nationalist sprit, President Sekou Toure for instance, once

asked that a date should be fixed to expel the colonial powers (cited in Amate, 1986). De- colonization in response to Nigeria's problems for the struggle for democracy can therefore be described as a concrete step that the Nigerian elite took in support of or fighting for independence. However some of these elites, particularly the intellectuals, become stumbling block, a clog in the wheel of progress, and moribund in terms of policy formulations that could lead to educational political and economic growth and development.

Ayandele rightly views this in his address to the Counselling Association of Nigeria, August 1977: that the achievements of our educational planners are the unrivalled transformation of Nigerians into mental and cultural slaves. The country's national interest had favoured the elite class who were perpetually warring noisemakers and incorrigible. They are menacingly over ambitious political animals and exploiters of the illiterate majority. The tragedy that had be fallen our educational system in the past decade is that, majority of our policy makers had been progressively forgetful of the importance of counselling the true interests of the country. The result is that present day Nigeria is a terrible mess – one of ever increasing social and cultural confusion and fluidity in which individuals are too advanced for the indigenous social structure. In the post-colonial societies imperialism still exist but in a modified from. The survival and modification of the primitive modes of production is one of the features of peripheral capitalism (Alavi, 1972, cited in new left review July/August 1972:41).

Generally the post- colonial state, whether in a society like Nigeria or in a socialist society like Tanzania, collaborates the economy in order to get what it wants both within and outside the society. A major problem with the state is that the so-called

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nationalist had been imbued with Western orientation, and the Western orientation allows neo-colonialism to thrive. The post-colonial political economy was anchored on external dependency, which has profound implications for the sovereignty of the nation and civil rule. Multilateral capitalist institutions and centres controlled the economy. The post-colonial states can go any length to exploit the causes in the bid to carry out policies that implicitly increases capitalist imperialism and this include the introduction of SAP and the collection of IMF loan which usually cause great suffering for a large section of the population. It is not surprising therefore, as it is generally argued that the crop of our contemporary leaders are not more than a mere political and economic surrogates of advanced countries that benefits more in the accelerated colonial and post-colonial processes of globalization.

It is advanced in Owugah (2003) that part of its colonial experience, Nigeria forged a very close relationship with its colonial powers in Europe, America and the wider world in general. The departure of the colonial power resulting from the de-colonization process did not change the relationship; neither did the change in its export economic structure from cash crop to petroleum make any difference. The various regimes, since the departure of colonial power have persistently expressed their determination and commitment to strengthen the relationship. Conscious of the nations under developed and dependent economic structure, the Nigerian leadership identified self-reliant development as most pressing or urgent objective. The custodian of Nigeria's sate power were convinced that in order to overcome or reverse Nigeria's state was imperative for Nigeria to strengthen its colonial forged relations with the west.

To be sure, partly as a result of the capitalist ideological orientation of those in power, it was generally believed that Nigeria's self-reliant development could only be achieved within the capitalist orbit and only with Western assistance. This has been the basic conviction underlying the policies of the various regimes that have assumed power in Nigeria since the departure or rather the 'tactical withdrawal" of colonial power. To this extent, Nigeria could not afford to alienate its potential benefactors. Therefore, policy decisions are subordinate to ensuring that they do not offend or incur to the wrath of the west. It is therefore within the capitalist orbit that we can explore Nigerian's post-colonial aspiration for democratic governance. This is why as more so quickly observed in some analyst (Ekeh, 1975, 1994: Amuka, 2000) "that although colonial rule came to an end in many African ex-colonies, colonization, in the form of pervasiveness and lack not actually ended" (cited in Tade, 2003:5).

The need to affirm this position is made more imperative as earlier presented in "democratic Practice in Nigeria: The verdict of History and the Crisis of values" that: colonialism sings consciousness of spiritual quality in order to place pressure with all the attendant self-gratification, consumption and acquisition as an end in itself. And indeed it is in this sprit that Yahaya espoused that this pleasure destroys trust, fidelity and loyalty between peoples, tribe and countries because of the appetite for some material gain, and this as an end in self in ethnic clashes, inter religious conflicts, intra party disputes and rampant betrayal and treachery in the military as in governance, is caused by the elite's struggle for the largest share from the wealth of the nation rather than by any desire to promote public interest or wellbeing (Yahaya 2001:2).

Notwithstanding Yahaya further admits that as intellectuals in the third world universities, some of them have unwillingly become by virtue of their training and

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outlook, the representatives of the colonial legacy and its uncritical protectors and promoters. While Yahaya's unpleasant description of what colonialism sings to the third world and in particular Nigeria, it cannot help as in many young people, Nigerian and the third world in general today, but to agree with him that colonial legacy has a well-protected structure that appears impregnable. It is jealously guarded by the UNO and its agencies around the world and by international community. And the international law provides its legal basis. The U.S. (the self – appointed global military police inspector general) will deal with any serious attack on the structure by an external force and with military by Western European powers. Any attempt to question the legal basis of the colonial legacy or the self-imposition of its own laws will be intimidate by the barking array of its watchdogs spread across the globe in the form of the so-called democratic governments, non-governmental organization and civil and right movements financed by the sole beneficiaries of colonial legacy in America and Europe.

3.5.1 Characteristics of Contemporary Government and Politics in Nigeria

When Nigeria become a fully independent country on October 1. 1960, the country adopted parliamentary system of government. The foremost problem of the country's political development after colonialism was regional politics. Nigeria was divided into three main regions corresponding with the three main ethnic groups with each of the regions having its fair share of minorities in these regions led to emergence of their own cultural, later political associations/parties. Consequently, Nigerian politics witnessed the demise of regionalism; more so, states were created in 1967 to settle the cause of the minorities struggle. In buttressing this point further Ya'u (1994:170) said, manipulation of ethnicity took the same form as the manipulation of region. "The strategy was to create the fear of domination of one ethnic group by another and then capitalizing on this fear to rally political support, and this had some devastating ramifications as was witnessed in the Tiv riots and the Nigerian civil war".

The basic definition of an ethnic group is a community of people who have the conviction that they have a common identity and common fate based on issues of

origin, kinship ties, traditions, cultural uniqueness, a shared history and possibly a shared language. In this sense, "an ethnic group is much like the imagined community of the nation. Ethnicity however focuses more on sentiment of origin and descent, rather than geographical consideration of the nation" (Thomson, 2000: 580). For example, since independence, Nigeria has had deep ethnic and religion cleavages, a "rentier" culture, military rule and attendant over – centralization of power limit the effectiveness of its federal structure. Thus federalism did not provide a means to cope with the rise of ethnic militias such as the Egbese boys, the Odua people's Congress, Arewa Youth and the Bakassi Boys. Nigeria's federal structure could not resolve the struggles over resource control, indigenous rights and citizenship, nor did it prevent violations of state' rights by the central Government (Okpanachi, 2003).

Like ethnicity, "religion in Nigeria is also a very powerful social mobilization weapon" (Ibrahim, 1989). Its role in analysing the background of Nigeria's aspiration for democratic governance in this context is thus crucial. Meanwhile, also contributing to Nigerian political character is the influence of religion. Before the beginning of the twentieth century, Nigeria was fully under the influence of two foreign religions, Islam and Christianity. The two main religions (Islam and Christianity) differ significantly in terms of experiences. When both religions arrived, they sought to assert themselves by dislodging the traditional religion of the communities with which they interacted through offering the people new Gods as basis for moral legitimation.

Although Nigeria is a secular state, Usman in his "The manipulation of religion in Nigeria" (1987) believes that religion is being manipulated in political campaigns and state affairs so as to hinder any chance of unity among the Nigerian populace and serve

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certain vested interest of the manipulator (Usman, 1987: 90). It is believed that the state apparatus is being used by one religion to dominate the other, and sometimes, such belief seems to be manifested in some action of the state. As such religion also plays a very significant role in the division of "national cake" in Nigeria (Ibrahim, 1989:6). While the arguments of Usman and Ibrahim dwell on the dominance of religion in state affairs and actions, Mu'azzam and Ibrahim in their "Religious identity under structural Adjustment program me in Nigeria", argues that "the hardship of SAP period have made many people to turn to religious organizations and religion itself as an alternative mode of economic survival and political expression of opposition and protest" (Mu'azzam and Ibrahim, 1997:2).

Given this development, it is also true, as Jega asserts that the politics of identity in postcolonial Nigeria has been shaped by socio- economic factors coupled with military rule. As a result, ethnic, religious, regional, communal and other identities have come to colour the political process in Nigeria, especially with the introduction and implementation of SAP (Jega, 1997). In every democracy the world over, the formation or existence of political parties is a feature of the democratic process. Thus regional, ethnic and regions politics can be said to have led to the emergence of plural political parties in Nigeria, such as the Action Group, (AG), Northern People's Congress (NPC) and United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC). These parties play important roles beyond presenting candidates for elections. In fact, they have shared the responsibility of wining independence for the country through several forms of nationalist struggle. However, the pertinent question remains, how does ethnic politics affects the quest for democratic governance and the general political life of this

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country? Lamenting the impact of ethnic politics in Nigeria Odeyemi (2014: 11) stated that:

> The structure and dynamics of contemporary Nigeria's socio-political life provide an appropriate framework for understanding the politics of competitive/ conflictual inter-ethnic relations in the country. In summary, rather than appropriating the beauty of our cultural, religious and ethical diversity for the development of the country, economically, politically and socially. The cumulatively divisive impact of ethnicity in Nigeria over the decades, has constantly rendered nation-building experiment in the Nigerian Federalism most difficult. Indeed this process has been, till date, such a woeful failure. The area that ultimately came to be called 'Nigeria' literally the brainchild of British colonialism, has therefore, been variously and disdainfully characterized by administrators, politicians and historians as a political aberration, with few credentials and potentials for ever becoming a modern nation–state.

In a nutshell, Nigeria represents a naturally and actually diverse country, which is the result of its own internal developments and the relations it have with global society. The mistakes of colonial era and the mismanagement in post independent governments became the major challenges to democratization and nation building. It can be conveniently argued that the impact of colonial and post the colonial as well as the current globalization era on Nigerians have greatly affected their history, thereby shaping the country's trend in its aspiration for democratic governance in the fourth republic. Thus openness of boundaries, attendant transnational exposes Nigerian affairs everywhere to the constant view and judgment of global society.

This situation engenders a feeling of speechlessness and anomie among Nigerian population. The shrinking physical spaces, increasing proximity and enforced intimacy also produced by transnational activities causes' tension and anxiety, as people are crowded into ever smaller space, with all their difference and mutual suspicious intact. It is further compounded by the sheer magnitude of the changes associated with

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globalization, its uncertainties, contradictions, raptures of traditional solidarities and its homogenizing effects; by the pervasive sense of losing control of one's affaires even for the most powerful actors; and by the dominant materialist culture of capitalism which has driven many to desperation, hostility and refuge in ethnic, religious and other communal identities.

3.5.2 Military Interregnum and Democratization in Nigeria

It is imperative to note that the military reasons for interrupting the civilian government of the first and second republics in 1966 and 1983 were corruption, authoritarianism, intolerance of opposition and minorities, personalization of public positions as well as social crises related to electoral processes (Shadare and Owoyemi 2012; Obinna, 2012). The military claimed to have seized political power in order to correct the misdeeds of politicians, they however committed more crimes than the civilian regimes. Perhaps their long stay in power has recorded not only mega corruption, notorious human right abuse, nepotism and mismanagement but also inculcating the military mentality in the country's body politic.

When the country became independent country on 1ˢᵗ October 1960, the first republic lasted only for six years. Specifically, by January 1966 the military of Nigeria toppled the first republic and took charge of governance. In fact out of the fifty five years of the country's independence, the military ruled for more than thirty years. Although there was the second republic, 1979-1983, it lasted for only four years. There was also attempt for the third republic, elections for the local governments and states levels were conducted, and the presidential election was also conducted but annulled. The cancellation of the presidential election led to the abortion of the third republic. It is

also pertinent to note that there were six successful coups that occurred in the country. Although the military intervention in Nigerian politics has been a controversial topic of discussion among scholars and commentators, Shadare and Owoyemi (2012:1) argued that the "various controversial military interventions might be undesirable, but it was not unexpected. It might have done some harm, yet it recorded some success".

The legacy of colonialism and military rule together with a divided population along ethnic lines, threatened Nigeria's transition and consolidation of democracy. Perhaps prebandalism has deprived Nigerians the benefits of its abundant natural resources, it also undermined the legitimacy of political institutions in both democratic and authoritarian regimes. The fourth republic therefore faces serious challenges in a bid to sustain and consolidate democratic ethos.

Today, the Federal Republic of Nigeria consists of thirty six states, and the Federal capital Territory, Abuja. There are also 774 local government councils in the country. The country is divided into six geo-political zones, with each zone comprising six states. Nigeria is a Federal republic and runs the presidential system of government modelled closely to what obtains in other presidential democracies. The presidential is the executive arm of government, implementing legislation instituted by the bicameral National Assembly and processes declared by the Judiciary. The Presidency is headed by the President who is also the Commander in-chief of all the armed forces of the country. He oversees the day-to-day affairs of the nation assisted by Ministers, Special Assistants, Special Advisers and other relevant government functionaries with supervisory roles over different areas of government. The president is also Head of State and wields both executive and ceremonial powers and functions. The position of

President in Nigeria is usually open to election and presidents are in power for a term of four years in the first instance. A person can have a maximum of two terms each of four years and must step down at the end of the second term. The running of the government is the function of the Federal Executive Council which includes the President, Vice- President and the Ministers.

3.6 Internal and International Dynamics of Transition to Democracy in Nigeria

Scholarly literature explain internal dynamics as well as international or external dynamics responsible for transition to democracy. However to begin with meaning of democratic transition, Ibrahim (2005: 1) said the "notion implies a passage from non-democratic to a democratic situation". It is in other words democratization which has been discussed in the literature review. While some of the literature discusses the influence of external dynamics in facilitating transitions, several scholarly works on democratic transitions focuses on the internal dynamics that have made these transitions possible. Both discussions have been concerned with how and why democratic transition happened, some are also concerned about the consolidation of democratic structure after the transition. While some countries have made transition to democracy and hold regular interval elections, they have been unable to consolidate the effective democratic governance. "Whereas most studies of democratization have focused on Latin America and southern Europe and latterly on Eastern Europe, Africa has received less attention" (Bratton and Walle, 2004: 453).

Nigeria is one of the countries that experienced a democratic transition during the third wave, yet find it difficult to consolidate democratic structure. This is why it is important to understand what kind of challenges the country faces and what needs to

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be done to make its democratic structures responsive to consolidation. Before delving into the challenges confronting Nigeria's democratic experience, the first task is to understand the internal and external dynamics of transition to democracy in the country. Essentially Nigeria's transition particularly the fourth republic transition can be viewed as the spread of democracy from Europe and America to Nigeria. Transition is thus a way of transferring power from the military to civilians; an instrument for bringing about social, political and economic improvements;. Still others perceived the transition to democracy essentially as an arrangement or pact among the elite (IIDEA, 2001). The effort to describe the nature of democratic transition in Nigeria like in other African country, either from internal or international dynamics in this context must involve historical and critical approach.

3.6.1 Internal Dynamics of Fourth Republic Democratic Transition

Since idea of democracy is not new to Nigeria, as discussed in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras. In the pre-colonial era democracy was not so much in terms of selecting or electing leaders, but in the sense of communal accountability. Obiora (2005) observed that the country has been in perpetual transition since its amalgamation for British colonial purposes in 1914.The dynamic of colonial era was characterized with nationalists struggle for participation in the running of state affairs, creation of political parties and the struggle for independence. The post-independence dynamics were thus centred on the expectation to institutionalize the democratic processes, but were however diverted to ethno-religious and regional divides; which consequently led to military rule from 1966-1979. When the 1993 transition was to join the group of third wave countries of the 1990s, it was truncated at cancellation of presidential elections. But the eleven months official program of transition in 1998

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which led to the fourth republic was an overwhelming internal consensus and determination of Nigerians to democratize. The internal dynamic of democratization in Nigeria has therefore gone through certain historical and transformational phases.

It is however significant to note that 1993-1999 witnessed an unprecedented military dictatorship leading to the suppression of democratic transition heightened by the annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential elections which was presumably and generally believed to be free and fair. Thus Nigerians in their determination to end the military rule and return to democracy strongly opposed to continued military rule and insisted on the country's return to civil democratic rule. This lead to arbitrary arrest and detention of politicians some of which have dearly paid with their lives, abuse of human rights, political assassination, extra-judicial killings, closure and seizure of media houses and publication. This notwithstanding Nigerians kept their resilience to anti-military and press hard in the struggle for democratic transition. Thus, the political elites in conjunction with the "mass media extensively and effectively employed anti-military publications and reportage mostly at the risk of losing their lives to expose the evil and misrule of military rule in order to mobilize the civil societies against the military juntas" (Esebonu, 2012: 183). Consequently episodes of mass protest, industrial strife, and civil disturbance across Nigeria by various civil society groups, labour unions and other pro-democracy organizations necessitated transitional programs, which co-incidentally came along side with the death of General Abacha.

3.6.2 International Dynamic of Fourth Republic Democratic Transition

One important international dynamic for transition to democracy is 'snowballing' effects (Huntington, 1991). The transitions to democracy in some countries which often triggers more transition in others particularly within the regions of Eastern

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Europe and Latin America demonstrated this effect. Africa has been part of the current global wave of democratization, because the proportion of African countries categorized as not free by Freedom House declined from 59 per cent in 1983 to 35 per cent in 2003 (cited in Buhari, 2015).

One other equally important noticeable international dynamic for democratic transition has been the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War, democracy became the dominant and most accepted system of government around the world. That global transition has been aptly captured as the triumph of democracy and the 'most prominent political idea of our time'. The last two decades witnessed growth of strong roots of democracy in Africa. Elections, once so rare, are now so common events. Between 1983 and 1985, only four African countries held regular multiparty elections. The number of electoral democracies in Africa, according to Freedom House, increased to 10 in 1992/93 then to 18 in 1994/95 and to 24 in 2005/06. According to the New York Times, 42 of the 48 countries in sub-Saharan Africa conducted multiparty elections between 1990 and 2002 (ibid).

Promotion of democracy has constituted a formidable part of development assistance since the "late 1980s and early 1990s and the ebbing of the Cold War". The phenomenon became significant in foreign policy and development assistance of developed democracies to transitional democracies. On this note, the 1990s was characterized with "mushrooming of democracy assistance projects" from the efforts of bilateral and multilateral governments and non-governmental organisations respectively. "However, it is important to note that democracy assistance constitutes

only one aspect of a much broader international agenda to support 'good governance"
(Rakner Menocal and Fritz, 2007:1).

In an attempt to explain international dynamics of democratic transition in Nigeria we tend to gravitate towards how and to what extent international actors participate in promoting democratic transition in Nigeria's fourth republic. One most salient phenomenon in this respect is the "third wave" factor in conjunction with end of the cold war in 1990. Specifically the end of cold war has accelerated the promotion of democratic transition especially by the US who has been considered as the winner of the war. To understand how and to what the extent the international actors contribute to democratic transition in Nigeria Jega (2007) identified three main categories of involvements of contributions. These includes, first multilateral institutions which include UN agencies such as UNDP, especially the World Bank and IMF; OECD, European Union. Secondly are bilateral actors, which has been predominantly the role of USA through USAID; and the United Kingdom through DFID. Thirdly are the role of International NGOs such as the American Foundations (Ford, Rockefeller, MacArthur, Carnegie, George Soros), German NGOs include Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Friedrich Hermann Foundation and Heinrich Boll; French NGOs includes CREDU etcetera.

Perhaps, there are arguments against the role of international actors in promoting democratic transition. Jega (ibid) noted while other arguments centre on the use of philanthropy to promote socio-cultural imperialism under the guise of promoting democracy, others centre on scepticism regarding the impact of international assistance towards promoting democratic transition.

For instance, despite the fact that several scholars especially "hyper globalist" are concern with the advantages of globalization era as an opportunity for the spread of democracy and economic development; for example, the US Federal Reserve Governor Frederic S. Mishkin (2006) stated that "vast numbers of the world's population have been lifted out of extreme poverty as a result of globalization of trade and information over the past half century". But the policies therein could not adequately arrest the problems of imperialism and inequality. Likewise, even the proponents of globalization are critical to its economic aspects, e.g. Stiglitz (2002) considers "economic collapse in emerging market economy is as a result of opening up of financial market to foreign capital". Baghawati's (2007) "In Defense of globalization" express scepticism concerning financial globalization, emphasizing that "the claims of enormous benefit from free capital are not persuasive". In a similar perception (Sunusi Lamido Sunusi) the former Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria (2013: 188) stated that

> the US government, working in the interest of international finance capital used its influence on IMF and World Bank to forge a policy blue print that intensify the contradictions in the world economy, widened the gap between rich and poor countries: retard the development of poor countries and open up their economies and cheapen their assets and reward the accomplices of this policy within these countries by selling Woff to them valuable national assets cheaply in the name of privatization.

What is very clear is the fact that these international promoters of democracy in Nigeria like in other "third wave" democracies, "have clearly defined goals and objectives with their philanthropic and international assistance" (Jega, ibid) for democratic transition. While these donors promote democracy they are as well in the context of globalization promoting free market economy and favourable investment opportunities for their multinational corporations. Jega (ibid) noted the dramatic turn of events after

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inauguration of the fourth republic in 1999. He observed that both USAID and USIA reduced their funding to Nigerian NGOs while increasing to American-based NGOs which opened their offices in the capital of Nigeria. This indicates the hidden fact that international donors were more concern in removal of military rulers who were not ready for business with them, than in facilitating the consolidation of democracy in the country.

3.7 Conclusion

Nigeria is a country with vast human and mineral resources. Its historical background as it affects political activities and international influences of democratic transition includes pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial political activities as well as military rule. These historical antecedents metamorphosed to what transpired as Nigeria today

CHAPTER FOUR: ELECTORAL MALPRACTICES AND THE CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to identify the effects of electoral malpractice as it affects democratization process in Nigeria. The effort is to examine how electoral malpractices threatened the processes of democratic consolidation which undermine the aspiration for democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic.

4.1.2 Electoral Malpractices: Re-defined

Electoral malpractice is basically an illicit act in the conduct of an election. These illicit or illegal behaviours virtually affects and challenges the processes of consolidating democracy, thereby question the legitimacy of a government (Ogbeidi, 2010). In other words it means one thing to conduct an election and make a transition to democracy or even conduct regular elections for years after transition. It also means another thing to have credible election that is generally accepted as free and fair by citizens and international community. Acceptability of an elections by stakeholders increases the chances of consolidation of democracy in which aspects of democratic governance would have a level playing ground. Certainly the conduct of free and fair elections is a route to consolidation of democracy, but if elections are marred by irregularities the chances of democratic governance are limited and narrowed. In fact questioning legitimacy of a government as a result of electoral fraud and subsequent violence may even lead to "deconsolidation" of democracy.

Like many other new democracies, Nigeria's democratization has been embedded with electoral malpractices. In fact the history of political dispensation in Nigeria reveals that it is the "failure of the political class to organize credible elections that led to fall of the three republics" (ibid: 45). The crucial importance of consolidating democracy depends largely on the conduct of free, fair and credible election. Therefore democratic consolidation and governance in Nigeria appears to be in crisis if not in danger, as a result of electoral malpractices which manifest in form of corruption, insecurity and weak democratic institutions.

"Scholars seeking to define and categorize practices that undermine the electoral process have generally used one of two basic approaches, which we have termed inclusive and restrictive" (Vickery and Shein, 2012: 3). They contends that inclusive approach (variously called fraud, malpractice and manipulation, despite important differences) is to be as broad as possible, no matter the imprecision. Some writers in this category situate their definitions normatively, finding that electoral wrongdoing violates domestic norms or internationally accepted standards for free and fair elections. Restrictive approach focus only or mostly on the letter of the law (i.e., fraud can be identified by whether it violates existing domestic legal provisions). This enables a context-specific approach to combating various kinds of electoral wrongdoing, and it makes obvious sense for the election management body (EMB) to use a country's domestic laws as benchmarks in its fraud or malpractice control activities.

Electoral malpractice or manipulations of election rules or even electoral fraud has been categorized into three types, pre –election, election period and post- election

period (Birch, 2010; Norris, 2012; Olawole, Adewunmi and Oluwole, 2013; Ugwuja, 2015). "The manipulation of rules (the legal framework), the manipulation of voters (preference-formation and expression) and the manipulation of voting (electoral administration)" (Birch, 2010:1). By manipulation of rules, electoral laws are distorted so as to favor one party or contestant in an election. For example, when the rules administering candidacy "prevent certain political forces from contesting elections, or when large sectors of the adult population are excluded from voting" (Birch, ibid: 2). Manipulation of voters is either to distort voters' preferences or to sway preference expression. The first one involves "illicit forms of campaign tactics that are deceptive and that violate campaign finance laws or severe bias in media coverage of the election" (ibid). The second form consist of "alteration of how preferences are expressed at the polling station, through vote-buying or intimidation in the aim of increasing the vote of a specific political force" (ibid). Voting manipulation consist of electoral maladministration, such as personation, ballot-box stuffing, mis-reporting, "under-provision of voting facilities in opposition strong-holds, lack of transparency in the organization of the election, bias in the way electoral disputes are adjudicated in the courts, and so on" (ibid: 2).

Discussing theory of franchise espoused by Montesquieu and Rousseau in relation to a critical analysis of electoral malpractice and associated problems in Africa "right to vote is rather a public office or function conferred upon the citizen for reason of social expediency" (Olawole, Adewunmi and Oluwole, 2013: 11). They observed strong relationship in Africa's electoral malpractices "with the type and forms of historical system practiced by each society, coupled with the class structure, social stratification, aestheticism and religious differences" (ibid). They conclude that "until elections

become completely competitive and the electorates are free to make a choice between alternatives and that a liberal political system is put in place, there will always be electoral malpractice" (ibid). The scenario of elections' prospects in Africa is thus terrifying and "a curse to the electorate and a gimmick played by politicians who seek to legitimise the illegitimate practice of coercing citizens into voting for them on the backdrop of rampant electoral rigging" Mapuva (2013: 88).

4.1.3 Persistence of Electoral Malpractices in Nigeria

The dilemma of credibility in Nigerian electoral process has been in Nigerian politics for a long period. It has virtually become a characteristics of Nigerian elections. "It is rooted in the "do or die" politics practised by some Nigerian politicians and political parties" (Okoye, 2013:7). Ironically, most of the people committing electoral malpractices cannot be apprehended, "it becomes the norm rather than the exception". The implications of electoral malpractices in the history of our democratic future is bleak. However with exception of 2011 and 2015, the usual ways of malpractices are "increasingly being perfected in successive elections" especially 1964, 1965, 1979, 1999, 2003 and 2007. "The result is that elections have become turning points in which the outcome has been the subversion of the democratic process rather than its consolidation. Not surprisingly, major political conflicts have emerged around rigged elections" (ibid: 8).

4.1.3.1 Pre-Independence Elections

The introduction of elective principle in 1922 in Nigeria's political system by the Clifford constitution during the colonial era was the landmark of election history on Nigeria's soil. However despite the sustenance and improvement of the elective

principle, it was not until 1959 that Electoral Commission of Nigeria (ECN) was inaugurated to conduct the 1959 elections which ushered the first republic. Ethnic and religious politics were the main features of the election, yet voter turnout was low. Although there were 6 political parties during that period, the two major political parties- NPC and NCNC had to go into coalition to form a government, since neither of the two political parties have the required votes to form a broad-based government.

4.1.3.2 Elections of the First Republic

Like the pre independence elections, the first republic elections featured multi-party system. Two elections were conducted during the Nigeria's first republic, in 1964 and 1965 respectively. It is however imperative to note that the 1965 elections were supplementary because of the boycott of 1964 elections in the eastern region of the country and Lagos. The boycott was one of the major reasons of voter turnout, because out of the 15 million eligible voters only 4 million votes were casted. The elections were conducted after independence by the newly established electoral body in 1960, the Federal Election Commission (FEC). The elections were notoriously rigged by NPC government, hence the result was rejected by the opposition, leading to escalation of violence resulting to arson, killings, destruction of properties and looting particularly in the western region. As a result of the electoral malpractice and the escalation of the violence, coupled with mass poverty, Tiv tribe uprising in the north and high rate of inflation, constitutional crisis was created which therefore undermined the legitimacy of the government. Subsequently the military struck and the first coup was witnessed on 15th January, 1966.

4.1.3.3 The Second Republic Elections

The second republic also witnessed two general elections, 1979 and 1983. The first one was conducted by the military after having stayed for thirteen years in government. The Federal Election Commission (FEDECO) established by the military in 1978 registered five political parties. They includes; Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP), National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Nigeria Peoples Party (NPP), Peoples redemption Party (PRP) and Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN). "The 1979 elections was reputed to have been free, fair and peaceful, it also witnessed mass participation, however compared to the over 47 million registered voters only 25 to 35 percent of the voters turn out" (Ogbeidi, 2010: 47). Shehu Shagari of the NPN was declared winner with over 34 percent of the votes casted, however, Obafemi Awolowo of the UPN challenged the election result in a court that, NPN did not win constitutional requirements of 25 percent of the votes in 13 states of the federation. The NPN argued that the requirement is two third of the votes not of the 13 states. The Supreme Court resolve the issue by interpreting the constitutional provision which subsequently favours NPN (Odusote, 2014).

The 1983 elections witnessed registration of one more political party, Nigeria Advanced Party (NAP), by the FEDECO. The general elections was described as one of the most fraudulent elections in the country. It was characterized by misuse of incumbency, bitterness, excessive monetization and intolerance. Above all the FEDECO was described as highly incompetent because its officials were part and parcel of the malpractices especially in favour of the ruling party. Similarly security operatives meant to protect crimes, were unfortunately involved in the crimes. Cases of ballot box stuffing and snatching were widespread, consequently violence erupted.

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Added to this situation were the gross mismanagement of the economy by the government as well as high foreign debt profile, thus making the citizens more disenchanted with the government. Barely two months after the inauguration of the NPN's second term the military struck again on 31st December, 1983 and took over the government affairs.

4.1.3.4 Elections of the Third Republic

Efforts were made by the military under the leadership of Babangida to avoid political imbroglio of the previous republics that ended in fiasco. Therefore the third republic transition was long and elaborate, nevertheless between 1989 and 1992 elections were conducted by the military. The 1993 presidential elections was contested by only two political parties-Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC), both were created by the government, hence Nigerians were directed to join either of the two. The National Electoral Commission (NEC) conducted the local government elections in 1991 and by 1992 the legislative elections were also conducted smoothly. The presidential elections held in June 1993, was also considered free, fair and peaceful with SDP candidate Chief Abiola scoring 57percent of the votes casted from 16 states out of 36. However while the results were being collated all of a sudden General Babangida announced the annulment of the elections and suspension of the transition programme. The justifications for the annulment was to avoid politicking and ridiculing the judiciary due to series of litigations in courts regarding the conduct of the elections.

4.1.3.5 The Fourth Republic Elections

General elections were conducted five times (1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015) during the fourth republic. The 1999 election was conducted by the military which therefore ushered the fourth republic. It was conducted with 25 political parties registered by the newly established Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) created by the General Abdulsalam regime in 1998. Elections of various political offices were conducted between January and May, 1999 including presidential elections. The two major political parties in the presidential election were the PDP and APP whose candidates were Olusegun Obasanjo and Olu Falae respectively. Massive irregularities and malpractices from both side of the divide were reported by observers and transition monitoring group. Notwithstanding the elections was upheld probably due to the urge for the country to get back on the track of democracy.

A total of 31 political parties participated in the 2003 elections. The 2003 polls bear the same resemblance with the 1999 elections. In fact the happenings on the eve of the 2003 elections as depicted in the country's newspapers were clearly horrible and painted a gloomy picture over the capacity of Nigeria to organize free, fair and violence free elections (Jinadu, 2009). Moreover, presidential election witnessed incumbency manipulation as well as the suppression of agitation for registration of more political parties. Both international and local observers openly condemned the results. Military were freely used to rig the election in favour of the ruling party under Obasanjo's PDP, who fiercely contested against Muhammadu Buhari's ANPP. It was captured by the HRW (2004) as an "abject failure." The processes were more "pervasively and openly than the flawed 1999 elections.

Elections for Nigeria's 774 local government councils were held in 2004 and followed much the same pattern of violence, intimidation and fraud that characterized the 2003 general elections". Nigeria's Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) observed those polls and concluded that "It is doubtful whether [...the] elections can only be considered to be reflective of the will of the people" (cited in Awopeju, 2011:9). Taking a look at the problems and prospects of consolidation of democracy in Nigeria in respect to 2003 elections; it was corroborated that the shameless use of power and incumbency -"the INEC, police, army, bureaucracy, power of resource allocation and government owned media were unabashedly used by governments to short changed opponents in the elections" Obinna, (2012:3). Despite the shame of the 2003 elections, Nigerians re- focus on the 2007 elections which was only four years ahead.

The 2007 elections was described as critical to the future of Nigerian democracy for a number of reasons. Not only was the first time a third consecutive general election has taken place in the country, reports of the brazen rape of the electoral process throughout the federation are daily released in the national and international media. "In addition, was proclivity of elected leaders to stay in power beyond their tenure through constitutional amendments which brought many democratic process to grief" (Egwu, 2007cited in Obinna, ibid: 4). While constitution of Nigeria stated a two-term limit on the president and state governors, however, in 2005 "the president and many governors have repeatedly tried to change the constitution to prolong their stay in office. Their attempts however failed. Given this background, the run-up to the 2007 elections took place in a very acrimonious context" (Jibrin 2007: 1).

The election was characterized by "shoddy preparation of INEC, the spate of assassinations and attempted assassinations of high profile politicians, party decamping, rancorous congresses at ward and other levels and the flawed elections as well as simmering crises in the Niger- Delta" (Jinadu, ibid: 21). The April "2007 turned out to be the worst in the political history of Nigeria" (ibid) with 50 political parties registered for the elections. President Yar'Adua who was the winner of the election under the banner of PDP was the anointed "political godson" of immediate past president, Obasanjo. For the second time Muhammadu Buhari contested as ANPP flagbearer. The 2007 general election was designed from the onset to be flawed. In fact, it was built on corruption, pervasion, exclusionary politics, blackmail, intimidation and coercion as well as manipulation of the security services. Indeed, several months before the April 14 polls, former President Olusegun Obasanjo (political godfather of PDP's presidential candidate) had declared that winning the elections was a do-or-die affair. And it turned out to be so (Ajayi, 2007; Inokoba and Kumokor, 2011; Ugwuja, 2015).

Both local and foreign observers agreed that the 2007 elections like the 2003 polls were neither transparent nor credible. To affirm this viewpoint, the elected President of the 2007 controversial poll, President Yar'Adua admitted in his inaugural speech that the elections were flawed. As such the inauguration of the 21 member Electoral Reform Committee (headed by justice Uwais) by the president was an indictment of the shabby conduct of 2007 polls. Even pre-election exercises such as clearance of candidates and voters' registration were manipulated by the PDP using its incumbency power to give party undue advantage. The so-called screening of party candidates for elections by Independent Electoral Commission (INEC), Economic and Financial

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Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related Crimes Commission (ICPC), were all part of the botched plot to witch-hunt and disqualify opposition contestants, particularly Atiku Abubakar (Ajayi 2007: 148; Inokoba and Kumokor, 2011: 143-144).

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For the third time Muhammadu Buhari contested against the PDP however in 2011 under the platform of Congress for Progress Change, and the PDP's flagbearer was Goodluck Jonathan. The conduct of 2011 elections was better than that of 2007 as the Independent National Electoral Commission under the leadership of Professor Jega was transparent in the administration of the 2011 elections (Onapajo, 2015; Olayiwola, 2014; Oromaregheke, 2013). Although there were allegations of manipulations in the collation of the election results, the US also applauded it as being better than that of the 2007, however expressed serious concern about reports of alleged ballot box snatching and stuffing and called on INEC to "transparently review and take appropriate action on all allegations of 'under-age' voters, violence and intimidation, ballot stuffing, and inordinately high turnout in some areas of the country." (Cited in Oromaregheke, ibid; 29).

This notwithstanding, post-election violence followed announcement of the election result which culminated to loss of lives and properties in some states in Northern Nigeria. Human Right Watch reported that the announcement of Goodluck Jonathan as the winner of presidential elections led to deadly election-related and communal violence in Northern Nigeria. The April 2011 Presidential voting left more than 800 people dead. The victims were killed in three days of rioting in 12 Northern States (Human Right Watch, 2011 cited in Olayiwola, 2014).

The 2015 general elections are indeed symbolic in Nigeria's political history. They mark the first time the opposition party had successfully dislodge the incumbent party from power at the federal level particularly in a less controversial and peaceful process. Clearly, this interesting development is in contrast to the gloomy picture presented by many analysts in the pre-elections period (Onapajo, 2015). This perception has been demonstrated by Moveh, (2015:3) as follows:

> The 2015 Presidential elections conducted by INEC was historic for two major reasons. First, the introduction of an electronic accreditation process in spite of challenges encountered, seemed to have remarkably increased the credibility of the country's election administration process. Secondly, it was the first time in the history of the country that an incumbent President will lose elections and conceded defeat to the opposition.

However despite the record success of the 2015 presidential elections, the general process of the election administration was controversial as the previous ones, 1999-2011. In Moveh's words (ibid: 4);

> Political campaigns in the pre- election period were often heated and non-issue based. In several states across the country, the pre-election period therefore recorded varying degrees of election related violence. Indeed, the election was generally, described as the most keenly contested election in the history of Nigeria. The INEC itself came under severe criticisms for the decision to introduce an electronic accreditation process which critics described as too premature, given the country's poor state of infrastructure particularly with regards to power supply.

4.2 Democratic Consolidation

Democratic consolidation is about strength of political institutions such as political parties, legislature and electoral umpires. It deals with governmental administration in relation with accountability, transparency, constitutionalism, rule of law and bureaucracy. It encompasses the understanding of the acceptance and obedience of

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formal and informal institutions of democracy (Manesh, 2013). However, the most reviewed notions regarding democratic consolidation is that when is democracy "consolidated", when it is "likely to endure" and expected to "last well into the future" (Schedler, 1997, O'Donnell, 1996, Valenzuela, 1990). The most significant issue associated with democratic consolidation is "transition from authoritarian regimes to democratic regimes" (O'Donnel, 1996). The main focus is centered on "how really democratic the post-transition political institutions are and on their long-term prospects, i.e., whether they are prone to succumb to a new round of authoritarian rule or whether they will prove to be stable or consolidated (Valenzuela, 1990). He avers that the process of achieving democratic consolidation involves scrapping the institutions, procedures, and expectations that are ambiguous with the minimal workings of a democratic regime, so that the new ones that are "created or recreated with the transition to a democratic government to develop further" (ibid).

Schedler (1997) acknowledges that understanding democratic consolidation is difficult among the students of democratization, particularly the negative or positive, ideal or operational, wide or narrow as well as privatistic conceptualizations. He noted the practical tasks democratic consolidation is meant to address, depends on the context and goals of a given research. On the basis of his empirical and normative references of research, he reconstruct five notions of democratic consolidation: avoiding democratic breakdown, avoiding democratic erosion, institutionalizing democracy, completing democracy, and deepening democracy. The first two notions (avoiding democratic breakdown and avoiding democratic erosion) – represent different "negative" consolidation. They both try to prevent democratic regressions towards a (negatively valued) horizon of avoidance. Symmetrically, the last two notions of

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democratic consolidation (democratic completion and democratic deepening) – represent varieties of "positive" consolidation. They both try to achieve democratic progress towards a (positively valued) horizon of attainment. In between the two polar notions lies, in an uneasy intermediate position, a "neutral" concept of democratic consolidation: the institutionalization of democracy-represents the need for democratic institutions as well as habituation of political actors with democratic institutions.

Lending credence to conceptualization of democratic consolidation Johnston (2000) noted consolidation of democracy is longer and more difficult period in democratization in which all political stakeholders of the new system tends to strengthen its efforts for social support, "demonstrate its (and their own) effectiveness, and establish it as the only acceptable arena for advocating interests, resolving disputes, and making policy" (ibid: 9). He also emphasize that "consolidation requires not only a sustainable democratic government but also acceptance and participation on the part of society" (ibid). Merkel (2008 also argued that "the term democratic consolidation is controversial in transformation research, and it is bedevilled with disagreement on both the time horizon for and the quickest paths to consolidation" (ibid: 14). However he conceived that:

> A political system is positively consolidated only when the elite has come to regard the entire system as legitimate and without alternative, *and* when the citizenry's patterns of attitudes, values, and behaviour have come to reflect a stable belief in the legitimacy of the democracy. Such a concept of consolidation posits much longer time horizons for the stabilization of a post authoritarian democracy than for negative democratic consolidation, which is based only on elites.

According to Diamond, consolidation of democracy consists narrowing of democratic uncertainties through normalization of behavioural and institutional changes. The normalisation "requires the expansion of citizen access, development of democratic citizenship and culture, broadening of leadership recruitment and training, and other functions that civil society performs. But, most of all, and most urgently, it requires political institutionalisation" (cited in Matlosa, 2008:12). O' Donnell espoused that democracy is consolidated whenever political and economic situations of a particular system of institutions "become the only game in town, when no one can imagine acting outside the democratic institutions, when all losers (of political contest) want to try again within the same institution under which they have just lost". In buttressing, O' Donnell, Okoye, Emma and Chukwuemeka, (2012: 6) argued that a democracy is consolidated "when power is alternated between rival parties, support for system is continued during time of economic hardship, rebels are defeated and punished, the regime remain stable in the face of restructuring of the party system, and there exists no significant anti-system". In another clearly descriptive analysis Oni (2014: 6) argues that:

> Literally, the concept means an identifiable phase in the transition from authoritarian rule to civil rule and by extension, democratic systems that are germane and fundamental to the establishment and enthronement of a stable, institutional and enduring democracy. Achieving democratic consolidation therefore calls for the enthronement of democracy as a system of organizing both the society and government and thereafter creates concomitant institutions, culture, ethics, support system and the 'will' that are crucial in making it stable, efficient and responsive. Essentially, arriving at a consolidated democracy requires nurturing democratic values and ethos, principles and institutions in a matured sense that prevents a reversal to a hitherto authoritarian regime.

There are threats of reversal or challenges of democratic consolidation associated in new democracies, particularly the third wave democracies. Samuel Huntington,

suggests, that third wave democracies face grave problems of sustainability and consolidation in three related areas:

> (a) transition problems particularly in regard to how to deal with authoritarian officials who violated human rights, and 'the praetorian problem'; (b) contextual problems relating to the nature of the economy, the political culture and political history and (c) systemic problems emanating from the internal workings of a democracy such as centralisation of power, personalization rather than institutionalisation of politics, hegemonic politics and domination by vested economic interests (cited in Matlosa, 2008: 12).

The above cursory survey on the literature of electoral malpractice and democratic consolidation could suggests that we would be able to identify its challenges and prospects in Nigeria. Meanwhile the implications of electoral malpractice on democratic consolidation in the country has attracted wide range of concern and interest among commentators and students of democratization.

4.2.1 Implications of Electoral Malpractices on Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

Since democratic consolidation is an embodiment of long period of a civilian regime as well as recognition and respect of democratic institutions therefore, fairness, freest and credible elections must not therefore be an exception to these embodiments. Although there is significant breakthrough regarding the fourth republic experiment in Nigeria such as being the first time civilian government stayed for sixteen years without military intervention, five general elections conducted within the time frame as well as alternation of power by incumbent to the opposition in 2015. Yet there is so much to be desired in the conduct of democratic practices of the fourth republic in general and the conduct of the electoral process in particular. Perhaps, the predicaments of practice of democracy in the fourth republic have threatened its consolidation, hence it is characterized with bane of democratic governance. The

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implications of these therefore manifest in issues such as disrespect and outright violations of electoral act with impunity due to weak democratic institutions, electoral violence, ethno-religious politics, rampant corruption and mismanagement, poverty and lack of internal democracy which are master minded in incumbency factor, godfatherism and excessive monetization in politics.

Drawing from the moral imperatives Egbelubem (2011:247) question the moral foundation of the state in its capability to meet its obligation to the citizens, and citizen's ability to obey the laws of the state. Because a situation where politicians buy votes and rig elections, they are subverting the citizens choice, hence it is not only "operating in moral milieu" but also it is unlikely they are going to be govern well. "Without commitment to the rules of the game by these politicians, the whole idea of democracy becomes fiction or at best mere idealism". In their desperation to win elections at all costs, the politicians "adopt unethical, undemocratic, and in some cases crude methods to win elections" (ibid).

As Osabiya (2014) instructively observed these issues which have triggered electoral crises are mostly technical and logistical problems, however for many politicians, winning election is more important than deaths that occurs due to application of violence as part of their overall campaign strategy. For Nigerian politicians it's either to gain an unfair advantage over their opponents, or to disrupt the process outright when it is clear that they are not of the winning side of the divide. "This makes our democracy to remain nascent and unconsolidated thereby leading to minimal benefit emanating from it" (ibid: 63). He argued that it is visible "how democracy and not election is the problem in the Nigerian System" (ibid).

The implications of electoral malpractices on democratic consolidation in Nigeria can be identified in the followings;

4.2.1.1 Corruption

A major challenge confronting Nigeria's drive for democratic consolidation is the monster called corruption. The fact that political office holders during the fourth republic elections manipulate either by hook or by crook to their positions, in which corruption is the tool of those manipulations, the phenomenon persist unabatedly. Therefore public office holders disregard often with impunity government accountability, transparency and service delivery as a result of corrupt practices. One major dimension of corruption that has crippled consolidation of democracy in Nigeria is "political corruption" which consists the 'abuse of trusted power by political leaders for personal gain'. "It has assumed a scandalous proportion in Nigeria since the restoration of democracy in 1999. Nigeria reportedly lost an average of $4 billion - $8 billion annually to corruption between 1999 and 2007" (Mustapha, 2010; Human Right Watch, 2007 cited in Aliu, 2013: 102). The consistent ranking of Nigeria among the highly corrupt nations by the global anti-corruption agency, Transparency International (TI) during the period, and the startling revelations by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Nigeria's anti-corruption watchdog of billions of dollars of state fund allegedly stolen by politicians and political leaders underscore the pervasiveness of corruption in the polity since the beginning of the fourth republic.

As aptly captured by Ojo, (2009), corruption under the new democracy has been pervasive, open and shameless. The implications of such act manifest in infrastructural decay and persistence of abject poverty among the Nigerian masses. In fact, the power sector crisis, fingered for stunning the economy, owed largely to the misappropriation

and embezzlement of government investments in the sector. The Nigerian Compass reveals this much (in its Editorial) when disclosing the outcome of a House of Representatives Committee on power, which probed the power sector. "The probe further reveals that Nigeria generates less than a pitiable 1,000 megawatts compared to South Africa, a country of 42 million people, which generates over 42, 000 megawatts" (cited in Oni, 2014: 24).

4.2.1.2 Violence

Political and electoral violence are the major forms of violence that hinders democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic, however ethnic, religious and communal violence have as well been threatening consolidation of democracy in the country. One of the notable crises of democratic consolidation in Nigeria is political violence. Political violence disrupts free competition and undermines political participation but promotes mediocrity. By doing so, it creates potential disaffection, rancour and acrimony that heat up the political system. The fourth republic general elections of 1999, 2003 and 2007 were therefore characterized by thuggery and violence. This trend suggests that democracy in Nigeria "is not only growing at a very slow trend but also oscillates between stagnancy and backwardness, thus degenerating into a crisis level where democratic ideals become threatened and governance becomes privatised, if not personalised, by the powerful" (Arowolo and Aluko, 2012: 807).

Electoral violence is thus a major source of democratic instability "with palpable threats of deconsolidation". While connection between democratisation, elections and electoral violence is a complex. However, on one hand democracy and peace are, "ideally, mutually reinforcing, with elections serving as the connecting cord between

them". On the other hand "elections do not only allow for political competition, participation and legitimacy, but also permit peaceful change of power, thereby making it possible to assign accountability to those who govern" (Omotola, 2008:53-54).

4.2.1.3 Weak Democratic Institutions

Institutions of democracy in Nigeria are very weak and are therefore unable to protect and promote consolidation of democracy. Patrimonialism and authoritarianism weakened the institutions of democracy like legislature, political parties, judiciary and Electoral management body. Flagrant moral decay, disobedience and disrespect for the constitution also become the characteristics of Nigerian democratic experiments. In addition, lack of political will and capacity to punish electoral offenders further deteriorate the situation of not only electoral process but also consolidation of democracy in the country. Brief description of the weakness of Legislature, political parties and Electoral Umpire is provided below;

Legislature

The fourth republic legislature is weak and a premature institution, largely inexperienced at its inauguration in 1999 compared to the executive (Aliu, 2013; Oni, 2014). That was because legislative functions have been scrapped since the military comeback of December 1983. Sadly too, this house only lasted for two years (1991-1993) before it was again suspended by the Abacha military junta after overthrowing the Shonekan Interim National Government. Again the nation waited for six years to witness another legislative business. But in contrast, the executive always retains its status whenever the military strikes and on many occasions combined the legislative duties. The point to make here is that legislative and executive responsibilities are

usually fused and discharged by the executive branch of government whenever the military takes over power. "This act has undoubtedly institutionalized a system and culture of government that is extremely executive–centred. The unequal development of the two branches of government has given birth to an overdeveloped executive in terms of powers and responsibilities". (Oni, 2014:18).

Aliu (ibid: 105) discusses legislative corruption in the Nigerian fourth republic, and its impact on democratic consolidation noting that the Nigerian legislature by virtue of its constitutional responsibilities is the principal institution of anti-corruption, accountability, and probity. However, widespread cases of corruption among lawmakers of the fourth republic continue to overshadow the proper functioning of the legislature. He further interrogates corruption among legislators within the framework of the prebendal nature of Nigerian politics. His focus is that allegations and evidence of sleaze among lawmakers, with dire implications for the provision of public goods and citizens' wellbeing represent an obstacle to the deepening of democracy. The implication of corruption in the legislature "portends grave danger for democracy in Nigeria. The phenomenon has weakened the capacity of the legislature to effectively perform its duty of strengthening accountability and transparency in Nigeria" (ibid: 7).

Certainly effects of corrupt legislature on governance in Nigeria is debilitating, because corrupt legislature "undermines the fight against corruption and democracy". Scuttling the activities of accountability and transparency institutions and amend laws they perceived threaten their corrupt practices; among lawmakers in Nigeria erodes public confidence in the legislature as a democratic institution and its capacity to perform its responsibility. The decline in the public approval of the performance of the

legislature from 58% to 23% between 2001 and 2005 (Diamond, 2008) illustrates the increasing frustration by most Nigerians with widespread corruption among legislators. Such public dissatisfaction has contributed to the passive participation of most Nigerians in the decision making process and government with dire implications for political stability and democratic consolidation (cited in Aliu, ibid: 106).

Political Parties
The political parties as democratic institution should contribute towards consolidating democracy through party politics. However lack of concrete ideologies and lack of internal democracy produced undemocratic elections in the fourth republic. The features of internal elections in political parties have been pervasive and a negation of all known democratic tenets, ranging from imposition candidates, godfatherism to excessive monetization of the election processes and intra-party conflict. Momodu and Gambo (2013) found out the implications of intra-party conflicts on Nigeria's democratisation to includes: decamping of aggrieved members to other political parties, distrust, animosity factionalization and indiscipline among party members, lack of credibility and bad image for political parties. These gives way "for opposition political party to criticize and factionalize the party in conflict, waste of time and resources, divided loyalty among party members, discontent among party members, breakdown of party activities, instability in the party and over-heating the polity" (ibid: 10).

The fourth republic elections were characterized by irregularities which usually sway electoral victory to the desired and unpopular direction. Notorious stumbling block in the internal party politics which does not augur well to consolidating democracy are

the godfatherism and incumbency factor. The activities of "Godfathers have demeaned the development and consolidation of democracy in Nigeria. Godfatherism negates all tenets of democracy. It blocks the democratic process by obstructing selection of good and qualified candidates for elective posts" (Ebegbulem, 2011:249). Incumbency on the other hand is the manipulation of democratic process by those in power. They adopt and monopolise state machinery to maintain their hold on power. The Obasanjo's impunity, for instance, was noted for its selective judgement and flagrant disrespect for and disobedience to the rule of law; this is also a function of ineffective rules and weak institution. His tenure witch hunt opponents with state apparatus such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). "It is only natural and expected, therefore, that in a situation where political opponents are clamped down upon, the political space becomes heated and tension-soaked as the opponents strive to 'balance the terror" (Arowolo and Aluko, 2012: 805).

By implication incumbency and impunity in party politics involves the struggle for political power leading to competitions and conflicts by political parties. The widespread occurrences of political thuggery in the fourth republic democratic experiment constitute a threat to democratic consolidation in Nigeria. It is widely ascertained that "thugs were usually hired, maintained and equipped by some politicians to subvert the electoral process to their utmost political advantage" (Adeosun, 2014:9). The implications of electoral malpractice by political parties from 1999 to date has led to series of electoral crisis and violence for example aftermath of the 2003 general elections claimed the lives of over one hundred innocent lives while leaving several injured. "The aftermath of the 2007 elections left about three hundred

people dead, and following the April 2011 Presidential voting more than 200 people dead" (Yusuf, 2015:25).

The poor conduct and outcome of electoral process in the fourth republic, at intra and inter party contest through imposition of party candidates, ballot box snatching, stuffing, manipulation of electoral results at collation centre etcetera, has led to apathy and loss of confidence of many electorates. The implication therefore is that there is "often wide gap between the number of people that register to vote and the actual number of people that comes out to cast their votes. For instance, the Kogi State 2011 gubernatorial election where out of the 1,325,272 registered voters only 518,949 electorate voted" (Omodia, 2012: 312).

Election Management Body

Although there is significant improvement regarding the electoral administration of election management body (Independent National Electoral Commission) in 2011 and 2015 elections, yet there are gaps that constitute threat to democratic consolidation. For instance the questions surrounding the independency of the INEC. The issue of independency includes the appointment of Chairman and electoral commissioners, financial autonomy and its reliance on ad hoc staff in conducting elections. "Since its creation in 1999, INEC has been characterized by a lack of independence, professionalism and administrative efficiency" (Fall et al. 2011 cited in Kerr, 2012: 11). The appointment process for INEC commissioners at both the federal and state level gives the first indication of the deficiency in INEC's institutional autonomy. The Constitution gives the President authority to appoint all 12 INEC commissioners (and the 36 Resident Electoral Commissioners) with the approval of the Senate. The

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presidents' monopoly over the appointment process has direct implications for INEC's popular legitimacy and its ability to impartially organize elections. The implication of Electoral Management Body for being impartial in the electoral process is disturbing to the process of consolidating democracy. "For instance the non-partisanship' of INEC which is supposed to be an independent and credible body was doubted more than ever, especially in 2003 and2007 elections" (Osabiya, 2014:62).

Other major weaknesses of INEC includes inability to educate the illiterate majority about the importance of voting and how to vote, inability to prosecute electoral offenders (Jega, 2012, Okoye, 2013, Nkolika and Emesibe, 2015), thus by implications these spell deconsolidation of democracy. Despite the need for a total systemic overhaul at the political, economic and social levels, Nkolika and Emesibe, (ibid) and Oyekanmi, (2015) emphasize the crucial need for honest men and women with integrity like the immediate past chairman of INEC, Professor Jega to handle electoral administration with sincerity. This is what has been termed as "Jeganization" referring to the impeccable qualities of the EMB Chairman like Professor Jega "who has become an ensemble of transparency, accountability, honesty and integrity. In other words, how do we get other staff of INEC to imbibe these virtues so as to infuse the EMB with a new culture that can fight against the malfeasance that has become associated with election conduct in Nigeria" Nkolika and Emesibe (ibid: 33).

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter investigates the challenges of electoral malpractices on democratic consolidation in Nigeria with particular focus on the fourth republic. It emphasizes the vital importance of election to democratic consolidation. The evidence suggest that the

strict adherence to democratic values and ideals will bring about good democratic governance in the country. It shows the need for resuscitating the decaying democratic institutions, attitudes, resources and infrastructure at all levels of society as it affects electoral process for effective quest for democratic governance. It is on these lights that, this chapter recommends the need to combat godfatherism and incumbency, violence, corruption and impunity so as to enhance the electoral process. Thus unless the political leaders strictly adhered to the application of rule of law, constitutionalism and democratic values, the legitimacy of government and consolidation of democracy may not be sustained.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

This part is a thematic presentation and analysis of the trends for the emergence of Nigeria's fourth republic and a description of the challenges facing Nigeria's fourth republic. It further describes how challenges of electoral malpractices obstruct the aspiration for democratic governance during the era. It also consist the debate on election as first among equals of the principles of democracy. The data is generated through interviews conducted from the field. Nvivo 10 output has been used to categorize the data generated from the interviews in themes, which consist of main themes, sub-themes and sub-sub themes illustrated in form of a model developed from the interviews responses. Discussion of the major findings of the study would also be part of this chapter.

5.1 Theme One: Factors Responsible for the Emergence of the Fourth Republic

Nigeria's fourth republic was born on 29th May, 1999 after fifteen years of military rule. Since that time the country has been functioning under the constitution of the fourth republic, which is a revised edition of the 1979 second republic. Unlike the first republic which adopted Westminster parliamentary system of government, the fourth republic adopted Presidential system like that of United States. The fourth republic transition was initiated by a military dictator, General Abdulsalami Abubakar in 1998 after the death of his predecessor, General Sani Abacha. Like the first, second and the

aborted republics, the fourth republic also have some factors that are responsible for their emergence, for example the emergence of the first republic was largely associated with nationalists struggle for independence. The other republics also have one reason or the other for their emergence. The factors responsible for the emergence of fourth republic democratic experiment in Nigeria in this section of this research is therefore the topic of our discussion.

A number of factors were said to have been responsible for a country to have transit to democratic regime, for example, the mainstream literature of 1960s and 1970s (Lipset, 1959; Almond and Verba, 1963; Moore, 1966) were of the view of modernization approach to democratization, they espoused that socio-economic development was associated with democratic government in developed countries (cited in Rakner, Menocal and Fritz 2007: 4). Certainly "all transition specialists conceived that poor economic performance increases the possibilities of authoritarian breakdown, as it increases democratic breakdown of the incumbent defeat in stable democracies" (e.g. Diamond and Linz, 1989; Bermeo, 1990 and Przewosky and Limongi, 1997 cited Zagel, 2010: 5). He further observed that Haggard and Kaufman (1995) noted the impact of economic crisis on regime change. It was however considered as a process oriented approach, emphasising the importance of decisions, ideas and the interaction among strategic political actors that bring about transitions in 'unlikely places'.

The approach emphasized the uncertainties and possibilities surrounding transitions to democracy. It stressed that "consensus emerged that economic development *per se* was neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for democratic transition" (O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986; Przeworski and Limongi, 1997 cited in Rakner, Menocal and

Fritz,, ibid: 9). From whatever perspective scholars viewed factors responsible for transition to democracy, the most salient issue is that there has been increasing democratization around the world. Huntington's "waves of democratization" is the prominent literature especially, the "third wave" illustration of how democratic struggle spreads around the world in the last four decades. As Geddes (1999:115) aptly stated "transition to democracy have occurred with surprising frequency at the end of the twentieth century, where elected officials govern more countries than at any previous time in human history".

Perhaps Nigeria like many other African countries that was under the authoritarian regimes, has also been categorized in those affected by third wave democratization. The question therefore is that: What are the factors responsible for the emergence of the Nigeria's fourth republic? What are the general perceptions and views of Nigerians towards the fourth republic? This theme addresses these questions by analysing the interview responses which led to emergence of the following sub-themes: External factors and internal factors

The model 5.1 below shows the relationships between the main theme; factors responsible for the emergence of the fourth republic and its sub-themes; external factors and internal factors, as generated from informants response all with their dimensions.
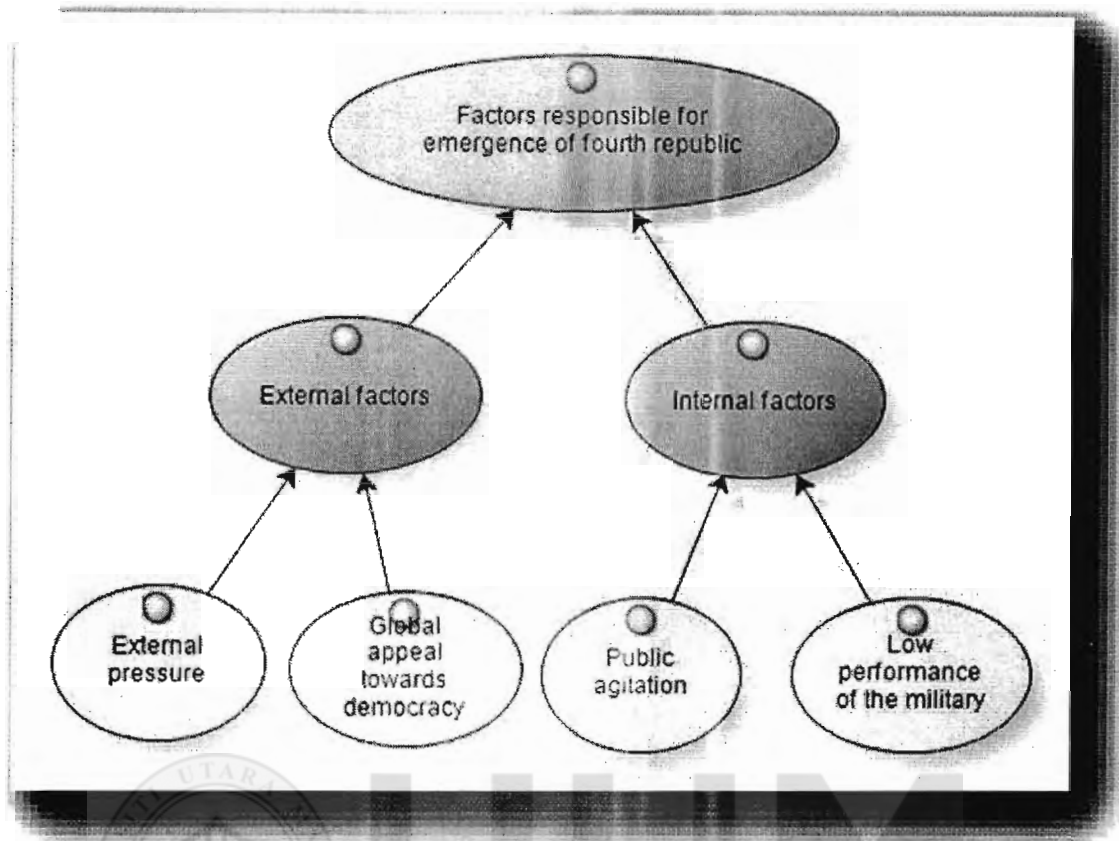
Model 5.1: Model of factors responsible for emergence of the fourth republic

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.1.1 Internal Factor

It has been noted that it is through the efforts of pro- democracy activities that the political and human rights situation in Nigeria became subject of international concern. The aderents of third waves in Africa argued that democratization has mostly been the inevitable outcome of popular struggles for freedom, accountable governance and material prosperity (Osaghe, 2010). Abundant scholarly literature posited that the foundation of Nigeria's democratic struggle began with decolonization (e.g. Isigwe, 2012; Mohammed, Kadai and Bukar, 2013). The fact is colonial administration was by no means democratic, due to its social and economic exploitations of Nigerians as

in other colonial territories. Although the Britsh colonial administration under the Clifford constitution provided the context in which franchise was bestowed on Nigerians in 1922; the Nigerian nationalists fought for effective representation and participation in decisions affecting them. Consequently, the nationalist succeeded in attaining not only introduction of political parties and national independence, but also the fundamental rights of liberty, expression, association and self determination, hence culminated to further aspiration of developing the culture of democracy.

Another form of internally generated struggle for democracy in Nigeria was that associated with the periods of military dictatorship. While post- colonial elite grappled with the oppotunity of entrenhing democratic institutions and ethos, the era was however characterized by politics of sub national identity which had negative impact on the democratic process. Incursion of military in Nigerian politics was however above all the main platform for which Nigerians struggle for democratic ideals once again. Out of the 55 years of independence, the military ruled for 33 years.Thus before the fourth republic civilian regiimes exist only between 1979 and 1983. Since 1984-1999 Nigerians have demonstrated their aspirations to return to civilian government. It is thus pertinent to note that between 1985-1992, the military's plan to relinguish power to the civilian was a failure, gubernatorial and legistlative election were conducted and sworn into office in 1991, but the 1992 presidential election was annulled and subsequently the political partis were dissolved.

As a result of nullification of the june 12 presidential election, series of events culminated to the emergence of National Democratic Coalition (NADECO), a voluntary association to agitate for the return to democracy in Nigeria. NADECO,

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which is a composition of different democratic organizations became a symbol of resistance to military dictatorship despite harassment and intimidations. Some of the major bone of contentions between NADECO and the miltary government includes, denial from the militay government to reconized NADECO as political force; and while the military government initiate and support the issue of National costitutional Conference, NADECO was in support of Sovereign National Conference (Udogu, 1995). The ban on politics was lifted in 1995 and 5 political parties were registered, however they all endorsed, the military dictator, General Abacha who later died before accepting their endorsement.

In otherwords, internal factors are significsnt in understanding the emrgence of fourth republic democratic experiment in Nigeria. The model 5.2 below indicates the views of Nigerians as percieved by the informants with its dimensional relationships developed from the interviews. Theses are low performance of the miltary and public agitation.
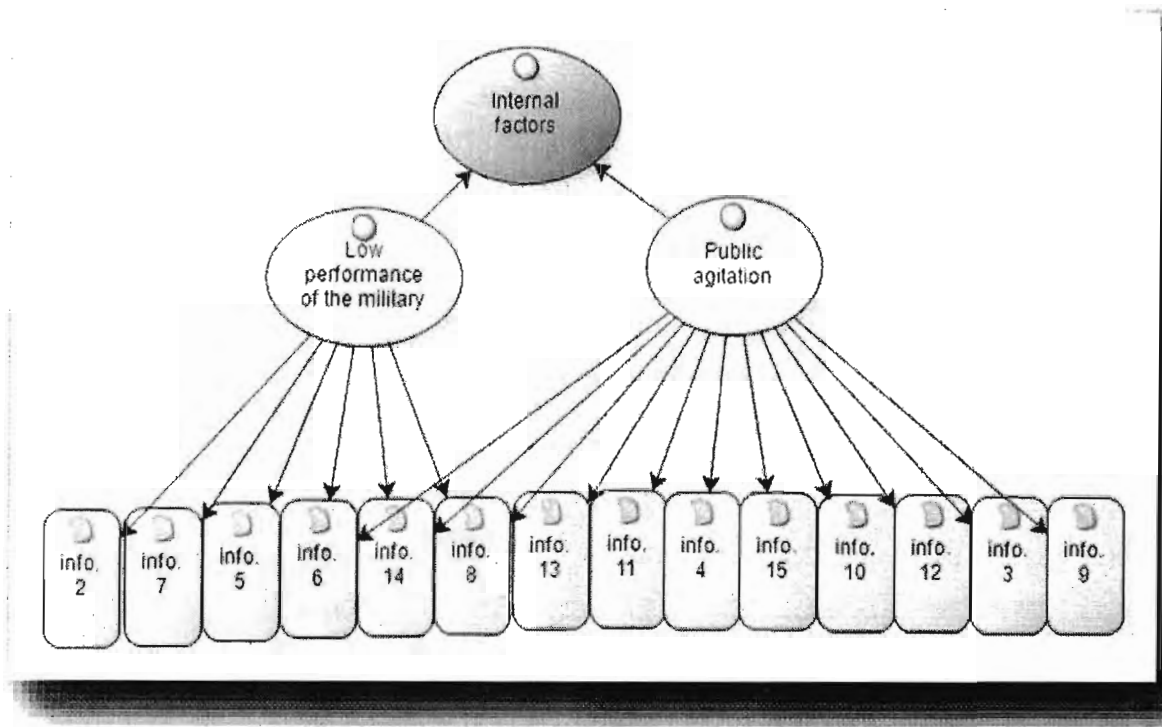
Model 5.2: Model for Internal factors responsible for emergence of fourth republic

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.1.1.1 Low Performance of the Military

It will not be surprising to note that military perform less in terms governance, because it is not in their professionalism to govern. Umaru, Adeyemi and Kehinde,(2014: 195) aptly stated that "this is because the military men are unqualified for the task of government and good governance and either lean too heavily on advice which may not always be in the best interest of their people or, worse still, attempt to rule without it". Onwuka (2011: 34) added that "since the military rule by decrees, it is repressive, the rights of the people are trampled upon, innocent citizens are brutalized and dehumanized, freedom of speech is impaired and the press censored" The political actions of military regimes especially between 1992 and 1994 in Nigeria indicates an

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obstacle to democracy in the country (Udogu, 1995). The reasons of almost all the military regimes to dethroned civilians in Nigeria was to end in the era of ineptitude, corruption and misrule. However the military coups, could not change the statuesque rather, pave "another phase from which the root of the present status of unsatisfactory governance can be located" (Saad; 2012:11). While describing patrimonialism as perilous to democratic stability, Ikpe (2000:158) observed that "the patrimonial features of Nigerian military regimes amplify their anti-democratic characteristics".

Other factors that resulted to low performance of the military and its subsequent adverse effect to aspiration of democracy in Nigeria include their long years of stay in power as well as the unpopular imposition of structural adjustment programme and economic liberalization. The outcome of long years of military rule result to "militarized political culture in the political arena. Nigeria's civic culture was eroded and militarized culture embedded" (Frank and Ukpere, 2012 288). The major factors responsible for military low performance in their 33 years of ruling and as it affects democratization in Nigeria includes despotism, intolerance, brash, arbitrariness, insensitive and unaccountability in expenditure as well as stealing of public funds (Jega, 2007).

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

> *The long stay of the military in power since the 1970s. People became tired of military intervention (Informant 14-EMB staff)*
>
> *The reason why we had to get back to democracy is that no matter how worst democracy is, military dictatorship is the worst of all. People prefer democracy. Nigerians tested democracy and military rule and they are convinced that democracy is still the best. (Informant 2-politician-MP-Rep.).*

Nigerians came to believe we should move away from the military rule and embrace democracy (Informant 5-politician-MP-Sen.).

The military regime that lasted up to 1999 did not prove to be any better than the civilian regime it toppled since 1983 in terms of performance, addressing the economy, social malice of the country, in every aspect you can think of as a matter of fact (Informant 6-Academician-).

Nigerians for long aspired for democracy because for long they have been frustrated by military rule. The struggle for democracy, 1992-1998 culminated in transition to democracy and the election of an elected government in 1999. So I believe the factors for re-emergence of liberal democracy in Nigeria in 1999 include the aspiration of Nigerians for democracy, the struggle of Nigerians to actualise this aspiration for democracy and the sacrifices that have been made through this struggle. (Informant 7-Academecian/former EMB chair.).

The military had thrown aside the use of constitutionalism. The second one was the increased realisation that not only was military governance leading to dictatorship but that it was increasingly opening the way for foreign recolonisation of the country (Informant 8-Academician-NGO executive-ARADA).

Both the secondary and primary data above tried to answer the research question of this study which seek to find the factors responsible for emergence of Nigeria's fourth republic. The data was however concerned only with internal factors and specifically regarding the low performance of the military. The above data analysed that informants of this research perceived that due to inability of the military regime to perform well in the socio-economic development of Nigerians, the people were successful in organizing themselves to send the military back to barrack. On one hand the secondary data describe how despotic and sit tight the military were for 33 years of ruling with decree, they unfortunately rule Nigerians worse than the civilian regime they overthrown. On the other hand, the primary data complement and support by illustrating that Nigerians have long been fed up with military rule that has been recklessly abusing human rights and squandering the economy. Therefore the

aspirations for the return of democracy had since been in the minds of many Nigeria, they were however successful to achieve this goal in 1999.

5.1.1.2 Public Agitation

The period of democratic transition is often characterized by the reduction of the power of state due to agitations and aspirations for the struggles of popular demands. Agitations for popular demands are normally channelled through civil societies and pressure groups. "Their functions or activities were not only to promote and protect self-centred interest, but pursue policies that benefit citizens within the society" (Ajakaiye, 2009:8).

The endemic corruption and low performance of the military as well as flagrant human rights abuses led to the emergence of popular democratic movements in Nigeria in the mid-1980s. The movements opposes not only abuses and corruption of the military rule but also imposition of the unpopular Structural Adjustment Program and economic liberalization, disrespect of the rule of law as well as strongly agitate for the return of democracy in the country. These organizations includes Committee for Defence of Human Rights (CHR), Civil Liberty Organization (CLO), Nigerian Bar Association (NBA), Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) and many other civil society organizations. While most of them have specific focus, they are united towards pro-democracy activities and were supported internationally. For example NADECO which is formed by wealthy elites attracts diaspora connections, its efforts were centred abroad for international sanctions against Abacha regime (Carl, 2009).

The concern of the civil societies or pro-democracy activists was that the transition programs of Babangida and Abacha were not genuine, therefore could not result to genuine democratic order. The Campaign for Democracy (CD) as an "umbrella organization for all Human rights organizations" and pro-democracy groups committed its efforts also towards restoration of democracy and transformation of Nigerian society. Others includes Academic Staff Union of Nigerian Universities (ASUU), whose major occupation has been pressurizing government into ensuring adequate funding of universities. They were involved in pressurizing government to incline towards democratization. The Nigerian Students Union (NSU), National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) among others have considerably contributed towards agitations for democratization in that period (Adesoji, 2002).

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

The pressure that was mounted on the military manifested in a number of ways; protest, petitions and demonstrations by Nigerians. There were also write-ups in newspapers and magazines as a result of General Babangida's annulment of June, 1992 election. That annulment again agitated Nigerians and pushed Nigerians to ensure that they send the military back to the barracks. (Informant 10-Academician).

The formation of pressure groups and the formation of political parties led to the re-emergence of liberal democracy in 1999. The military accused civilian regime of corruption but they could not change that after coups and counter-coups. People then revolted and forced the military out of power (Informant, 11-Electoral officer-commissioner).

After the June 12 1993 annulment of election, Nigerians began to yearn for a democratic government (Informant, 12-Electoral officer II).

There were agitation for democratic governance which led to the formation of the two political parties; SDP and NRC (Informant, 13-Snr Prog. Officer-NGO-CDD).

The June 12 election which was seen by most people as the most wonderful and most transparent, was annulled. That provoked the general public which led to

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the re-emergence of pressure groups calling for transition to civilian rule (Informant, 14-Electoral officer EMB staff III).

The nullification of the June 12 1993 election necessitated agitation for sending military to barrack in return for democracy (Informant, 15-Grass root politician).

The formation of parties that participated in the 1999 elections was the main reason for the re-emergence of liberal democracy in this country (Informant, 3-Grass root politician).

The pressure from various pressure groups on the military as well as pressure from the international community led to the re-emergence of democratic process in the country (Informant, 4-Grass root politician).

The composition of the political elites, civil societies, religious leaders, the intelligentsia, the press, among others. All had a concerted pressure on the then military junta and that contributed a great deal in seeing that they had to organise a transition back to the civilian administration (Informant, 6-Academician).

The major reason was the public agitation for the return of democracy in the country against the military dictatorship which had been the bane of Nigeria's development since the first coup in 1966 (Informant, 8-Academician-NGO executive ARADA).

People are aware of what is happening elsewhere and they are not going to be tolerant to tight leaders. So there were campaigns from the public against the military rule. The government felt uncomfortable and decided to hand over power to the civilians (Informant, 9-Academician).

Both the secondary and primary data above tried to answer the research question of this study which determined to find the factors responsible for emergence of Nigeria's fourth republic. The data was however concerned only with internal factors and specifically regarding public agitation against the military rule. The above data clarifies that informants of this research perceived that due to activities of pro-democracy organizations such as NADECO, NLC, NANS, ASUU, NBA etcetera, the military regime was forced to organize a transition and eventually handed power to the civilian. The secondary data describe the endemic corruption which characterized the

military regime as well as its failure to organize a genuine transition to civilian government. The primary data therefore, complement and support by illustrating how prodemocracy activist organize campaigns, protest, demonstration and write-ups to challenge statuesque of the military. Therefore the data analysed the activities of civil societies, political elites, the press and other pro-democracy activists that mounted pressure on the military contributed in emergence of Nigeria's fourth republic in 1999.

5.1.2 External Factor

The role of globalization as a process that linked different ideas and societies across the world, made it possible for the ideals of democracy spread to Africa. The end of cold war and sudden attraction of democracy to a number of countries under military or authoritarian regimes in Africa attracts them to open up their political space (Ibraheem, 2003). Africa's democratic experiment has consistently been shaped by external factors (Siegele, 2007). Thus, Centre for Democracy, Development and Rule of Law postulates (CDDRL) that the role of external factors is likely to vary considerably across four categories which are; "(1) transition to electoral democracy; (2) consolidation of substantive, liberal democracy; (3) liberalization of autocratic regimes, and; (4) post-conflict democratic development". The influence of external factors alone and its combination with internal factors has a significance contribution towards emergence of fourth republic democratic experiment. The question now is that in what ways does international factors influence democracy in Nigeria as in other parts of the world? What combinations of internal and external factors leads to replacement of non-democratic regimes with democratically elected one in Nigeria?

The main international influences in Nigeria are multi-lateral organizations, regional bodies and foreign powers. "It is however difficult to gage the extent of influence each has in Nigeria. Although Huntington analysis on waves of democratization was based on measuring the proportion of democratic regimes over time" (Strand, Hegre, Gates and Dahl, 2012:1); it has been widely accepted that during the 1970s and 1980s, especially the end of the cold war, United States is the major promoter of democratization around the world, thus Nigeria among the recipients. Fukuyama (1992) thought the worldwide trend towards more democracy and expanded political and civil liberties was virtually unstoppable in the last decade of the twentieth century. "External actors have long shaped the trajectory of democracy in Africa. Africa's post-Cold War democratization surge has shown that external influences, including the liberalization of neighbouring countries, has affected the pace and scope of change" (Siegele, 2007:1).

In otherwords, external factors are significsnt in understanding the emrgence of fourth republic democratic experiment in Nigeria. The model below 5.3 indicates the views of Nigerians as percieved by the informants with its dimensional relationships developed from the interviews. Theses are external pressure and global appeal towards democracy.
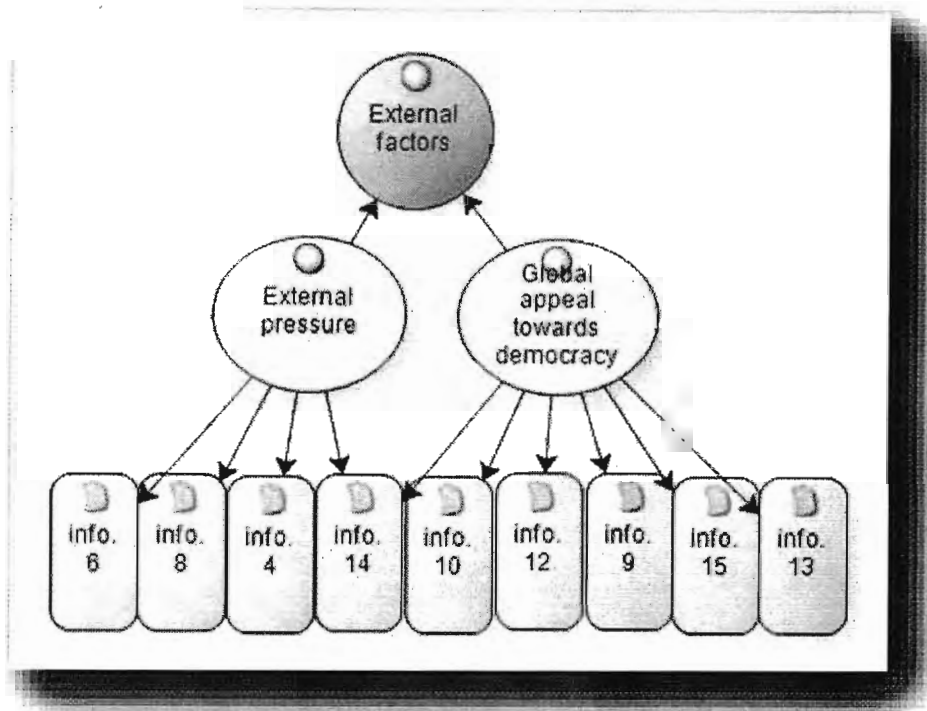
Model 5.3: External factors for the emergence of the fourth republic

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.1.2.1 External Pressure

Since the end of the cold war, democracy has become not only the acceptable political

system in many countries, under all circumstances, but also its promotion has become

part and parcel of the relationship with the international community, particularly the

developed countries and multilateral institutions (Ottaway, 2007). Although several

literature on transition to democracy during the third wave tends to focus on internal

dynamics for political change, "the role of external factors was especially strong in

Africa. The transitions were not only of the determination of the national political

actors but also of external pressures and incentives" (Rackner and Menocal, 2007:10).

Nigeria's travails, which are exceptional within the developing countries, are surely

unique in their scope and persistence. The issues of long years of military rule and

flagrant abuse of human rights were so serious that international community had to interfere. Lack of progress and dubious nature of the process of transition programmes by the Babangida and Abacha regimes as well as incarceration M.K.O Abiola, the winner of the 1992 presidential election, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and Shehu Musa Yar adua and the execution of Ken Saro Wiwa were the most significant reasons for international community to disrespect Nigeria in the 1990s.

The response of the United States to Nigeria's political crisis was the imposition of limited sanctions. Immediately after the June 12, 1993 Presidential elections were annulled, the United States cancelled $11 million in assistance intended as budgetary support to Nigeria's Ministry of Health; terminated development assistance, except humanitarian aid through nongovernmental organization; ended military assistance and export of defence related materials, denied entry into the United States of Nigerians who formulate and implement policies that hinder transition to democracy; decertified Nigeria for not doing enough to counter trafficking by its citizens in illegal drugs; and requested the withdrawal of Nigeria's defence attaché in Washington, D.C (Ayam,2008:127). Not only did the US impose sanctions on Nigeria but also, after a fact finding mission in Nigeria in July, 1995 by the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiatives, Nigeria was diplomatically isolated and suspended from the common wealth. Hence not only did the European Union imposed sanction on Nigeria via common position 95/515/CFSP and the United States but also declared the country as pariah state (SIPRI: 2012). Only when Nigeria returned to democratic rule after the election of Olusegun Obasanjo as President in 1999, the sanctions were withdrawn and the country was accorded with respectability and confidence.

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following

excerpts.

> *There was pressure from the international community. A lot of sanctions and threats was put to the military rulers that the wishes of the people must be respected. (Informant 14-EMB staff).*

> *Pressure from the international community led to the re-emergence of democratic process in the country (Informant, 4-Grass root politician II).*

> *There was external pressure from the international community. Worldwide the era of military regime was rejected. Any country that was having military dictatorship was isolated from the international community. There was lots of pressure. (Informant, 6-Academician I).*

> *It is about foreign imposition. Foreign powers coming back and imposing their own policies and decisions. For example, instead of the national development policies, we now had structural adjustment policies which were imposed by foreign powers; the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). (Informant, 8- Academician/ NGO-executive-ARADA).*

Both the secondary and primary data discussed above described not only the increasing

acceptability of democracy as the best form of government around the world,

especially after the end of the cold war. But also the role of powerful countries and

international organizations in promoting democratization. Above all, it described the

role of external pressure in form of imposition of sanctions by US on Nigeria as well

as diplomatic isolation and suspension from Common wealth Nations for gross human

rights abuse and refusing to democratize. The above description is therefore an attempt

to answer the first research question of this study as well as an account of the factors

responsible for the emergence of Nigeria's fourth republic, particularly in regard to

external factors with specific focus on external pressure.

5.1.2.2 Global Appeal towards Democracy

Global appeal has to do with how the idea of democracy has been promoted through technical aid and incentives as well as how it is accepted around the world. Although "Democracy has hardly progressed steadily, continuously, and persistently throughout history. It is indisputable that the twentieth century witnessed the largest number of transitions to democracy in history" (Zagel, 2010:6). Today the expansion of democracy for the past 30 years around the world has been described as the greatest achievement to humanity. Perhaps its acceptability is an indication that it is the best form of political system. The trend in which the European countries, UN and US and other pro-democracy international organizations promote democratic assistance or aid in order for developing countries to accept democracy cannot be over emphasized. O' Loughlin (2004:24), writes, "there is little doubt that democracy has been strongly promoted by United States and its allies and that economic development strategies by international national agencies are intimately linked to grassroots democracy initiatives and transparent governance". Through the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), which is the US leading organization for the promotion of democracy and economic freedom, billions of dollars have been spent in the 1990s by the US (Hale, 2003).

Among other institutions that US funded for the promotion of democracy includes Freedom House, IREX, the African-American Institute and the Asia Foundation, The International Foundation for Electoral System, (IFES), and American Bar Association etcetera. In the views of Cornillon secretary of the Inter- Parliamentary Union (1998) democracy, seems to be the subject of broad consensus and its promotion is high on the agenda of international bodies. These organizations injects considerable amount of aid in the promotion of democracy, which as a result have significant influence on the

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mind-sets of political actors in a political transition. Because aid dependent countries were likely to be susceptible to political conditional ties of the influence of international donors.

Although there were condemnations and sanctions against Nigeria as a result of human rights records and failure to transition to democracy, international organizations continued to render assistance to the country but only restricted to emergency and humanitarian aid. It was established that the EU budgeted 7 million EUR to support human rights and democracy. However immediately after the return of democracy in 1999, bilateral and multilateral aid donors began restored assistance. During 1999 and 2000, the EDF Committee approved financing proposals valued at a total of EUR 100 million for projects including micro-project programmes in the Niger Delta. The "United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is the largest bilateral donor of democracy aid to Nigeria. In 2009 USAID estimated that it would provide USD 17.552 million for various forms of democracy assistance in Nigeria" (Adetula, Kew and Kwaja, 2010:3).

The influence of internal actors through aid for democracy, coupled with favourable international climate, what Huntington (1991) referred to as snowballing effect- where favourable global atmosphere leads to diffusion of democratic ideas around the world, Nigeria is not an exception.

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

> *Fundamentally, the waves of democratisation that was moving round the world made it imperative for the military also to see the foolishness of military rule and that military rule was no longer fashionable (Informant, 10-Academician).*
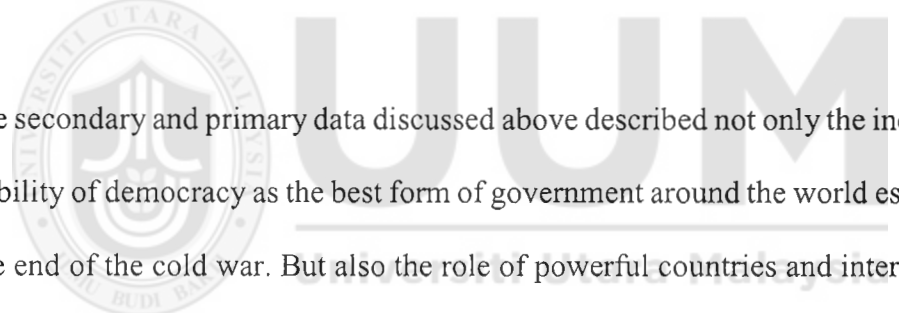
The external factor had to do with the acceptance of democracy worldwide, so Nigeria should not be an exception (Informant, 12).

Around the 1990s, there was a new wave of democratisation in West Africa. Democracy became the norm of the day. There was worldwide pressure if a country was not practising democracy. Nigeria had no choice but to adhere to the international system (Informant, 13-Snr. Prog, Officer, NGO-CDD).

Having accepted democracy as the best system of government worldwide, Nigeria had played a vital role in Africa and being the head of African countries, the world didn't want Nigeria to go the military way (Informant, 14-EMB staff).

External factor was associated with world-wide recognition of liberal democracy as the best system of government (Informant, 15-Grass root politician).

Nigeria is part of the global system and within the context of globalisation there were changes that took place which brought in this new freedom. It started with Togo, Ivory Coast and others where there was clamour for civilian democratic system of government in the 1990s. (Informant, 9-Academician III).

Both the secondary and primary data discussed above described not only the increasing acceptability of democracy as the best form of government around the world especially after the end of the cold war. But also the role of powerful countries and international organizations in promoting democratization. It described the role of global appeal for democracy in form of incentives by US and Europe through democratic institutions such as Freedom House, IFES, USAID and EDF. The data further describes the impact of snowballing towards democratization that affects the third wave democracies. And Nigeria was part of the countries that benefited from those incentives and technical aid as well as the snowballing effects. The above description is therefore an attempt to answer the first research question of this study as well as an account of the factors responsible for the emergence of Nigeria's fourth republic, particularly in regard to external factors with specific focus on global appeal on democracy.

5.2 Theme Two: Challenges of Fourth Republic Democratic Experiment

The return of democracy on 29th May, 1999 in Nigeria marked the beginning of the much anticipated fourth republic. For the past 16 years the fourth republic has been grappling with serious challenges. The hope and enthusiasm of Nigerians to reap the benefits of democracy were simply thrown away. The people of Nigeria like many other countries that made transition to democracy in the late twentieth century claim to have prefer electoral democracy than military authoritarianism. The controversies surrounding the five general elections (1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015) as well as malfunctions of other institutions of democratic governance together with socio-economic and political instability remained a stumbling block to the fourth republic. In other words the optimism and high expectations for the dividends of democracy among average Nigerians were overwhelmed with misfortunes.

As Nigerian politicians in government uses the phrase "dividends of democracy"-referring to provision of roads, improved health and education facilities, portable water, housing and electrification to score the achievements of the fourth republic. It is imperative to understand issues of economic distribution are handled before political rights and that good governance and democracy cannot be achieved through mere provision of food, jobs, education, electricity, and health care services etcetera (Odo. 2015). It is in this light that Adeyemi, (2012:2) says the main critical problems are "Leadership challenges, corruption, lack of transparency, constitutional and electoral reforms, rising civil strife, poverty, unemployment, godfatherism, lack of human security and human rights".

After long years of military rule and a decayed political culture, Nigeria's democratic problems cannot be overcome overnight. Nevertheless, at least within the period of 16

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years, consolidation of democracy is expected to have advanced where we are today. The question now is, how does Nigerians understand the challenges facing this fourth republic? What are the general perceptions and views of Nigerian concerning the challenges facing the fourth republic? This theme addresses these questions by analysing the interview responses which led to emergence of the following sub-themes and as depicted in model 5.4: These are: Weak democratic institutions, Corruption, Insecurity, and Lack of internal democracy, Military mentality and Weak electoral umpire.
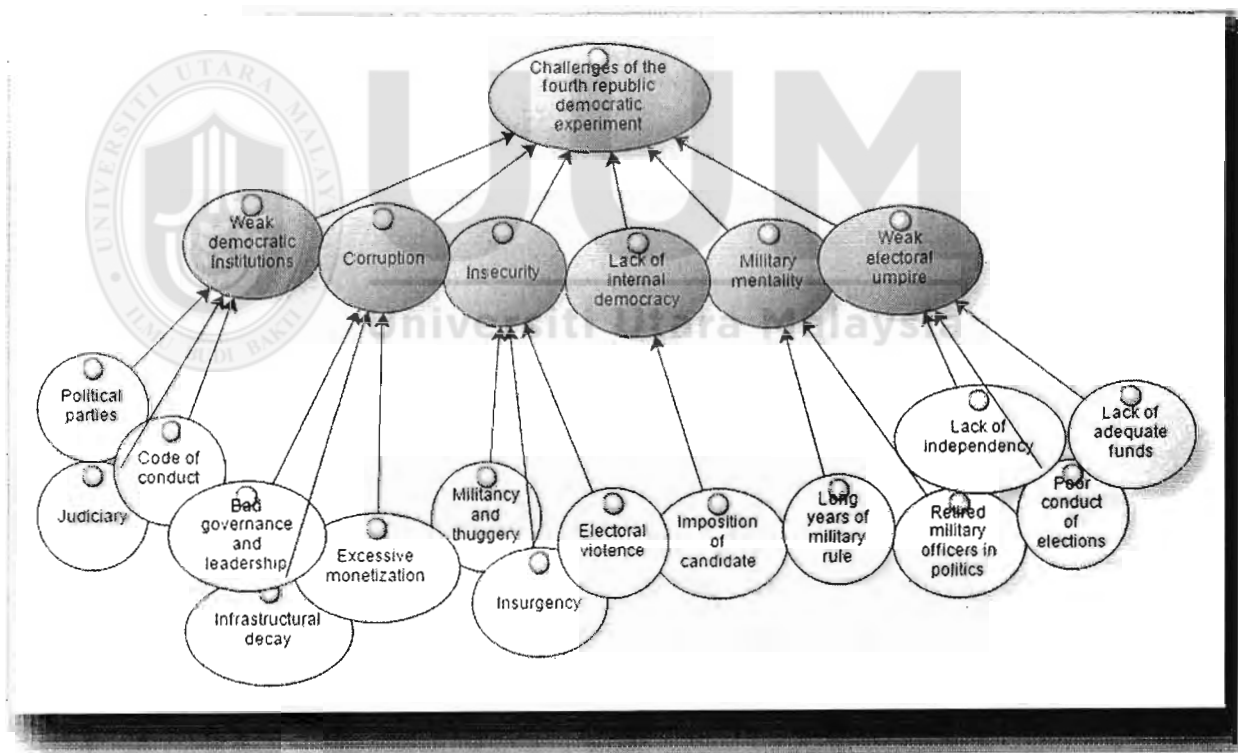
Model 5.4: Model for challenges of the fourth republic democratic experiment

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.2.1 Weak Democratic Institutions

Democratic institutions are the necessary essential elements for the functioning of a democratic political system. The fact that democracy can be identified with basic principles, it must also be identified "by a set of institutions and practices through which these principles are realised" (Beetham, 1997:21). Luckham et al (1998), observed institutions are set of arrangements for organizing political competition, legitimising rulers and implementing rules. In the modern world they generally involve some form of popular participation, particularly through elections to determine the composition of government. These institutions includes electoral institutions, political parties, parliament, and judiciary etcetera. However we choose to discuss the electoral institution separately because of the focus this research has on electoral process.

Since the central nerve of democracy lies with the popular power of citizens- people's power to make decision through the ballot box. Democratic institutions therefore are designed to ensure authorization of popular power of the people. In any democratic society, democratic institutions are instruments for facilitating and sustaining democratic process in which citizens' participation in an election of public officeholders will always prevail. Thus failure of democratic institutions to function in a specified provision of the enshrined code under the rule of law therefore jeopardize the power of the people thus castigating the ethos of democracy. Adebayo and Nasir, (2014:239-240) posited that "weak institutions can negatively affect the quality of governance as well as the national integrity of the entire nation. Needless to state that Nigeria's weak institutions has continually undermined the country's image and dwarfing her growth".

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Democratic institutions in Nigeria's fourth republic have been constrained with several challenges in the course of performing their responsibilities. "In Nigeria, one of the major problems responsible for the failure of democratic institutions is the lack of capacity on the part of the structure, system and operators of these institutions to achieve set goals" (Gberevbe 2014:139). Nigeria's democratic institutions in the fourth republic are virtually weak and are therefore unable to protect and promote consolidation of democracy. The long years of military misrule undermined the democratic institutions like judiciary and legislature (Arowolo and Aluko, 2012).

The strength or weakness of democratic institutions are thus crucial factors to determine the practice of democratic system in a given state. The model 5.5 below depicts the situation of the weakness of democratic institutions in Nigeria as perceived by the informants with its dimensional relationship from the interviews and FGD. These are; political parties, code of conduct and judiciary.
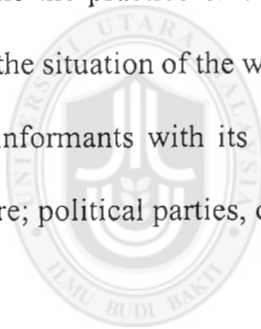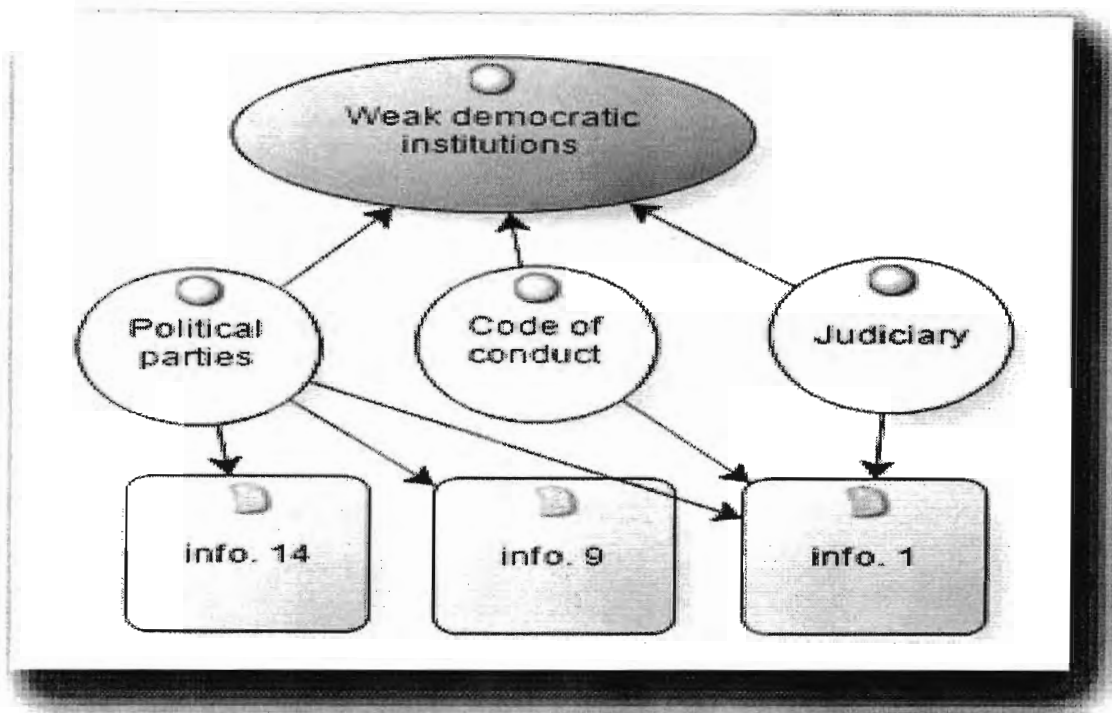
Model 5.5: Model for weak democratic institutions

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.2.1.1 Political Parties

Like all other democratic institutions such as the legislature, judiciary, executive and electoral body, political parties are obviously vital and stronghold of democratic system of government. The first popular and primary responsibility of political parties are to, among other things, recruit and prepare candidates for elections. The relevance of political parties as democratic institution "is fostering democratic etiquettes, values, norms, practices and procedures. Indeed, without political parties, the process of enthronement of democratic government would be selective and non-competitive" (Nwankwo, 2015:52). The relevance of political parties in a democratic system is much more than an organization of people who shared values and ideals for a contestation in an election for public office. Omodia, (2010: 65), writes;

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Political Parties also serve as an index through which democratic governance could be compared in States, in that, the structure and operation of party politics in polities tend to serve as measuring rod for determining the fragility or otherwise of democratic systems. That is a situation where political parties are poorly structured to perform articulative, aggregative, communicative and educative functions, such a system is likely going to be associated with poor political culture which tend to make the democratic process so fragile. Conversely in a situation where political parties are well structured to perform articulative, aggregative, communicative and educative functions, such a system is often associated with participant political culture which tends to ensure a stable democratic process.

Since the first republic up to the current fourth republic Nigeria's political parties have been characterized with poor party politics due largely to lack of ideologies in the party manifestos, ethnic politics, and lack of internal democracy, indiscipline, poor leadership, excessive monetization, godfatherism and funding crisis among others (Brown, 2013 and Kura, 2011). In other words political parties become platforms on which the politicians level playing grounds are inconsistent with enshrined constitutional provision of political parties, thus making the attainment of good governance impossible. The manifestation of these problems in one form or the other dealt a heavy blow on the face fourth republic experiment in Nigeria (Akubo and Umoru, 2014; Olaniyi, 2009 and Azeez,2009).

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

> *Internal democracy also is one of the major problems. You see, whereby parties do not organise elections effectively under a democratic space as enshrined in Electoral Law. They by-pass that by doing things like consensus that is not agreeable to the generality of the people. So, internal democracy is also one of the problems and challenges of the present democratic government (Informant, 1- politician-MP- Rep. I).*

> *There is lack of party manifestos, ideology, poor party structure and poor party programmes in this Fourth Republic. There is also the problem of funding.*

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Those who contribute money to their parties have a say in how the party is run and operated. Hierarchy is not followed. There is also the issue of cross-carpeting and political harloting among the politicians. People join political parties for personal gains. The moment their needs are not met, they would jump to another party (Informant, 14-EMB staff).

There are no cut differences in terms of ideology and programmes between the various political parties we have in Nigeria. That is why members move from one party to another (Informant, 9-Academecian II).

The second research question of this study is to find out the challenges of Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment. Therefore the objective is to give account of these challenges. The data above thus described weak democratic institutions contributed to these challenges, and political parties of the fourth republic are described as weak and lacking the credibility and effectiveness of their purpose. Both the data explained the importance of political parties in democratic system however, it confirms the lack of ideology, manifesto and internal democracy in their activities thus, challenges smooth democratic experiment.

5.2.1.2 Judiciary

An independent judiciary is the breath of any democratic political system. It is the foundation of inculcating the culture of rule of law, which is a principle of democracy that safeguard and protects the equality, dignity and human rights of individuals in a given society. This is consistent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. In any democratic system, the main responsibility of judicial institution is to check government's judicial review and settle disputes between individual and groups as well as interprets laws, beginning with constitution as the ultimate law of the land.

Although as enshrined in the UN's basic principles and in the Nigeria's fourth republic constitution, the judiciary must be an independent institution, but the reality is that "Nigerian judiciary lacks much needed independence" (Aka, 2014: 5). He added that judicial independence is the ability of judges to treat matters before them impartially without interference, inducement, threats or influence from the other institutions of government, particularly executive and legislature. The independency indicators shall include; the ban against exceptional or military courts, separation of powers, exclusive authority, finality of decisions, enumerated qualifications, guaranteed terms, and fiscal autonomy. He however noted that of all the seven indicators it is only fiscal autonomy that has not been met in the fourth republic.

Despite the accolade success of the judicial in the fourth republic, few cases of judicial corruption have surfaced. While judicial corruption is improper financial or material gain and non-material gain, aimed at manipulating the impartiality of the judicial process by any actor within or outside the court system. It contaminates the judicial process by compromising its defining attributes such as fair, equal, and fearless resolution of disputes. Moreover, it exacerbates poverty, environmental crises, social and political disintegration, and national security challenges. Under this condition democracy has the potential of not being consolidated (Ayodeji and Odukoya, 2014). A number of judicial wrangling involving state judges impeaching state governors in the fourth republic were associated with judicial corruption, such as; the Anambra, Oyo, Ekiti and Plateau states (Okereke, 2009).

The most disturbing issue of Nigerian judiciary in the current republic has been the delay in deliverance of justice in the election tribunals. For example it took two years

to adjudicate election petition filed by General Muhammadu Buhari against Chief Olusegun Obasanjo's re-election in 2003. More so, there were alleged manipulation of court judgement in many of election Tribunals in Nigeria.

The above however, were viewed by this research through only one informant based on the following excerpt.

I also believe the justice system in this country is a big challenge. A justice system that takes a very long time before justice is done does not improve the electoral space. Somebody rigs election and the justice system can despise such justice within three months, it can be seen to be free and can be seen that the judiciary is independent. I think those are the challenges to the electoral process (Informant, 1-politician MP-Rep.I).

The data above thus described weakness of Judiciary as democratic institutions contributed to the challenges of the fourth republic. The secondary data explained the importance of Judiciary in democratic system. Both the primary and secondary data confirms the weakness of the judicial institution in delay to the delivery of justice especially election tribunals thus, challenges effective democratic experiment.

5.2.1.3 Code of Conduct

Codes of conduct are broader sets of principles that are designed to inform specific laws or government actions, seldom provide detailed, specific prohibitions. It is a document which provides an articulate framework for political or civil service responsibilities (Gliman, 2005). The most significant importance of code conduct is to guide behaviour to act ethically, thus reduce the tendencies of immorality and prevent corruption. In Nigeria Code of Conduct Bureau was established in 1989 and commence its responsibilities in 1991. "The aims and objectives of the Bureau shall be to establish and maintain a high standard of morality in the conduct of government

business and to ensure that the actions and behaviour of public officers conform to the highest standards of public morality and accountability" (CCB, 1991). Perhaps the mandate, powers and activities of the code of conduct bureau have under gone reforms over the years, its activities;

> Focuses on discipline, moderation, contentment and professionalism among other principles of public office. It also serves as a check on extravagance and vulgar display of ill-gotten wealth, which is capable of attracting envy and offending, to the less privileged among us, who would most likely and rightly judge government by such displays (CCB, 2004).
> .

In order to compliment and enforce the role of CCB, an act was enacted to provide for the establishment of the Code of Conduct Bureau Tribunal to deal with complaints of corruption. However, due to the depth of decay which corruption has brought to the national life of Nigeria, the CCB tribunal has been so weak to function properly to address the challenges of democratic governance in this fourth republic.

The above however, were viewed by this research through only one informant based on the following excerpt.

> *There should be a strong code of conduct for the political class. A strong code of conduct to the political class will improve the electoral space. For example, the political class should behave well but that has not been done. The electoral law has to define that code of conduct. But it has not been embedded in our electoral law. That makes our political class misbehave many times. I think that will improve the political process (Informant, 1-Politician-MP-Rep.I).*

The data above thus described weakness of Code of conduct Bureau as democratic institutions in contributing to the challenges of the fourth republic. While the secondary data explained the importance of CCB in democratic system. Both the primary and secondary data confirms the weakness of the CCB in improving the behaviour of the political class especially regarding corruption.

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5.2.2 Corruption

The World Bank defines corruption as "the abuse of power for private benefit" (cited in Tanzi, 1998: 8). It refers to "the use of public office for private gain, or in other words, use of official position, rank or status by an office bearer for his own personal benefit" (Myint 2000: 35). He noted corrupt behaviour include: (a) bribery, (b) extortion, (c) fraud, (d) embezzlement, (e) nepotism, (f) cronyism, (g) appropriation of public assets and property for private use, and (h) influence peddling. "There is a consensus that corruption refers to acts in which the power of public office is used for personal gain in a manner that contravenes the rules of the game" (Jain, 2001:73). Therefore corruption is an abuse of trust. It is a phenomenon that affects almost all facets of social life both private, public and political.

It has been the major cause poverty, civil strife underdevelopment, insecurity, political instability etcetera. Several literature on corruption describe it as worldwide phenomenon (Aleyomi, 2013; Usman, 2013; Adesote and Abimbola, 2012; Alanamu, Yunusa and Adeoye, 2008). It has been defined in various ways, depending the focus and concern of different writers. This is why Sakariyau (2014:3), stated that "corruption is typological"; it might be Political corruption, Economic corruption and even intellectual corruption as well as electoral and bureaucratic corruption. "Political corruption is simply the use of power by government officials for illegitimate private gain". In essence, it is misuse or abuse of government power for selfish interest. Thus electoral corruption is considered as "manipulation of voters' register, brigandage, and all manner of electoral violence leading to killing and maiming of people. It also involves multiple thumb printing on ballot papers, the announcement of votes in areas

where votes were not cast, and winners of elections ending up as the losers"
(Ijewereme, 2015:3).

While corruption is traceable in Nigeria since the pre-colonial era, which later exacerbated during the military regimes, yet it still rear its ugly face in the fourth republic (Umoh, 2012). In recognizing corruption as a cog to the wheels of sustainable democracy, Aleyomi, (2013) emphasize that since the return of democracy to Nigeria in 1999, the democratization process has been hampered by a number of forces, most especially the corruption phenomenon. Suffice it to say that embezzlement, bribery and looting have destroy fidelity and trust between and among electorate and public office holders. In fact considering the nature of financial corruption and the constant ratings of Nigeria by Transparency International as the most corrupt, second most corrupt or top ten most corrupt country in the world since 1999, one can easily concludes the institutionalized nature of the monster to the fourth republic.

Between 1999 and 2015, Nigeria had four different regimes, the Obasanjo regime from 1999 and 2007; Yar'adua's regime 2007-2010; Jonathan regime from 2010- 2015 and Buhari 2015- date. With exception of Buhari regime which now is in its first quarter of its second year, all the three regimes have been associated with massive corruption scandals. The cases of corruption manifests from the all tiers of government that is federal, state and local governments. For instance during the Obasnjo's regime over 16 trillion naira was shared between these tiers of government but with little impact to Nigerians. Several cases of embezzlement and corruption during the regime such as embezzling 450 billion naira on roads, mismanaging 140 billion naira on refineries and 1.4 billion naira bid to host failed common wealth games in 2005 as well as 23

billion lost to 10 ministries shows the depth of corruption within this period (Lawan, 2015). In this regime "some western diplomats were of the opinion that Nigeria lost between US$4 billion and US$8 billion annually to corruption during the 8 years of Obasanjo's regime" (Human Rights Watch, 2007 cited in Ijewereme, ibid).

Some cases of corruption were charged in courts such as those of former minister of Aviation over handling of the 19.5 billion naira Aviation fund; the sharing of 300 million naira belonging to ministry of health by the Minister of health with his associates in 2008; as well as the Governor of Adamawa state on several corruption cases and Plateau state Governor for stealing 1.7 billion naira in six months (Lawan ibid: 226). A cursory observation into the executive arm of government in Nigeria's fourth republic "reveals that corruption was perpetrated with impunity with little or no effort at bringing the perpetrators to justice" (Usman, 2013:118). A typical example was the frantic effort of President Yar adua's government through the office of Attorney of the federation to prevent prosecution of Delta state Governor (James Ibori), who is close associate of the president accused of corruption. Similarly during the Jonathan administration, where "the board of NNPC and the Minister of Petroleum supervising NNPC, Diezani Allison Madueke, were indicted of corruption; the president sacked the board of NNPC without sacking the Minister of Petroleum. "Mrs Daziani Allison Madueke has been indicted by five different investigative panel Committees reports at different time" (ibid: 5). In the same vein, when the former Governor of Central Bank of Nigeria revealed non-repatriation of $49.8 billion by NNPC to the federation account, which is equivalent to 76% of 2012 and 2013 crude oil lifting. The President suspended the Governor, yet with no serious investigation of the allegation (Lawan, ibid).

In an assessment of the impact of corruption in the legislature, specifically the Nigeria's National Assembly, Lawan (2009) noted that the deadly cankerworm has been subverting the process of democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic. He observed that since the inauguration of the fourth republic in 1999, the legislature has been caught up in massive corrupt practices; to the extent that one can say, the fall of three Senate Presidents (Evans Enwerem, Chuba Okadigbo and Adolphus Wagbara) as well as the shameful resignation of Speaker of the House of Representative, Salisu Buhari, are linked to the embroiled corrupt practices of the law makers. One of the unfortunate corruption incidence includes demands for bribes before budget was considered by NASS committee members, specifically the case of Chairman House Committee on Education involving the Minister of Education who was also compelled to resign.

To further corroborate the shameful act of the NASS regarding corruption, when President Obasanjo presented a bill to create Independent Corrupt Practice commission (ICPC), a year after the inauguration of the fourth republic, the bill had to spend a year in the legislature before it was reluctantly pass in to law. Although the commission was expected to be promising, yet it turn out to be disappointing. However the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), established in 2003 was successful in investigating, prosecuting and convicting high profile individuals such as the Inspector General of Police, Governors, Chairman of Nigerian Port Authority NPA, the daughter of President Obasanjo and chairlady of commercial bank etcetera. Despite these efforts however, the commission has been accused of witch haunting and plea bargaining with suspect of criminal activities (Sakariyau, 2013).

Thus plea bargaining is a situation where a suspect will accept his crime before prosecution, which leads to softening of his punishment or even let go after some settlements. This weakened the power of the institution as it also affect the credibility of the judicial system thus inflicts on the strength of the democratic process. Today, the Buhari administration has been uncovering several cases of corruption perpetuated during the six years of Jonathan administration, one of the high profile case was the siphoning of $2.1 billion meant for procurement of arms to fight Boko Haram insurgents. Thus former National Security Adviser of President Jonathan is being charged in court, where he mentioned several politicians involved in sharing the largesse. Perhaps Nigerians and many observers around the world are looking forward to witness the outcome of the case, whether it would be plea bargaining as usual or the court would administer justice.

Corruption poses serious challenge on Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment just as in any other country in the world. The model 5.6 below depicts the level of the challenges of corruption in Nigeria as perceived by the informants with its dimensional relationship developed from the interviews. These are; Bad governance and leadership, infrastructural decay and excessive monetization
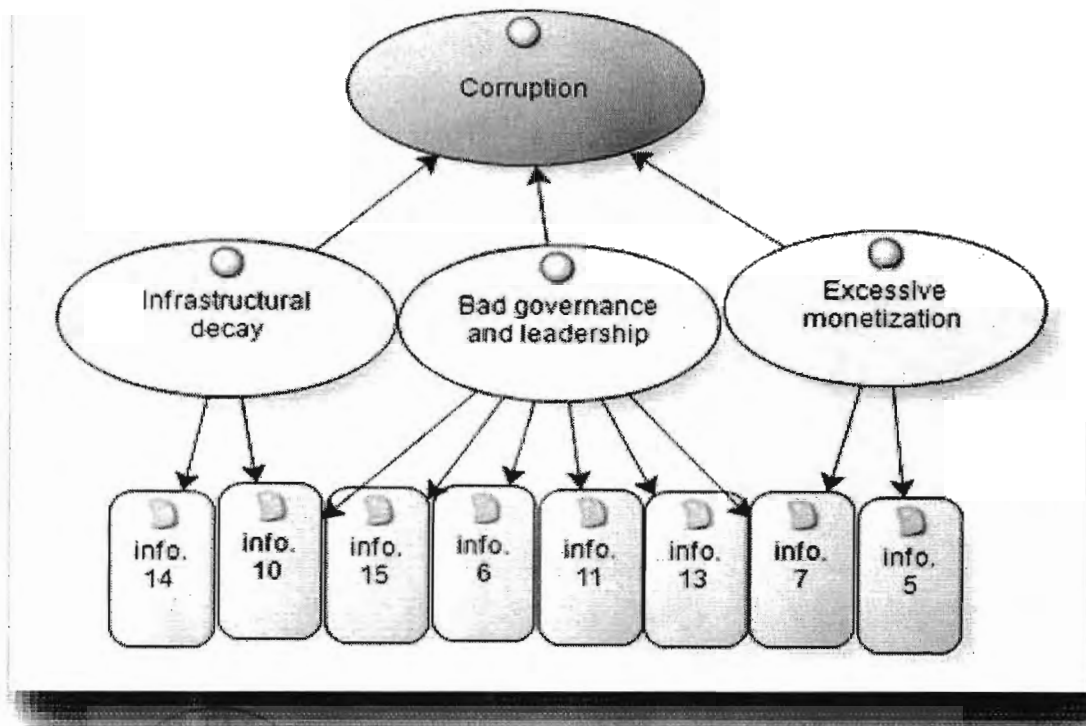
Model 5.6: Model for Corruption as a challenge to quest for democratic governance

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.2.2.1 Bad Governance and Leadership

Major reason for acceptance of democracy across the whole world was as a result of

the advantages of its characteristics of good governance. Because good governance is

expected where citizens will participate in the decision making process that affects

their life. Thus it is only democratic governance that explicitly outlines such principles.

In any democratic state the twin concepts of good governance and effective leadership

are correlations for its consolidation, thus their absence would simply make it

vulnerable to challenges that will lead to its failure. "Good governance essentially

promotes improved welfare of the people, transparency and accountability by public

managers in the conduct of state affairs and reduces corruption to the barest minimum"
(Oni, 2014:1).

The chequered history of Nigeria's political development is a repeated discussion of the bane of good governance and effective leadership. This is for the simple reason that during the colonial era, the colonial administration was more of exploration and exploitation of the countries resources, not minding the consent of the citizens. More so, the military regimes were also notoriously associated with human rights abuses. Even when the first and second republics featured in total of 6 and 4 years respectively, have not substantially brought significant changes in the economic conditions of people's general development

The reason for the widespread jubilations of Nigerians at the dawn of the fourth republic on May, 1999 was because of the suffering they went through during the bad governance and misrule of military dictators. Our anticipation rests squarely on the view that the new era of democratic governance would bring peace, stability and prosperity, because we thought the leaders we have participated in electing would perform remarkably better than those who impose themselves upon us. However, 16 years after, the situation is stillborn. Nigerians are still yet to be out the quagmire. Odo (2015:5) captured the nexus of Nigeria's fourth republic and the dilemma of governance and leadership as thus;

> Democracy in Nigeria has only succeeded in worsening the conditions of poor citizens due to the greed and selfishness of the leadership. The primary interest of the political leadership is not service but the accumulation of the nation's wealth. There are evidences indicating that the insecurity situation, armed robbery, kidnapping and other evil menaces in the country emanated from corruption induced poverty, a situation where the wealth of the nation finds its way into the foreign accounts of few individuals who are in the corridors of power. Billions

of Naira is being stolen on daily basis while poor Nigerians are dying of hunger and starvation every day and those who survive live in penury in the midst of plenty.

Leadership problem is clearly the bane of Nigerians. These leaders that Nigerians have given their mandate to protect the political, social and economic interests have failed to govern well. They are more or less lacking leadership qualities, for most of them self-enrichment is their watch word. It is not surprising when Ejere (2013:129) argued that "whatever has been the pattern of governance, whether military or democratic, the country has not been blessed with transformational/development-oriented political leaders at the national level". This is in line with the saying that "political leaders of Nigeria lack the vision, the passion, and the character to effectively govern the state and deal with the crumbling economy. They do not have a clear understanding of their responsibilities, as some of them are insensitive to the people's sufferings" (Adeyemi 2012:169).
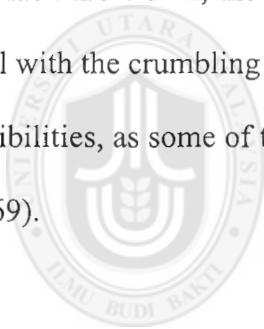
The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

> *The issue of corruption undermines the success of democracy in Nigeria. It affects the ability of those in position of authority and in governance to be able to give people the dividends of democracy. (Informant, 10-Academician).*

> *Corruption has eaten deep into every sector in the country. We don't adhere strictly to our National Pledge, particularly the leadership (Informant, 11-Electoral Officer-Commissioner).*

> *Corruption in the circle of leaders poses a very great challenge to our democracy. (Informant, 13-Snr prog. Officer-NGO-CDD).*

> *Corruption is also one major challenge. The high reward for political office holders is also another challenge (Informant, 15-Grass root politician III).*

There is no way you can talk about Nigeria without talking about corrupt leaders. It has become very unprecedented. The military did not prove better than the civilian they topped, the civilian does not prove better than the military since 1999. This is because economically, politically and socially you see a great deal is left to be desired (Informant, 6_Academician I).

The first is the challenge relating to governance. Although elections were held and a democratic government came in 1999, Nigerians were unhappy because the process of governance was not democratic. Also, it did not satisfy the needs and the aspirations of Nigerians in areas of social and economic development. Democratic election did not result into good democratic governance and that really had been a major challenge (Informant, 7-Academician/former EMB chair).

The data above is an effort to present an account of challenges of corruption to Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment. It is a description of how bad governance and bad leadership characterized the era. Although the data noted the long history of corruption in Nigerian politics it has worsened within the fourth republic era. This has been explained in some incidences, for instance the incidences in the (NASS) legislature and (Presidency) executive whereby it affects their abilities as leaders to perform their constitutional responsibilities efficiently. Therefore the analysis above describe how corruption through bad governance and bad leadership increasingly challenges the practice of democracy in the country.

5.2.2.2 Infrastructural Decay

Infrastructure refers to basic physical assets and social amenities or organizational structures that facilitates the provision of products and services across a given state. It is certainly a set of interconnected structures necessary for the development of society. These includes electricity, roads, and telecommunication, education and health care facilities, bridges etcetera. Adequate infrastructure helps in determining a country's success in diversifying production, coping with population growth, reducing poverty,

improving environmental conditions, etc. Lack or decayed infrastructural facilities in a given state therefore denotes its level of underdevelopment. Perhaps modernization theorists relates the significant of development of a country with its level of democratization process. Therefore a carefully planned infrastructural development is an important aspect of progressive development of any country.

Since 1964 Nigeria began its national development plans, however to date the situation of infrastructure in the country is grossly inadequate, hence the implications translate to low wealth creation and low economic development. Several reasons are attributed for the gross inadequate infrastructure in Nigeria. These include, poor funding, poor governance, corruption and economic sabotage, poor maintenance culture, population explosion, neglect of urban and regional planning, etcetera (Mobolaji and Wale, 2012). Following the return to democratic government of fourth republic in 1999, economic reformation programmes were initiated by the government. However, local contractors are noted for the abandonment of projects.

There are numerous cases of building collapse with reported loss of lives and properties (Idoro, 2010). Among notable factors responsible for theses cases are bogus contracts that are awarded due to political influences. The situation has worsened due to high inflation rate and bureaucracy in contract reimbursement. "Late payment of contract affect the cost estimate and inability to complete project to specifications. Short term development agenda informed by the needs to impress voters during re-election to political post" (Arowosafe, Okoroh and Dean, 2015:8), also contributes to the decayed infrastructure. Another infrastructure that attracts attention and form top on agenda on the to-do menu of virtually all governments globally is the electricity.

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Inadequate electricity poses serious challenge to Nigeria's economic sustainability, development and appreciable growth in various ways. The main challenges associated with electricity in Nigeria includes; slow in generation capacity, marketing deregulation process delay and interference of government, transmission lines and distribution vandalism, poor maintenance of existing power system and corruption (Olugbenga, Juma and Philips 2013). The rural people are generally the most affected victims of lack of or decaying infrastructure in the country. "The inability of the governments (federal, state and local) to provide and maintain rural infrastructure led the people to revive their old traditions that embrace collective action to achieve a reasonable level of success" (Shittu, 2007"42).

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

> *There is problem of the collapse of infrastructure in Nigeria; roads are in bad shapes, education sector is in bad shape, health institutions have collapsed (Informant 10-Academician).*
>
> *There is also the issue of infrastructure which affects our operations. (Informant 14-EMB staff).*

The phenomenon of corruption as described above has been seriously castigating the effectiveness of Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment. Both the primary and secondary data explained that as a result of corruption, infrastructural development has been neglected. The data reported that challenges of infrastructural decay such as poor health and education facilities, roads and poor electricity supply undermine not only the economic sustainability, growth and development but also the democratization process.

5.2.2.3 Excessive Monetization

The use of money in politics is virtually inevitable. However the procedure and manner of its usage has been the question that occupied the minds political analysts and observers alike. Money in politics is a two-sided coin. On one side, "campaign spending is a constitutionally protected right vital to informing and mobilizing ordinary citizens". On the other side, "privately financed campaigns may induce politicians to favour wealthy special interests at the expense of those very same ordinary citizens" (Bailey 2004:653). Nevertheless, "despite different approaches and priorities, the overall focus is on the unbalancing and corrupting influence of money in politics rather than on money providing linkage, democratizing politics and enabling political competition" (Bruno and Baena, 2013:14). In his survey on the impact of money on politics Doble (2001:2) found that

> Participants in National Issues Forums on "Money and Politics" saw the influence of money on the political system as damaging and harmful in three ways: first, they said, money warps political decision making so that the public interest is routinely subordinated to special interests; second, they said it skews the election process, giving well-financed candidates a great and unfair advantage; third, they said it alienates ordinary Americans who often feel that their voices do not count.

The experience of Nigeria's new democracy, from 1999 to date shows that large amount of money for political parties campaign and election processes were generated by few individuals and corporate organizations. Meanwhile "moneybags politicians" or donors of political campaign in return, would ensure to profit from the investment, since "politics becomes business and business of politics becomes merely to divert public funds from the crying needs of our people for real developments of their lives" (INEC, 2005 cited in Olaniyi, 2009: 214).

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Similarly it is observed that money factor in Nigeria's "the electoral campaigns looms disturbingly large with no apparent solution insight. All legal limitations seem to have been observed in breach, especially in the 2011elections" (Oromaregheke 2013: 29). It is further clarified that "Political period therefore becomes a time to display wealth by contestants. Electorates are deceived into voting for the highest bidder(s), as they are not sure if they can benefits from the governments when enthroned" (Ekpenyong, Ibiam and Agah 2015:10). The picture of 2011 elections is portrayed by Onapajo, Francis and Uzodike (2015:8) that;

> Nigeria is listed among the six countries with the most expensive elections even though clear data on election financing in the country are not easily available. With reference to Nigerian elections, Magnus Othman, the Political Financial Advisor for International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), remarked: "It's an electoral system where you need to spend." Clearly, one of the reasons for the huge finances associated with elections is the special budget used for vote----buying by parties and politicians. For example, it was widely reported, and confirmed by a delegate at the People's Democratic Party (PDP) January 2011 presidential primaries that the sums of US$3,000 and US$10,000 were budgeted for each delegate to buy their votes by the competing camps of Atiku Abubakar and Goodluck Jonathan, respectively, at the primary election.53 Given that 8,500 delegates were reported to have attended the primaries, it can be estimated that the Atiku camp would have spent US$25.5 million while Jonathan's camp would have spent US$85 million on vote----buying alone at the preliminary stage before the general elections. Interestingly, Reuters reported that a substantial part of the money used by the incumbent was withdrawn from the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) account, which affected the forex (foreign exchange) market

It is therefore clear for observers to notice that the high cost of election campaigns would lead to inefficiency and high cost of governance. Thus high cost of governance has no doubt been part of the challenges facing the current democratic experiment in the country.

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

Monetisation in our politics poses a threat to our democracy (Informant, 5-politician-NP- Sen.).

The third major challenge is corruption. It is corruption that resulted to poorly conducted elections and it is corruption that led in bad democratic governance. National resources are converted into personal use. There was also inducement; using money whether in electoral process or in other processes of governance (Informant, 7- Academician/former EMB chair.).

The phenomenon of corruption as described above has been seriously undermining the effectiveness of Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment. Both the primary and secondary data explained that as a result of corruption which manifest in excessive monetisation of political campaigns funding, high cost of governance and elections threaten the experiment of democracy in the country.

5.2.3 Insecurity

The protection of life and properties of citizens is one of the fundamental responsibility of any responsive and responsible government. "It means safety from the constant threats of hunger disease, crime and repression. It also means protection from sudden and hurtful disruption in the pattern of our daily lives at homes", work places the society at large. It was after the World War II that the concept of national security was launched, by 1990 the concept was widened and deepened to include human, environmental and sectoral considerations (Thomas, 2013).

The most immediate concern of any citizen is the security of his life and property. Perhaps this responsibility is even most expected in a democratic government. This is due to the fact that, unlike authoritarian, democratic government's foremost issue is the participation of citizens in decision making as well effectively representing their

will by representatives of their decisions. Certainly it is the wish of every citizen to be safe and secured. Failure of government to secure its citizens and to protect them from the vulnerability of preventable harms is a gross misconduct to its responsibility. Thus insecurity can be considered as the most challenging aspect to the quest of democratic governance.

Following the dawn of Nigeria's fourth republic in 1999, there was high expectations on the newly democratically elected government, not only because of the propensity of attracting good will from international community but also for the "belief that an elected government would be able to facilitate security for the mass of the people; in terms of being responsive to the needs of the people, as well as providing a conducive environment for the safety of the capital investment, through the instrumentality of rule of law" (Adeniran, 2013:135).

Despite so-called "all measures" by the Nigerian government such as the outrageous budgetary allocation and security votes to address security issues, insecurity culture has evolved over the years. Since 1999 to date successive governments have failed to make Nigerians affirm the belief that they are well secured by the government they invested their confidence on. This has raised questions to insensitivity of the leaders to ensure protections of the yearnings of its people despite the available mechanisms and resources available at their disposal.

Several scholars argued that insecurity is a result of one or combination of the followings factors; poverty, corruption, electoral malpractice, bad governance and weak leadership, human rights violation, "widening gap in income inequality,

worsening unemployment situation and perceptions of group discrimination and marginalization based on political, ethnic, religious, and communal differences" (Nwachukwu, 2011, Jega, 2007 and Ajakaiye 2002 cited in Nkwede, 2013:46). The consequences of high level insecurity leads to loss of lives of military, police, politicians as well as thousands of citizens in forms of violent crimes such as kidnappings, suicide bombings, carjacking, raping armed robbery, assassinations etcetera. In corroboration with this, Ighafe and Offiong, (2007) noted that "cases of political assassinations in the fourth republic alone accounts for the highest number of political assassination in Nigeria's history" (cited in Okoli and Chukwuma, 2014:16). The insecurity challenge has assumed the situation whereby the entire nations is forced into rue for the loss of their loved ones. "Not only has the continued state of insecurity threatened the very fabric of national integration in the country and created the ecology of fear, disquiet and anxiety, it has also meted a deadly blow to industrial development" (Onifade, Imhonopi and Ugochukwu, 2014:53).

Insecurity has been seriously challenging Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment just as in any other country in the world. The model 5.7 below depicts the level of the challenges of insecurity in Nigeria as perceived by the informants with its dimensional relationship developed from the interviews. These are; Electoral violence, militancy and thuggery and insurgency.
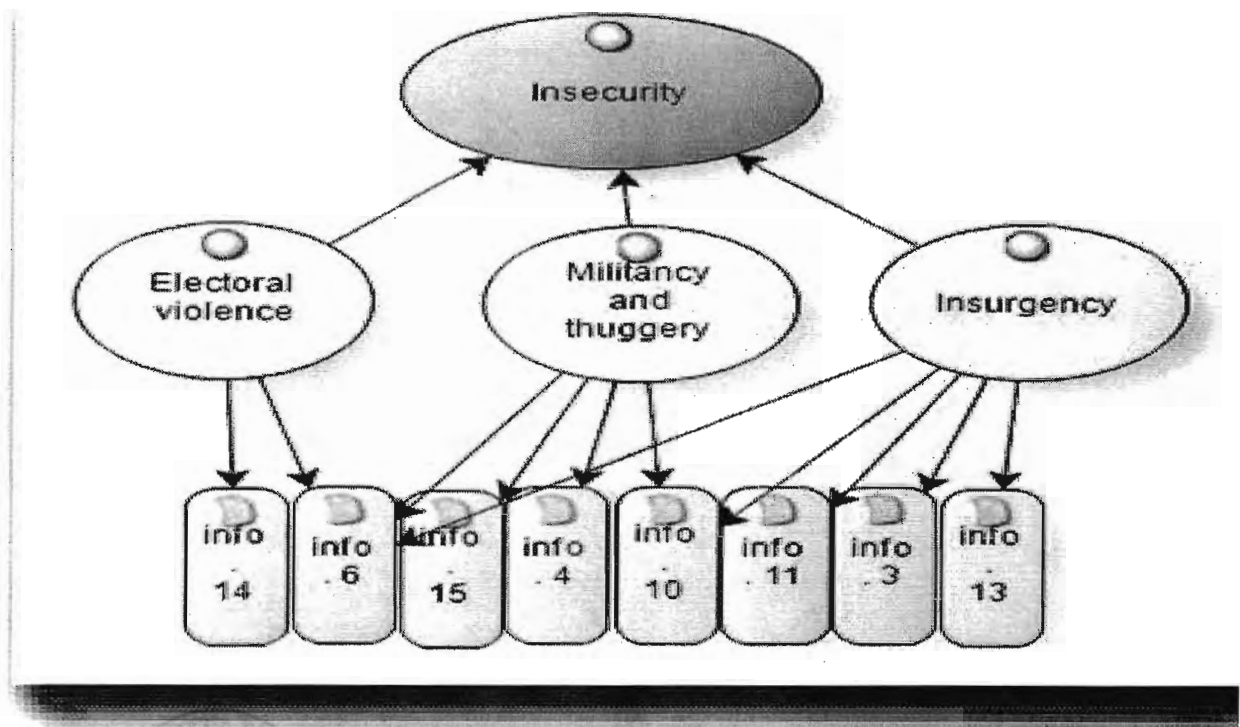
Model 5.7: Model for insecurity

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.2.3.1 Electoral Violence

A part from being a civic duty, election is also of crucial importance to democracy. It is certainly a process which counts the participation of all and sundry to choose who makes decision on constituent behalf. Election is the noticeable determinants of the quality of democracy. Thus free, fair and peaceful election are determinants of credible elections. Therefore any hindrance or distraction to election process amounts to ruins of the quality of democratic processes.

Despite the significant relevance of election in democracy in the 21st century, conducting a violent free election in Nigeria's fourth republic remains a challenging task. It is unfortunate,

elections in Nigeria's fourth republic are characterized with tensions and violence. "One of the most disturbing epithets of elections in Nigeria is that they are said to be akin to war" (Jega 2013: 3). Indeed, the trend associated with elections in Nigeria often make elections appear like war. "Pre-election violence has led to the death of many politicians, their supporters and innocent citizens" (ibid). Electoral violence involves all sorts of riots, demonstrations, party clashes, political assassinations, looting, arson, thuggery, kidnapping, etc., spontaneous or not, which occur before, during and after elections. It is "elections motivated crisis employed to alter, change or influence by force or coercion, the electoral behaviour of voters or voting patterns or possibly reverse electoral decision in favour of particular individual, groups or political party" (Ogundiya, 2003 cited in Oni, Chidozie and Agbude 2013 :49). Electoral violence is thus use of force to manipulate the outcome of election result in favour of the one who uses force to manipulate election or even the one who defend against the manipulation to protect his mandate by force.

Electoral violence has become part of the culture in Nigeria's electoral process. Such that all elections since independence (Nigeria has conducted eight general elections since independence in 1960, the elections were held in 1964, 1979, 1983, 1993, 1999, 2003 2007, 2011 and 2015) are virtually ridiculed by violence. All of these elections were substantially marred by various types of violence associated with party politics and conduct of elections. Electoral violence that often unfold cast very dark shadow on Nigeria's democratic journey since 1999 (Shaapera, et al, 2014). Continued violence in the electoral process has almost crippled the growth of democratic values, attitudes and institutions in the country. "The scale of election-related violence in 2011 claims over 800 deaths and 65,000 displaced in post-election violence." (Muheeb,

2015:1). Despite the fact that 2015 presidential Election Day process appeared to be overall more efficient, however procedural shortcomings were prevalent and incidents of violence and interference were evident, especially in Rivers and Akwa Ibom states (EOM, 2015).

Jega (2012) noted that misuse of security orderlies by politicians, especially incumbents, attacks on opponents, attacks on members of the public, violence at campaigns, intimidation of voters, snatching of election materials, kidnapping and assassination of political opponents characterised the 2011 electoral process despite the election was acclaimed as the best that Nigeria ever had before the 2015. The Nigerian police uses their authority, power, and access to firearms, to intimidate and have on occasion intimidated the population. In some cases, they react violently to constitutionally protected rights and activities such as opposition campaigns or rallies (Oni, Chidozie and Agbude 2013).

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

> *There is also the issue of security. INEC has to collaborate with security agencies. In some cases securities are hijacked by the politicians. They would not come on Election Day to accompany election materials (Informant, 14-EMB staff).*

> *The ethno-tribal and political conflicts that are found in spotlight places such as Benue, Bauchi, Kaduna, Plateau States and other places. These are glaring challenges that this democratic dispensation has to address. In the area of polity, you can see the difficulty in trying to conduct fair, free and credible elections. This is a great challenge in the area of politics. Each and every election is characterised by violence, malpractice, use of money and many other malice (Informant, 6-Academician I).*

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The above data (primary and secondary) explains the level of insecurity that characterized Nigeria's fourth republic experiment. The immediate data specifically describes the challenges of electoral violence, particular the way security officials are misuse, as well as spontaneous violence before or during elections, kidnappings, assassinations' and to some extent escalation of violence. This level of insecurity therefore undermines the practice of democracy in the country.

5.2.3.2 Militancy and Thuggery

Militancy refers to the violent activities of an individual or group holding an aggressive position in support of a given ideology or a cause. Such individuals or group of persons in a psychologically militant state is in a physically aggressive posture. (Nwaodike et al, 2010: 17 cited in Ajayi and Nwogwugwu, 2014: 2). It is an aggressive support of political or social cause usually through violent or confrontational methods. Therefore "ethnic militia is a group of people who are not professional and constitutionally recognized soldiers but who have military training and act as an army to defend their ethnic group" (Abegunde, 2013: 4). Thuggery emerged from thugs which means "young, violent and dangerous individuals". Therefore "thuggery implies the dangerous behavior of thugs". Political thuggery is thus "any negative behavior associated with violence, hooliganism, kidnapping, murder, assassination, gang action and troubleshooting" which is connected or related to any political process. Political thugs are often criminals or social delinquents" (Esiri, 2016: 1).

Politically, the duo describes an individual or group of people who continuously struggle or support for political or social relevance usually through criminal activities. The twin concepts are used interchangeably in political and social discourse. Both phenomenon are associated with youth due to the fact that youth age "represents the

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most volatile, complex, unpredictable, dynamic as well as the most vulnerable segment of the population, socio-economically, emotional and otherwise" (Inokoba and Maliki, 2011:217). Perhaps it is not surprising when youth on their own or used by political elites engage in political struggle to score a political or even economic cause violently. Militancy and thuggery are therefore undesirable activities that undermine democratization.

Nigeria, the most populous black country in the world, is undeniably one of the most richly endowed countries in Africa. This has been an area where the main multinational oil companies are operating, such as Shell, Chevron etcetera. However, one issue that has continued to attract national and global attention in recent times is the appearance of militancy in the Niger Delta. The Niger Delta is one of the world's largest wetlands, and Africa's largest delta, covering some 70 000 km2. The Niger Delta is obviously blessed with abundant resources, especially crude oil which accounts for almost "80 percent of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings. Despite its abundant oil wealth, the region presents an example of extreme poverty, as vast oil revenues have barely touched pervasive local poverty" (United Nations Development Program 2006:9 cited in Isaba, 2008: 11).

The condition of poverty due largely to environmental destruction as a result of oil exploration made the people to institute legal action against the oil companies for compensation, and later protest and demand for resource ownership and control. The Nigerian state intervention resolution in 1980s, 1998 and 1999, the Deltan's demands were not adequately provided, hence resulted to kidnappings especially the foreigners. Added to these problems is the issue of alienation that Deltans felt against them by the

federal government. For example, whereas the government spent several billions of Naira to rehabilitate and construct new roads in the South-West and Northern parts of the country, the East-West road that links the Niger Delta with other parts of the country is neglected, and thus remains in a deplorable condition. Despite the deployment of federal troops in the region, and the presidential shoot-at-sight order, the militants remain undaunted and continue to hold sway. Hostage taking by Niger Delta militants was a worrisome dimension in 2006 due to the frequency and intensity of such events. Between January and December 2006, a total of 24 incidents, involving 118 hostages, have been recorded (Africa Master Web 2006 cited in Isaba, ibid, 27).

The appearance of political activism spearheaded by Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) and Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) led loss of control of the people by the Nigerian government. The action by militants almost paralyzed oil production in the Western Delta. The Presidential Amnesty programme which was an attempt to assuage militants, however due to faulty planning, insincerity, lack of political will and corruption in the programme, the amnesty initiative gradually failed with the resumption of militant attacks in the region (Paki and Ebienfa, 2011). The extent to which militancy constitute security threats to federal government of Nigeria has in no small measure challenges Nigeria's quest for democratic governance during the fourth republic.

The trend of political thuggery emerges since the first republic, it transcends to the second, third and fourth republics. It is unfortunate "Over the years the activities of thugs in Nigeria have been recognized and powerfully backed by the political class" (Mbaya, 2013: 2092). It is indisputable that the act of political thuggery during all the

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elections of the fourth republic has undermined the quality of democratic experiment within this period. There are different groups of thugs across the country that formed and maintained by politicians for the purpose harassment, intimidation and distorting electoral processes, it could before, during or after the elections. For example, the activities *Yan kalare,, Sara-suka, Banu-Isra'il* and *Yan shinko, Yandadaba, Yan Jagaliya, and Yan Gumurzu,* in Northern part of the country, while in the East, the *Bakassi Boys, the Niger- Delta Force, Egbesu Boys and Odua Youth movement* in the Southern Nigeria have been a source of threat not only to the elections but also to the democratic process in general (Mbaya, 2013 and Ayuba and Ahmadu, 2011: 111).

Incidence of thuggery across "intra-party and inter-party have led to endemic abductions and assassinations of opponents and innocent victims, flagrant and official rigging of election results. Subsequent violations of electoral process have indirectly "transformed election periods in Nigeria as a-matter-of-do-or-die or a-matter-of-life-and-death or that of by hook or by crook" (Obasanjo, 2007, Jega, 2008 cited in Abbas, 2008: 2). Thus Agba (2011: 59) was apt when he said "political thuggery is an "obstaculum" to democracy and it hinders the attainment of the aforementioned referents without which democracy is worthless".

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

> *There is political thuggery or fighting between members of different political parties, snatching of ballot-boxes, assassination of political contestants or politicians and of course, the post-election violence, especially after the 2011 elections (informant, 10-Academician III).*

> *The challenges are religious, ethnicity and sectionalism (Informant, 15 Grass root politician III),*

Well, insecurity is always a challenge to any form of government; be it military or civilian (Informant, 4-Grass root politician II).

People in the Niger Delta that are vandalising the oil pipelines and oil production generally (Informant, 6-Academician I).

The above data (primary and secondary) explains the level of insecurity that characterized Nigeria's fourth republic experiment. The data further describes specifically, the challenges of militancy and thuggery which manifest in sectionalism and ethnicity resulting to killings, kidnappings, and assassinations and vandalizing of state properties such as oil pipelines. It also manifests in inter and intra-party clashes leading to loss of lives and properties. These activities therefore obstructs the effectiveness of the fourth republic.

5.2.3.3 Insurgency

Insurgency is an ambiguous concept. Noting that there is no widely accepted definition of insurgency due to divergent views among those analysing the phenomenon, Fafowora (2013), observed that there is an overlapping relationship between insurgencies, terrorism and militancy. While insurgencies are directed against the government and public institutions, terrorism seek to destroy the entire social order, militancy however seek to secure local objective. In broad terms insurgency is an "armed groups seeking to overthrow an existing government using a variety of violent and non-violent tactics that include drawing support and sympathy from acquiescent population" (Siegel, 2007:328 cited in Folarin and Oviasogie, 2015:2). In this respect therefore, the activities of Boko Haram can best be describe as insurgency

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Among the most disturbing challenges of Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment from the security angle is emergence and destructive activities of Boko Haram. Since surfacing in 2009, barely ten years after the inauguration of the fourth republic, Boko Haram has attracted streams of competing narratives and commentaries some of which have been factual, fictional and inflammatory. These includes religious extremism, State-failure, political feud, global surge in insurgency and conspiratorial moves of domestic and global forces. What is clear, however, is that the rebellion is considerably more amorphous and less hierarchical than many accounts in the international media suggest (Mathew, 2015).

The issue began as an insignificant agitation of an Islamic sect with a strange commitment to non-conformist standards of social organization in Muslim-dominated Bauchi and Borno states. It began in Bauchi State on July 26, 2009 and since that time, the group has extended its activities to other Northern states of Kano, Kaduna, Abuja, Yobe, Niger, Adamawa and Taraba. Their strategies includes kidnapping, targeted killing, assassination, suicide bombing, bombing with Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), Vehicle Born Improvised Explosive Device (VBIED), ambush, and drive-by shooting. It has launched attacks on educational institutions at all levels, government establishments, places of worship (both churches and mosques), on military institutions such as military barracks, police stations (including the Force Headquarters in Abuja); and have assassinated key political figures, statesmen and religious leaders that oppose their philosophy (Folarin and Oviasogie, ibid:7). It has at once kidnapped more than two hundred Chibok Girls in Borno state in 2014.

The Boko Haram insurgency heightened fears among Nigerian populace as well as the international community. Events in last few years indicated their ability to threatened West Africa's fledgling democracies such as in Mali, Cameroun and Niger (Zenn, 2012 cited in Folarin and Oviasogie, ibid). From whatever dimension the issue of Boko Haram is observed, it is an ugly development that has not only threatened the Nigeria's nascent democracy but also the very existence of the Nigerian nation. It causes the loss of thousands of lives of innocent people.

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

> *Political violence manifested in several ways; insurgency in the North East and other parts of the country, kidnapping and abduction in the South-South and in some parts in the South-East (Informant, 10-Academician III),*
>
> *One of the challenges is insecurity. It is alleged that this insurgency in the North East is invented so that the 2015 elections would not hold (Informant, 11-Electoral officer-commissioner).*
>
> *Well, when you bring a set of people with different religion, different ethnic groups, there is bound to be problems (Informant, 13-Snr prog. Officer NGO-CDD).*
>
> *The major challenge is the insurgency (Boko Haram), but we thank God that we have voted a non-corrupt person as President. He has promised to tackle this issue of insurgency. In the National Assembly, we will support any law he will bring that will end the issue of insurgency in the country (Informant, 3-Grass root politician I).*
>
> *In the area of security, you can see that since the civil war, Nigeria has never been taken to task than during this dispensation. Issue of insurgency in the North East (Informant, 6-Academician I),*

The above data (primary and secondary) explains the level of insecurity that characterized Nigeria's fourth republic experiment. The data analyses the challenges of insurgency to the practice of democracy, which manifest mainly through religious

extremism in North-eastern part and to lesser extent north-western part of the country. Thus insurgency claimed thousands lives of Nigerians and enormous resources through bombings, shootings and assassinations, which is therefore an impediment to the practice of democracy.

5.2.4 Lack of Internal Democracy

Internal democracy or intra-party democracy is about the practice of democratic principles within a political party. Although, "universal definition of the concept of intra-party/internal democracy does not exist, however many scholars agree on some basic principles of electivity, accountability, transparency, inclusiveness, participation and representation" (Alfa, 2012: 1). It simply refers to the "internal management and functioning of political parties and party systems based on democratic principles that reflects in terms of candidate selection, leadership selection, policy making, membership relations, gender, minorities, youth and party funding" (Ojukwu,et al 2011 cited in Ajimbola and Adesote, 2012:48). Absence or inadequate management and functioning of the principles of inclusiveness, electivity, participation and representation in a political parties and party systems is therefore referred to as lack of internal democracy. Lack of internal democracy therefore poses serious challenge to the quest for democratic governance.

Undoubtedly internal party democracy does not only contribute for the credible elections, but also ensures legitimacy and quality of leadership, governance and economic development, in other words it ensures good democratic governance. However a critical over view of the establishment, and operations of political parties in Nigeria's fourth republic shows that they apparently lack the principles of internal

democracy. "Nigeria's political parties are riddled with internal strife and multiple crises" (Agbaje and Adejumobi, 2006 :27). A typical example in People's Democratic Party (PDP) which has rule the country for 16 years (1999-2015). There has been serious erosion of democratic values. Its primaries, conventions and congresses, which are institutions for nominating party candidates for election and electing party officials have been little regarded. Ojukwu and Olaifa (2011) emphasize that PDP like most of the political parties in the fourth republic have suffering from the challenges of poverty of ideology, candidate selection, and party funding zoning formula, primaries and party unity as well as party executive arrogance.

Okhaide, (2012:) observed with particular reference to the conducts of parties primaries conducted between the 26th of November 2010 and 15th of January 2011, that there seem to be total disregard for internal party democracy, where candidates were nominated to contest the April 2011 general elections on the platform of their political parties. Similarly, "class, incumbency, tribalism, political favouritism, ethnicity, nepotism and sectionalism, moneybagsism and godfatherism plays a vital role in determining the choice of political party leaders or candidates in elections in Nigeria's fourth republic" (Akpowoghaha 2013:78).

Until the challenges of lack of internal democracy are decisively dealt with, the aspiration for democratic governance is likely to remain elusive. The model 5.8 below depicts the level of the challenges of lack of internal democracy in Nigeria as perceived by the informants with its single relationship developed from the interviews, which is imposition of candidate.
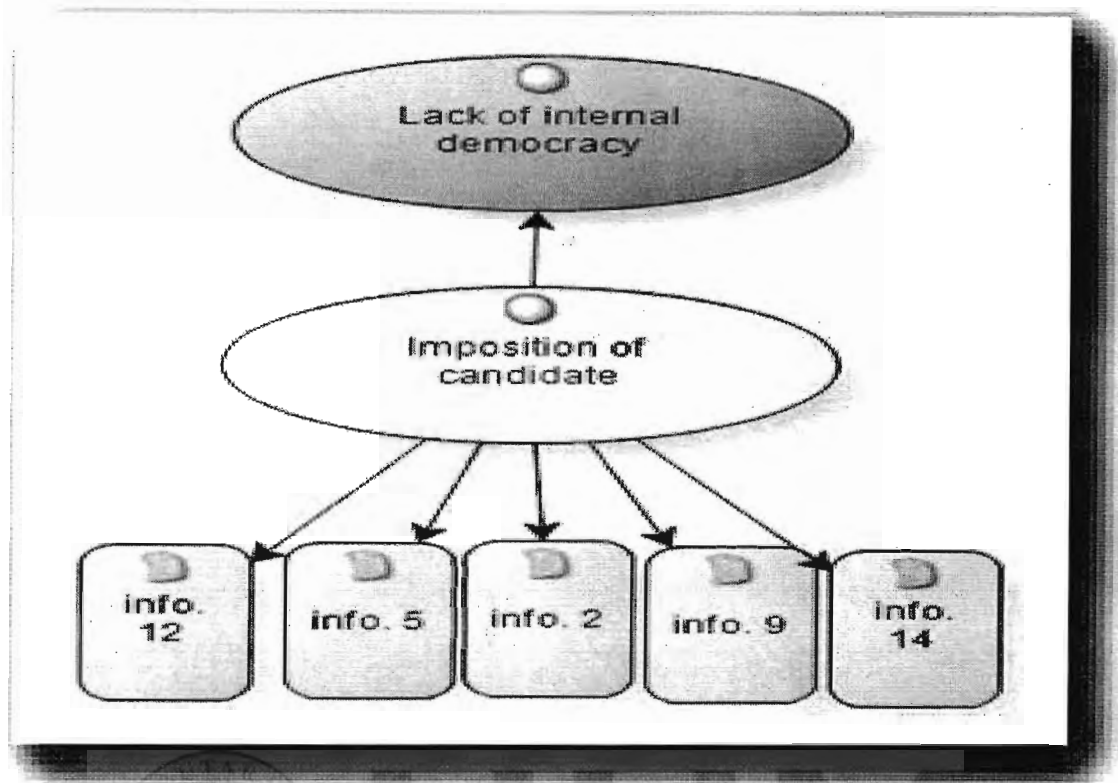
Model 5.8: Model for lack of internal democracy

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.2.4.1 Imposition of Candidate

Since lack of internal democracy is about the absence or inadequacies of political

parties to function in accordance with principles of inclusiveness, accountability and

representation especially in making the choice for candidates to contest for election;

imposition of candidate is therefore the outcome of lack of internal democracy. It is a

process where political parties select a candidate while ignoring the best practices

enshrined in the constitution and guidelines of running political parties. It is

challenging the process of emergence of political parties' candidate in Nigeria's

current democratic experiment. Imposition of candidate has been characterized by

what Abimbola and Adesote (2012:49) as;

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kangaroo primaries organised by leaders of political parties in favour of their anointed, preferred or imposed candidates, unlawful substitution and wrongful replacement of candidates who are through the people's mandate, the selection of candidates for political offices by the party overlords without recourse to due process and laid down regulations in the parties' constitutions among others.

Imposition of candidates manifests through incumbency and godfatherism. Incumbency factor "implies the unrestricted access that the current holder of a political office has to state machineries and resources which he can deploy to his advantage and against his opponents". (Olusola-Obasa, 2011 cited in Okoye, et al 2012:5). Godfatherism has been described as "an ideology which is constructed on the belief that certain individuals possess considerable means to unilaterally determine who gets party ticket to run for an election and who wins in an electoral contest" (Ogundiya, 2009: 286 cited in Aduko, Yakubu and Umoru 2014 :97). For godfathers to perpetuate their wishes they employ corruption, bribery and even violence. In return therefore while the godson occupies public office, he must ensure his godfather has all forms of loyalty and respect even if it is to divert public funds. Aduko, Yakubu and Umoru (ibid: 95) captured how personalities in political parties were institutionalized in the following way:

> While Obasanjo has total control of the PDP, it is well known that *Asiwaju* Bola Ahmed Tinubu determines what happens in the ACN. Similarly, Rtd General Buhari is a*lfa and omega* in Congress for Positive Change (CPC), and the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) is controlled by the duo of Kano State Governor Shekarau and Ali Modu Sherrif (Simbine, 2013:18). In Allied Congress Party of Nigeria (ACPN), the only authority that mattered was *Oloye* Olusola Saraki (now late), while Chief Odumegwu Ojukwu (also now late) and Governor Peter Obi of Anambra state control the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) (Simbine, 2013:18). The dominant figures in APC are Buhari and Tinubu. There is something common to the two of them; they are both dictators and ideologically they two poles apart.

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One of the major implications of incumbency and godfatherism as result of imposition of political parties' candidate has been defection and cross carpeting of members. Party members who felt were not put on equal platforms with others that emerged as candidates due to incumbency and godfatherism on many occasions decamped to another political party where they feel their aspirations will be accommodated. The case of Former vice President Atiku Abubakar in 2007 was a striking example. While all chances for Atiku to emerge as Presidential candidate were blocked, President Obasanjo imposes Yar'adua as presidential candidate. Also in November, 2013 five PDP Governors (Rabi'u Kwankwaso from Kano, Rotimi Ameachi of Rivers, Abdulfatah Ahmad of Kwara, Murtala Nyako of Adamawa and Aliyu Wamakko from Sokoto) decamped to Action People's Congress (APC) for reasons also related incumbency plan by President Jonathan.

By December 2013, 37 law makers left PDP to APC including Speaker of the House of Representative, Aminu Tambuwal, who also decamped to APC in November 2014 (Thurston, 2015). Also in Anambra state, the National Executive of PDP imposes Professor Soludo as Governorship candidate, but was vehemently rejected by the state branch of the party, consequently, some member had to defect to other political parties. Not only does imposition of candidates' causes' defection but also causes development of dishonest traits in some politicians. This is for the fact that "the consideration, especially with the modern day politician is where stakes may be lower and gains higher. It does not matter who is the offer" (Abimbola and Adesote, 2012:53).

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following

excerpts.

> *Well, the challenges include godfatherism and self-centredness. Everybody wants to be a leader or someone to be under them. Everybody wants to hold one or two political positions not minding their capabilities, not minding whether they can deliver or not (Informant, 12-electoral officer II).*

> *The political parties are supposed to allow members of their political parties to select or elect their candidates for the general elections. But it is evident from almost all the parties that candidates are imposed on them (Informant, 14-EMB staff).*

> *The issue of godfatherism is another challenge to Nigerian democratic system. The people who have assisted in destroying the country are the very people nominating people to rule and when they don't have their way, they would be using their nominees to castigate (Informant, 2-politician-MP-rep. II).*

> *The different parties will not play within the rule. They lack good internal democracy. People are not allowed to vote their own choice of candidates. A Governor dictates everything in his state (Informant, 5-politician-MP-sen.).*

> *The parties are not democratic. They have 'democratic' in their names but they are not democratic. Godfathers rule the parties. These godfathers impose candidates so that they can bring them money when elected. (Informant, 9-Academician II).*

The description above analyse the challenges of Nigeria's fourth republic democratic

experiment as a result of lack of internal democracy within the political patties. It

explains the way candidates for political offices have been imposed in almost all the

political parties by moneybagsism, incumbency and political godfatherism factors.

And the implications results in loss of trust by members and subsequent defection to

other parties. These actions therefore contradicts the principles of electivity,

inclusiveness and participation of democratic practice, hence threaten democratic

experiment

5.2.5 Military Mentality

Military mentality is an authoritarian actions or behaviours by military in politics which affects other people and institutions of a state as a result of long years of military. Military rule is characterized by suspension of the symbol of civilian authority such as constitution. Therefore militarism and unconstitutional actions of people and institutions, after military hand over power to civilian are most likely to remain and may not easily go away, especially if the military have spent long years of rule. In other words these attitudes and behaviours of erosion and destruction of institutional capacity and autonomy of public institutions became one of the major legacies bequeath to a nation after its military era. In essence political culture became militarized as a result of intervention of military in politics.

The impact of 33 years of military rule after independence in Nigeria's political and daily life has been aptly described as the "militarization of the Nigerian psyche". The military political culture is thus characterized by fear, intimidation, pressures suppression, human rights abuse and command. It was alleged that President Olusegun Obasanjo who was a retired Army General, his governance style as civilian president, 1999-2007 reflected his military background. As he has neither been properly consulting nor followed due process in most of the activities carried out by his government. In fact within few weeks of the inauguration of the fourth republic, he was said to have found it more convenient to disregard the elected National Assembly members thereby by discharging some responsivities unconstitutionally (Osha, 2002). Adding substance to this assertion, Oke (2010: 34) observed that governance in today's Nigeria;

> has been hijacked by military apologies to the extent that citizens now experience despair instead of hope, insecurity instead of security, tragic and untimely death instead of long life and high life

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expectancy, illusion instead of expectation, deficits instead of dividends, militarization instead of civility, dictatorship instead of rule of law, political selection instead of election etc. thus the Nigerian political landscape seem headed for disaster.

The experiment of democracy in Nigeria in the last sixteen years has raised considerable issues, one of which is the overt display of 'militarized political culture' in the democratic space. Authoritarianism or military mentality in Nigeria has largely manifested due to long years of military rule. The features of the fourth republic has been intimidation, absence of debate, disregard for civil rights and the rule of law. Consequently it produced an intolerant environment, in which the language of politicians remains militaristic and people still use violence to settle issues (Omilusi, 2014). Similarly (USAID, 2006:2) noted that:

> Democracy and Governance in Nigeria particularly with regards to the oligarchy that ceaselessly holds the country to ransom: Authoritarian rule by an institutionalized oligarchy constitutes the main structural obstacle to deepening democratic rule in Nigeria. The oligarchs are composed of self-serving politicians, businesspersons, political fixers, "godfathers," former military officers, and elite bureaucrats who share a common interest in sustaining oligarchic power. Even though the oligarchy claims to represent democratically based regional, professional, and ethnic constituencies, their record falls far short of their claims. (Cited in Omilusi, 2014:5).

Many observers have also criticise the current 1999 constitution of Nigeria which was not only copy and paste from the 1979 constitution. It is also telling lies against Nigerian citizens because the introductory part of the constitution says 'we the people of Nigeria', but the fact is the consent of Nigerian citizens was not there during the process of making the constitution. Rather, the constitution was hurriedly made by few people drawn by the military. In other words, it reflects the whims and caprices of the military.

One of the daunting challenge of militarized political culture as it damages the efforts of Nigerians aspiration for good democratic governance in this fourth republic is the militarization of the electoral process. The typical example was the Ekiti and Osun states 2014 gubernatorial elections. Omilusi;s (2015:10) description in this regard is very illuminating:

> In Ekiti State, 30,790 policemen, soldiers, DSS officers, and members of the Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps were deployed to the state a few days before the election while over 70,000 of the same agencies were actively involved in the August 9, 2014 Osun election. Like a war zone, the troops took their positions. Almost every 100 meters from the entry point of the states, police officers and soldiers mounted various check points, with blood-hound dogs sniffing for any likely breach of peace by supporters of the various political parties. Such massive deployment of security agencies has been variously described as militarisation of the state by the federal government.

Military mentality poses serious challenge on Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment just as in any other country in the world. The model 5.9 below depicts the level of the challenges of military mentality in Nigeria as perceived by the informants with its dimensional relationship developed from the interviews. These are can be seen in; Long years of military rule and the so many retired military officers in politics.
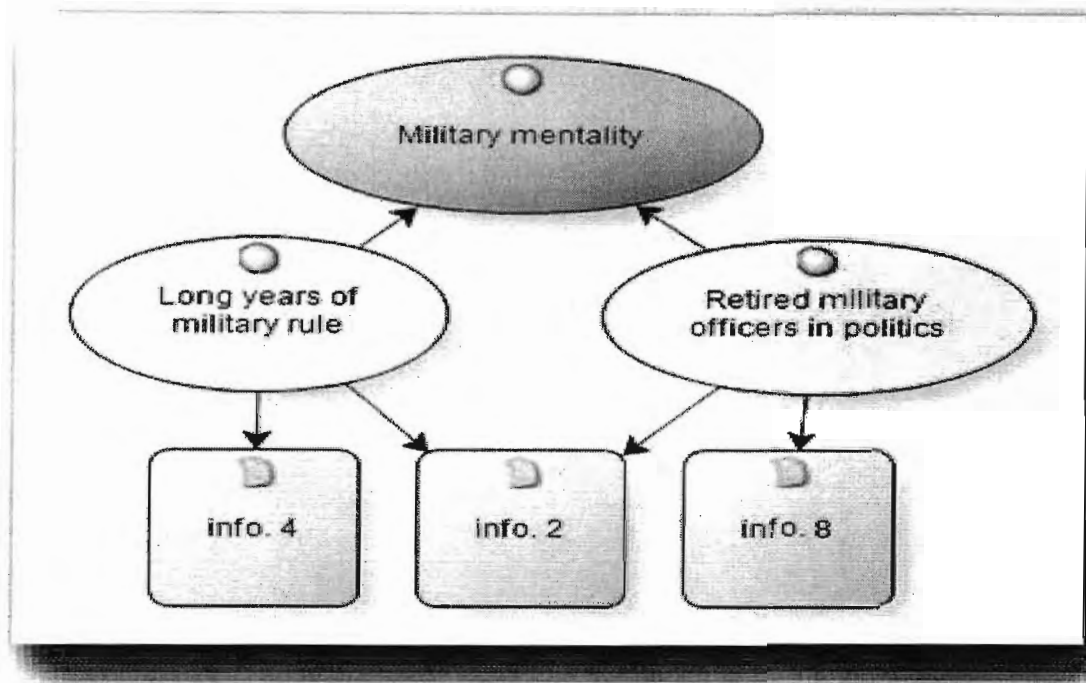
Model 5.9: Model for military mentality

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews and FGD, 2015

5.2.5.1 Long Years of Military Rule

The foundation of Nigeria's political life was laid by military leaders under colonialism. Cecil Rhodes, the Lugard, Richardson, Clifford's, Bourdilon, Littleton's, McPherson were all retired colonels and Generals of the British Army. They were all compensated with postings to the British Colony now Nigeria as Governor Generals, LT governors or Residents. Their styles of governance were military oriented. They implemented policies and programmes with command as well as dispatch not minding the consequences on the public.

From 1966 when the Nigerian military first took over power, they ruled for more than thirty years, the military leaders were Major General J.T.U.A Ironsi, Jan, 1966-July1966; Gen. Yakubu Gowon, Jul, 1966-Ju,1975; Gen. Murtala Muhammad, Jul,

1975-Feb, 1976; Gen, Olusegun Obasanjo, Feb.1976-Oct. 1979; Major Gen. Muhammadu Buhari, Dec., 1983- Aug, 1985;Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, Aug, 1985- Aug, 1993; Gen. Sani Abacha, Nov. 1993- Jun, 1998; Gen. Abdulsalam Abubakar, Jun 1998- May, 1999. More over retired Gen. Obasanjo was elected and served a term without uniform from 1999-2007 also retired Maj. Gen. Buhari is currently without uniform President elect serving 2015-date. Out of the 101 years of Nigeria's life, the country has been ruled by military for almost 76 years. However, even during the civilian regime it was only the Balewa regime 1960-1966 (first republic), Shagari, 1979-1983 (second republic) and Ernest Shonekan, Aug, 1993- Nov. 1993 (aborted third republic) that do not have military background. Also in the sixteen years of the fourth republic, its Yar'adua, 2007-2010 and Jonathan, 2010-215 that do not have military background, but Obasanjo, 1999-2007 and Buhari 2015 are retired General ab Major General respectively.

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

> *The challenges we are facing can be attributed to the way we inherited from the military rule (Informant, 2).*
>
> *The challenges are many. First of all, there should be re-orientation of the society from military process to democratic process. We also moved away from the government which was autocratic to a democratically elected which has three independent arms of government; the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. The sustenance of this democracy is a serious challenge. We are still learning (Informant, 4-Grass root politician II).*

The above presentation is an analytical description of military mentality, explaining the legacies of long years of military rule, which is argued to have shaped Nigeria's political culture in a militaristic pattern. Therefore the challenging aspect is that it

would take long time for Nigerian's fourth republic democratic experiment to change from the military orientation to a democratic pattern.

5.2.5.2 Retired Military Officers in Politics

A striking example of retired military in Nigerian politics are the President Obasanjo, 1999-2007 and President Buhari, 2015- date. The fourth republic National Assembly and State Assemblies are filled with retired military personnel. There are also retired military as state Governors, ministers and commissioners in almost all the political endeavours of the fourth republic.

Ekiugbo and Ekiugbo (2014) provide a comprehensive collation, noting that; the formation of parties and party flag bearers all have large dose of military connections. While the PDP had General Obasanjo (Rtd.) as its flag bearer in the first tenure, four ex-military officers contested the presidential ticket in the 2003 elections. These include General Obasanjo of the PDP, Gen. Buhari of the ANPP, and the late Odumegwu Ojukwu of the APGA and Major Gen. Ike Nwachukwu of the NDP. At the state level ex-military men also show their hands either as party bearers, commissioners, board members or party executives. Examples include Olagunsoye Oyinlola, ex-military Governor of Ogun State, the immediate civilian Governor of Osun State and a one-time senator of the federal republic of Nigeria. He is a decampee of the ANPP party to PDP. DSP Deprieye Alamieyesigha of Bayelsa State was a retired air force officer. In Adamawa there is Admiral Murtala Nyako as governor. In Anambra State, there are Robert Akonobi retired Colonel and former military governor of Edo State, Tunde Akogun Retired Colonel and late Anthony Onyearugbulum former governor of Ondo and Edo State made an unsuccessful bid for Edo State Governorship in 1999 and 2003.

At the National Assembly, both at the upper and lower chambers, Senators Tunde Ogbeha, former military governor of the Old Bendel State, David Mark, a retired Army General and the Senate President, 2003-2015. At the National and State party level, we have Dr. Ahmadu Ali as one time National Chairman of PDP. Olabode George former military governor of Ondo State was once national vice chairman of the PDP in the South West. Late Augustus Aikhomu former naval Chief and General Babangida's second in command was once a member of the board of trustees of ANPP. Others include General T.Y. Danjuma, General Babangida, Buba Marwa both PDP Presidential aspirants in the 2007 elections. Not left out are General Aliyu M. Gusan, Mohammed Jega, Brigadier General Tanko Ayuba, Abba Kyari, Bramah Yusuf (Elected), Group Captain Senebe former chairman PDP Delta state and wing commander Biakpara ex-commissioner also in Delta State.

Many government agencies and parastatals, committees etcetera are also headed by these retired and serving military personnel. This situation has continued to reflect the militaristic aura in the policies, actions and inactions of the government even in the fourth republic democratic setting.

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

> *And most of the people who want to rule are the ones from the military terrain. They come out from the military and move to civilian and they are still living that life of military. They believe civilians don't know anything and that everything is left for them. It is a generational problem in Nigeria. Another thing is that civilians are made to believe they are powerless except you are a general or captain, you are not fit to rule the country (Informant, 2-politician-MP-Rep. II).*

> *In my view, the Fourth Republic is more of the continuation of military dictatorship by new means. Some of the people who had established themselves*

(the military cabals) that took control over the administration, over the army, over the economy as a result of 30+ years of military rule now metamorphosed into those people who are in control of the political parties, who are in control of the candidates that are coming in and who are actually to a great extent also compromised in terms of the relationship between foreign governments. As a result, the Fourth Republic is radically different from the First and the Second where the influence of the nationalists' forces, nationalist parties predominated (Informant, 8-Academician/NGO executive-ARADA)

The above presentation is an analytical description of military mentality explaining the presence of retired military officers in politics, which is argued to have produced so many fourth republic politicians with military background. Therefore the challenging aspect is that it may take long time for Nigerian's fourth republic democratic experiment to provide more opportunities to politicians that do not have military background to participate fully in the democratization process.

5.2.6 Weak Electoral Umpire

Responsibilities of electoral umpire is to organize and conduct free and fair elections. In other words electoral commission deals with administration of electoral procedures which would lead election into political offices. Iwara, (2010) stated that such procedures includes; "the establishment of electoral bodies, the appointment of their members, the registration of voters, the nomination of candidates, balloting, counting of the ballots, declaration of results, the selection and training of electoral officials, constituency delimitation, voters education and, in some cases, registration of political parties and supervisor of party nomination congresses" (cited in Ebirim, 2013:13). The inability of electoral commission to administer these processes that could lead to elective political offices would therefore describe the institution as weak in discharging it democratic assignment. The challenges of weak electoral management body is therefore spelling doom for any democratic practice.

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The challenges of electoral commission to conduct free, fair and credible elections in Nigeria like in many transitional democracies has been inexorably controversial and crisis riddled (Ebirim, 2013; Olurode; 2014 and IDEA; 2015). Oyekanmi (2015) and Ekundayo, (2015) observed that the controversies surrounding Nigeria's election commission in terms of incompetency and inability since independence made it necessary for almost ever administration to constantly change its nomenclature in order to distance itself away from the failures of the previous ones. Thus Ekundayo (ibid: 53) maintained that "the history of electoral management body is the history of dissolutions, constitution and reconstitution". The establishment of INEC in 1998 marked the sixth in the series of Election Management Bodies in the annals of Nigeria's quest for democracy. The previous EMBs include, Electoral Commission of Nigeria (ECN) in 1959, Federal Electoral Commission (FEC) in 1964, Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) in 1979, National Electoral Commission (NEC) in 1991 and National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (NECON) in 1994. The least controversial of the all the bodies was the Electoral Commission of Nigeria (ECN) established by the Colonial government to superintend over the 1959 election that ushered in independence in 1960.

From 1999-2015, INEC conducted five general elections, making it the longest life term election commission Nigeria ever had, it therefore conducted more elections than the previous ones. Although reforms were made to strengthen Nigeria's electoral umpires by various regimes, they did not translate to electoral integrity due largely to inadequate measures and policies on some key issues such as financial autonomy and operational independence. Abdullahi and Sani (2015) classified three criteria of autonomy of election management body - autonomous, semi-autonomous and non-

autonomous. They noted that electoral institution is autonomous when it is institutionally placed outside the formal structure of government independent of the executive and/or not accountable to either the legislature or judiciary.

Semi- autonomous electoral commission is one composed of members selected or appointed from a presidential and/or parliamentary list to be vetted by participating and existing political parties and civil society groups. Lastly, a non-autonomous electoral commission is one that is placed either under the complete supervision of the executive or dominated by incumbent party representation. They conclude that INEC is far more autonomous and reliable institution than all other electoral institutions that conducted elections in recent Nigeria. However "INEC's autonomy was compromised by its dependence on the executive branch of government for funding" (IDEA, 2015). More over since INEC chairman and Resident electoral commissioners are appointment by the president, it cannot be described as fully autonomous. IDEA (2015:55) summarized challenges confronting INEC as follows;

> insufficient actions by the INEC on regulation of political party financing and women's representation; the INEC's insufficient operational autonomy; inadequate human capacity within the commission; the scope of reform; lack of sufficient robust punitive measures against electoral offenders and saboteurs; insecurity in parts of Nigeria; infrastructural decay; non complementarity in reforms from other critical election stakeholders; and undemocratic conduct and behaviour among political stakeholders.

The report of electoral Reform Committee (2008:19) documented that the 85-year-old history of Nigeria's elections shows a progressive degeneration of outcomes. Thus, the 2007 elections are believed to be the worst since the first elections held in 1922. Ironically, history has shown that elections conducted by the military tended to be more credible than those conducted by civilian authorities. According to Independent

Electoral Assessment Team Report (2010) holding elections in Nigeria presents many challenges, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in particular faces a profound and widespread lack of trust in its work amongst election stakeholders. While legal reform has the potential to provide stronger safeguards in the electoral process, current legislation does not prevent INEC from making administrative decisions that would provide for an electoral process that is seen as legitimate by stakeholders.

Great deal of challenges facing elections and electoral process in Nigeria's history can be linked to attitudes and behaviours of political elite's, substantial part of the blame must also be attributed to the electoral institution. According to Luqman (2009:59) "rather than being independent of the executive arm of government, transparent in its dealing, impartial in the discharge of its functions, accountable and responsive to the stakeholders involve in the process, electoral commissions in Nigeria have exhibited the opposite of all these virtues". Badejo and Akpowoghaha (2015:15) also affirms that "INEC is widely known as not independent, partisan, partial, ineffective and non-professional, it is an institution with little or no credibility at all among Nigerians". Similarly (Oromareghake, 2013:23) identified three major indicators of lack of autonomy of INEC; "the first is its composition, which is the prerogative of the President. The second indicator relates to the insecure tenure of the INEC chairman and commissioners. The third issue relates to the funding of the electoral body".

Weak electoral umpire poses serious challenge on Nigeria's fourth republic democratic experiment just as in any other country in the world. The model 5.10 below depicts the level of the challenges of weak electoral commission in Nigeria as perceived by the

informants with its dimensional relationship developed from the interviews. These are;

lack of adequate funds, lack of independency and poor conduct of elections.
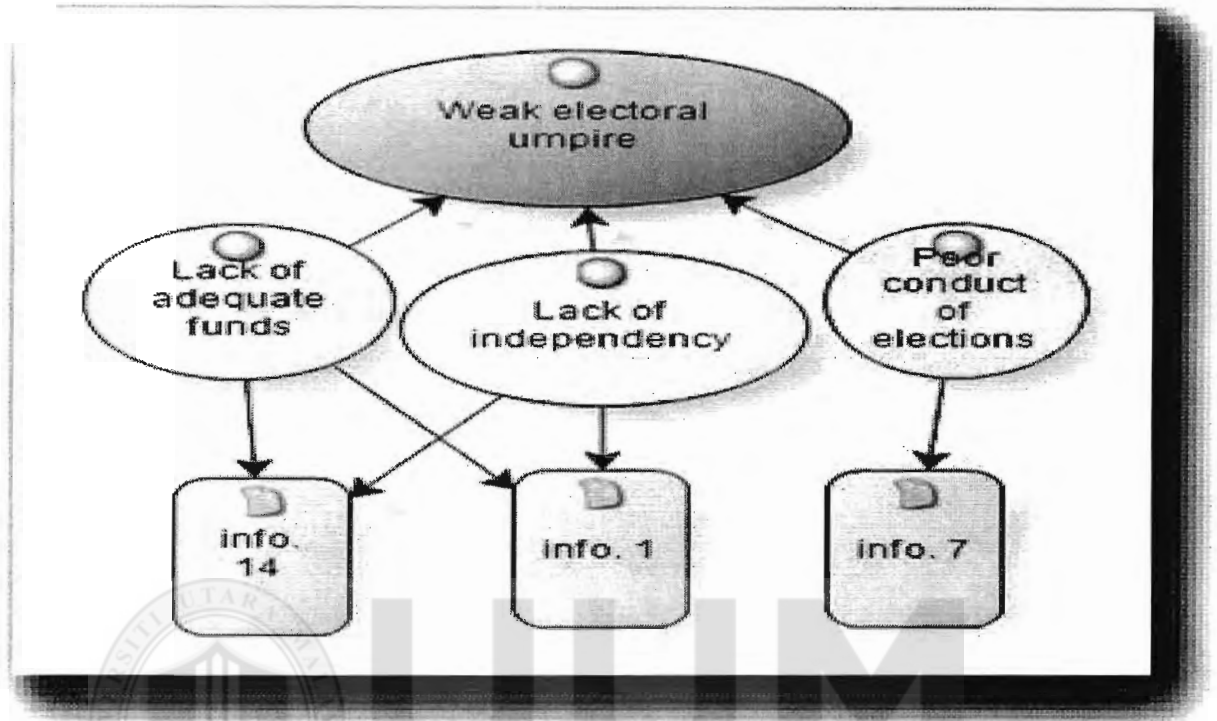
Model 5.10: Model for Weak Electoral Umpire

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.2.6.1 Lack of Adequate Funds

Dundas (2008) noted two clear issues relating to the funding of INEC – the approval

of election expenditure and the disbursement of the approved funds on a timely basis.

The salaries and allowances of commissioners are charged directly on the

Consolidated Revenue Reserves, but election expenses are not. INEC therefore has to

join the queue at the Ministry of Finance and Treasury. The disbursement of funds to

INEC has not been timely and this has contributed to the lack of confidence in the

electoral system in Nigeria. The delay of almost two years in the voter registration

exercise in 2000 was blamed largely on the lack of funds. Omeiza (ibid; 182-3)

buttressed that;

While for many independent EMBs, funding is a separate line item in the national budget; released directly to the EMB by the treasury, this is not the case in the Nigerian situation. As a result, the disbursement of funds to INEC has not always been timely. The delay in the release of the funds affected the commissions operations to the extent that it severely constrained the over half a million ad-hoc staff of various categories. It also manifested in the delay in embarking on voter registration, the holding of stake holders' dialogues and procurement and acquisition processes. In the run up to the 2007 elections the situation was not different. The late preparation and training of ad-hoc staff and the delay in the distribution of INEC guidelines on the elections to local and foreign observers also resulted from the delay in the release of funds to the commission. Similarly, in the run up to the 2011 general elections the chairman of INEC raised alarm about the negative implications the delay in the release of funds will have for the electoral process.

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

The independence of the electoral body has not been totally defined as an independent, because they still go hand-in-hand to the executive for cash in order to prosecute whatever thing they feel can improve the electoral space. Until they are independent, electoral process cannot be seen to be totally free and fair (Informant, 1-politician-MP-Rep. I).

The independence of the commission itself is not well defined. Though the last government between 2011and 2015 has tried in funding the commission. But from 1999-2007, we had serious financial problems. Now INEC has acquired financial independence. The fund comes without interference from the Federal Government Informant, 14-EMB staff-FGD).

Above clarifies the inability of the electoral commission to administer free, fair and credible electoral processes that could lead to elective political offices therefore, describe the institution as weak in discharging its democratic assignment. It further clarified that lack of adequate funds to discharge democratic responsibilities has been a serious challenge not only to the commission but also to the democratic experiment in general.

5.2.6.2 Lack of Independency

One of the most importance and most central to electoral management activities and institutions, is the independence or otherwise of the electoral management body. We have noted above that the INEC's relative autonomy in terms of operational and financial control. While by operational or structural INEC Chairmen and commissioners have been in all occasions appointed by the executive as well as run to ministry of finance for its funds. Omeiza (2012: 185) rightly posits that "while INEC is being described and presented as an independent body, it has in reality been constituted as an extension of the executive". Other challenges facing the commission's abilities to discharge effectively includes, "its dependence on (and inadequate control over) ad hoc staff, for which it lacks a nationwide database for recruitment; bureaucratic 'red-tapism' and staff attitude; poor delegation of responsibilities and overlapping functions" (INEC 2012: 24).

Similarly (Oromareghake, 2013:23) identified three major indicators of lack of autonomy of INEC; "the first is its composition, which is the prerogative of the President. The second indicator relates to the insecure tenure of the INEC chairman and commissioners. The third issue relates to the funding of the electoral body". Ordinarily, an independent EMB would require a consolidated account, where a specified proportion of federal revenue is allocated and under the direct control of INEC.

One other weakness of the INEC is its inability to penalize electoral offenders for violations of electoral act. The immediate past chairman of the INEC was apt when he stated that this remains a major sticking point in the work of the Commission and noted that the Commission lacks the capacity to prosecute the huge numbers of offenders

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(Jega, 2013). For example there were widespread violations during the fundraisings of 1999, 2003 2007 2011 and 2015 (Kura, 2011 and Aluigba, 2015). For instance in the 2015 fundraisings the two key political parties PDP and APC have clearly breached the 1999 constitution and 2010 Electoral act. According to the provision of the electoral act 2010 only one billion naira is stipulated to be raised in a Presidential campaign, and that political party office holder should not be among fund raisers. However in a fundraising dinner alone of the PDP more than twenty one billion naira was raised, and more than one billion naira was raised by 21 PDP state governors. One the part of APC, although they differed in the method of donations, but more than ten billion naira was raised from the general public and billions of naira were earmarked to come from state governors as well as members of national and state assemblies. However either by an act or design the electoral commission did not any action raise an eyebrows talk less of the ability to penalize the actions of the fundraisings. (Aluigba, 2015).

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

> *The Independent body needs a very strong law to back them. Laws like prosecuting electoral offenders. Where INEC does not have the power to prosecute electoral offenders, you expect the same thuggery to repeat itself. Where also INEC is not empowered to use totally the electronic system that can dictate fraud easily, it is difficult to say INEC is totally independent in the process of elections. And even electoral process that you organise in that aspect cannot be seen to be very free and fair and people will continue to dispute it (Informant, 1-politician-MP-Rep. I).*

> *Another challenge is the issue of reforms introduced by the election making body (INEC). The body strives hard to introduce a lot of innovations and reforms towards improving the electoral process but unfortunately, some of the reforms were not accepted by the critical stakeholders; the political parties and the electorates themselves. For example, the introduction of the Card Reader in 2015 elections to improve the process was almost rejected in some parts of the country. Another challenge is the political appointments of INEC*

Above clarifies the weakness and inability of the electoral commission in discharging its constitutional responsibilities. It further described that lack total independence of the commission as a result of interference of executive branch in the affairs of the commission; as well as lack of adequate staff and inability to prosecute electoral offenders have been seriously challenging not only to the commission but also to the democratic experiment in general.

5.2.6.3 Poor Conduct of Elections

It is unfortunate that elections in Nigeria's political history have been poorly conducted. Although the blame for the poor conduct of elections during the fourth republic may not be completely laid on INEC, nevertheless INEC through acts of omission and commission contributed largely to the wide scale malpractices that characterized the elections and the crisis of confidence they generated among the electorate. Awopeju (2011:2) corroborates that "there are various factors responsible for flawed election in Nigeria. Chief among the factors are incompetent of electoral commission". DFID (2007) further affirm this by reiterating that, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), has not earned the public trust and is itself a compliant tool of the ruling PDP. INEC acknowledged the 2007 contest exhibiting widespread irregularities and fraud, but blamed the parties themselves. Moreover, the State Independent Electoral Commissions (SIECs) that run the local government elections are overwhelmingly partisan and incompetent.

It violated all tenets of impartiality and credibility associated with free and fair

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election. It made itself an affiliate of the ruling Party at the Centre- the PDP. The election itself was characterized by all manner of malpractices many of which reflected both the inefficiency and fraudulent nature of the commission. For examples, its inability to regulate campaign procedures. late display of electoral register is violation of the Electoral Act, Omission of names of registered voters from the list, Muddling up of names of registered voters as voter's names appeared in the wards other than the one they were expected to vote, Lack of transparency in the choice of returning officers (allegedly chosen by the ruling PDP) None or late supply of election materials, Announcement of results figures in contradiction to the number of registered voters or the number that actually voted. Many of the results were in favour of the ruling Party PDP. Refusal to furnish opposition parties or candidates result sheets and other documents that will enable them challenge their defeat in at the electoral tribunal Obianyo and Emesibe, 2015:12 and Omeiza, 2015).

It is however imperative to note that INEC has remarkably improved in the conduct of 2011 and 2015. The success of INEC over the last two elections has been applauded by the electorate themselves, local as well as international observers. Certainly the success has been associated with the leadership integrity of the commission in person of Professor Attahiru Jega, who headed the commission from 2010- 2015.

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpt.

> *The second challenge was with the elections. The elections were generally perceived by Nigerians as fraudulent and not free and fair. So between 1999 to-date, elections were held five times; 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and now 2015. Until the 2015 elections, Nigerians had virtually given up on clean elections. Nigerians almost concluded that every election in the country would be rigged, the highest bidder would always win. So poorly conducted elections had been*

major challenge in our democratic transition (Informant, 7-Academician/former EMB chair.).

Above clarifies the weakness and inability of the electoral commission in conducting free, fair and credible elections. It further clarified lack of transparency in the conduct of the election processes and lack of logistics, materials and other administrative due process have been seriously undermining not only the commission but also to the democratic experiment in general. However is has been acknowledged that 2011 and 2015 elections recorded significant success.

5.3 Theme three: Consequences of Electoral Malpractice on Democratic Transition

Electoral malpractice are irregularities in the conduct of an election, its consequences seriously threaten democratic transition. For instance, besides undermining the confidence of election stakeholders, the integrity or legitimacy of political office holders are put to question. Consequences of electoral malpractice manifests in breakdown of law and order, violence may result to destruction of lives and properties and consequently military intervention as in the cases of first and second republics. Electoral malpractices may come in form of fraudulent manipulation of the electoral process like rigging, falsification of results, favouritism shown to a particular candidate or party, forgery, and so on. Ogbeidi (2010:54) considers electoral malpractice as;

> palpable illegalities committed with a corrupt, fraudulent or sinister intention to influence an election in favour of a candidate(s) by means such as illegal voting, bribery, cheating and undue influence, intimidation and other acts of coercion exerted on voters, falsifications of results, fraudulent announcement of a defeated candidate as winner with or without altering the recorded results.

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This framework of politics is marked by a brazen and contemptuous lack of concern to the mass of the people or the public good. The central issues in electoral malpractice especially the 2007 that was described as the worst ever, was the issue of godfatherism. For the god father, business is electoral entrepreneurship. Election must be won at all cost. And winning is not based on actual, and superior number of votes their candidates received in an election. The mentality is that the winner is whoever is declared as the victor by the electoral body (Abutudu and Obakhedo, 2009). Therefore violence is not unconnected to these fraudulent activities. Attempts to seize ballot boxes by political party thugs in fourth republic elections led to assault, pandemonium and chaos leading to loss of lives and properties. In some cases security forces, mainly police were seen as part of the forces that connive with ruling party. In other cases the State Security Service (SSS) resorted to intimidation of NGOs that were part of TMG, through calculated attempt to restrain the NGOs from election observations (Mu'azu, 2009).

Elections in the fourth republic have been characterized by huge irregularities and malpractices which simultaneously increases in magnitude with every election. Institutions of the state such as the military, police and the electoral body (Independent Electoral Commission) connive to hijack electoral process to satisfy the interest of highest bidder, in most cases the state. For instance, contrary to the provisions of the electoral act, there were situations where candidates in person of Senator Omisore of Osun state and Governor Ahamefuna Orji of Abia state won elections while they were in prison custody in 2007 elections (Ogbonnaya, 2012).

Over the years, citizens of societies where transition from authoritarian rule to democracy has taken place are more than willing to accept any election in as long as

it will end authoritarian rule. "But that period of tolerance is over in the global development of transitional democracies" (Jega, 2013:4). In recent times, citizens are not only demanding elections, they are demanding credible elections. Electoral flaws have become a major cause of the instability that has engulfed many countries toady. The aspiration therefore is that election management bodies like INEC "have an obligation to conduct free, fair and credible elections capable of inspiring the confidence of all stakeholders" (ibid).

The era of authoritarianism and a decayed political culture are becoming issues of the past, Nigeria's democratization is taking shape with improvements on every general election held since the beginning of the fourth republic. The improvements appears, especially 2011 and 2015 general elections however, there are electoral malpractices that need to be addressed in order for the transition to be consolidated. The question now is, what are consequences of electoral malpractice to democratic transition in the fourth republic? How Nigerians do perceived and views these consequences of electoral malpractice facing the fourth democratic republic transition? This theme addresses these questions by analysing the interview responses which led to emergence of the following sub-themes as depicted in model 5.11: These are, Discontinuity Disenfranchisement and Legitimacy crisis.
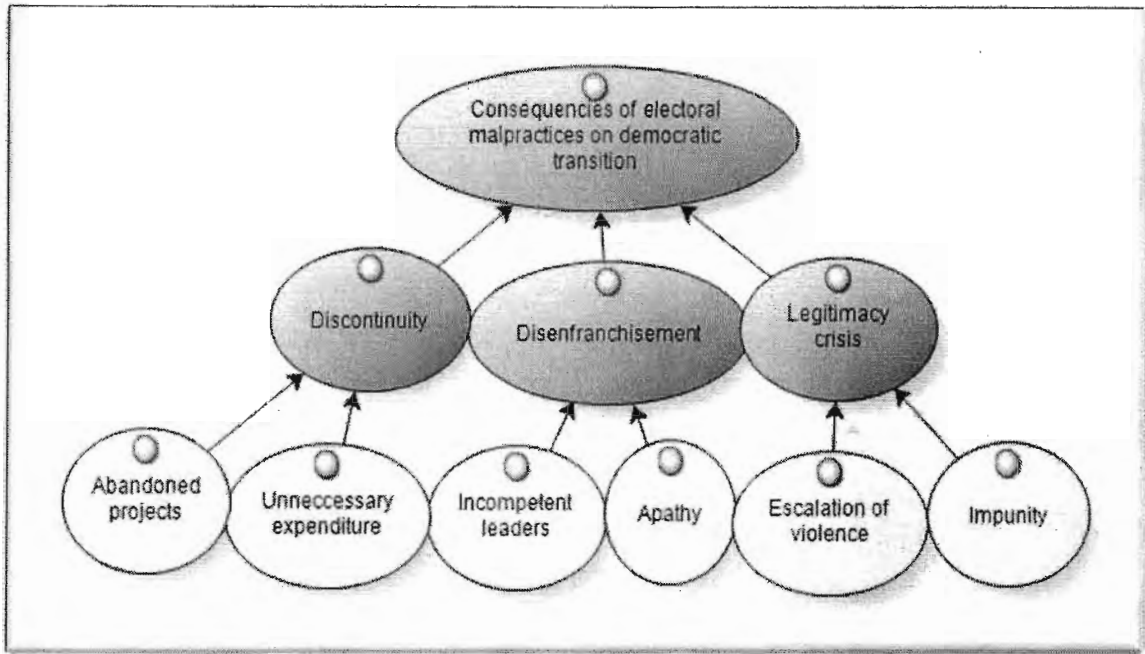
Model 5.11: Model for challenges of electoral malpractice on democratic transition

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.3.1 Discontinuity

Consistency in policy implementation is a significant requirement in democratic transition. Discontinuity in the implementation of the policies of a previous regime would therefore result to a setback in the aspiration for democratic governance. But since the so-called elected political office holders put themselves in those offices through fraudulent processes they are oblivious of continuity of policies that are important to the electorate. "Experience has shown that the problem with Nigeria is not the paucity of policy to address public problem, rather it is the absence of policy continuity that can link past efforts with the present to achieve a wholesome society" (Suleiman, 2013: 9).

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For example the fourth republic inherited twenty nine federal ministries, in 2006, "the government of Obasanjo scaled down the number from 29 to 19. Some ministries were scraped and some merged" (This Day, December, 14, 2006, pgs. 1-4). This action was understood in the context of the demands for reforms. However by 2008, Yar'adua reshuffle the number of federal ministries from 19 to 27. The Jonathan administration in May 2011, increased the number again to 30, comprising of 36 ministers each representing the 36 states of the federation. The 2015 Buhari administration reduced the ministries to 19. This obvious policy summersaults no doubt, jolts the sensibility of experts and practitioners.

The education sector and the privatization policies were affected by this policy reversal. In the privatisation policy, some transactions namely; sale of Kaduna and Port Harcourt refineries, sale of SAT3, takeover of NICON Insurance, sale of NITEL and some concession agreements were cancelled between 2007 and 2008. These policy reversals, in spite of the impressive achievements recorded in the liberalisation of the telecommunication sector, gives out the administration as lacking in commitment to policy implementation (see Adamolekun, 2011:7 cited in Suleiman, ibid; 22). In the education sector, the policies on public-private-partnership (PPP) for the management of one hundred and two federal government colleges and the merger of polytechnics and colleges of education with universities were reversed. Although some reasons were advanced by the government for the reversals, they fell short of offsetting the far reaching objectives for which the policies were designed to achieve. In the grip of these policy summersaults, the bureaucracy comes across as an 'errand boy', confused and frustrated by the conflicting instructions of his political masters (ibid: 23).

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Consequences of discontinuity in policies as a result of change of government that came up through fraudulent election in Nigeria threaten democratic transition just as in any other country in the world. The model 5.12 below depicts the level of the consequences of discontinuity of policies in Nigeria as perceived by the informants with its dimensional relationship developed from the interviews. These are; unnecessary expenditure and abandoned projects.
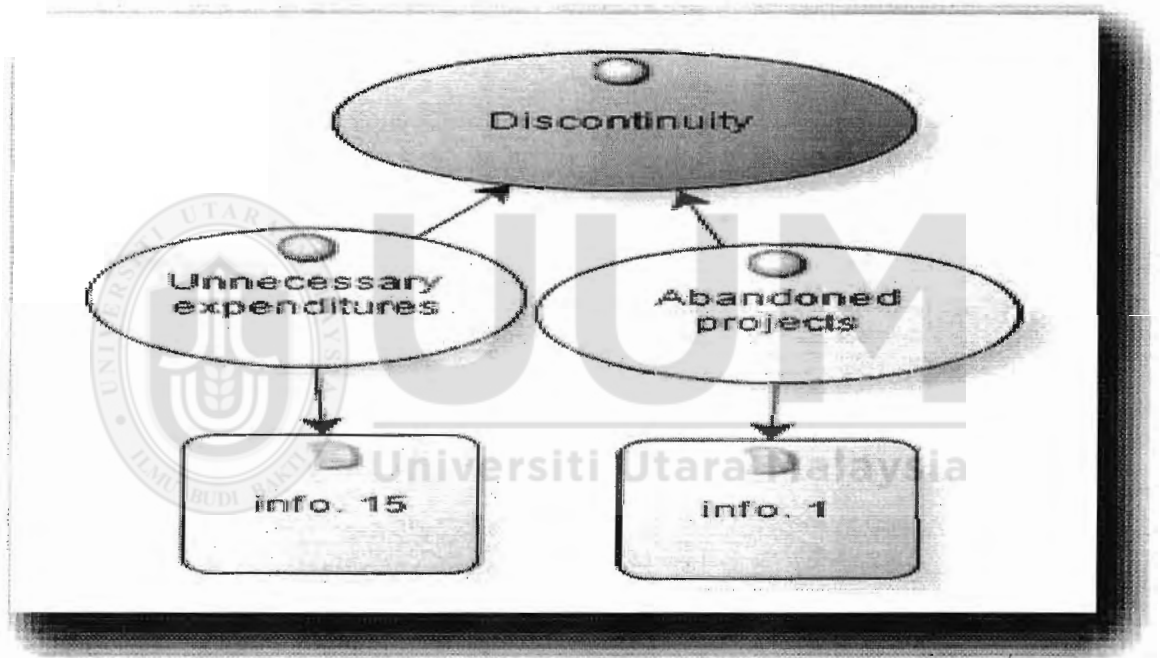
Model 5.12: Model for discontinuity

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.3.1.1 Unnecessary Expenditures

In recent years statistics have shown growth rate of Nigeria's economy had been impressive, one would expect that the share of capital expenditure in total expenditure dominates that of recurrent expenditure, but this has not been the case. Because the large percentage of Nigeria's population that do not benefit from the expenditures of

the government translate to "high rates of unemployment, illiteracy rate, poverty rate (evidenced in the number of people living in shanties, with little or no access to quality education, Medicare, potable water, etc.), low human development index, etcetera" (Aigheyisi, 2013: 211).

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpt.

> *A lot of resources were spent on litigation, high level corruption, disruption of democratic calendar and bad governance. The democracy was reduced to just election but not democracy in real sense of it, the electorate continue to suffer (Informant, 15-Grass root politician).*

Both the data above described the consequences of electoral malpractices on Nigeria's fourth republic democratic transition in the sense that, those who secured political offices through dubious means have less concern in the continuation of policies that could improve the lives of the electorates. The politicians are mainly concern with acquiring personal preferences through corrupt practices. And any democratic system in which political office holders rank their personal preferences over that of the electorate, is as well as rendering democratic transition irrelevant and threatening practice of democratic governance.

5.3.1.2 Abandoned Project

Among other implications of discontinuity as a result of change of government through fraudulent process is abandonments of construction projects. "Project abandonment, collapsed structures are constant discourse in the Nigerian news media" (Akpan et al, 2014: 10). Although Nigeria is blessed with brilliant, impeccable and well written

policies, its problem has been implementation and abandoning these policies and projects, Eneh (2011: 34) noted "a typical Nigerian is plagued with institutional/structural inconsistencies and discontinuity, which is a form of mis-governance" Ayodele and Alabi (2011: 142) laments that "abandoned projects including building, Civil Engineering and heavy engineering development project like: houses, churches, schools, roads, bridges, dams, tunnels, airport, sea port etc. litter the whole Nigeria".

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpt.

> *You can see what is happening presently. Whereby you allow fraud to take the space, when you allow people who are not expected to win to win, the possibility of continuing with already laid down rules and structures will be truncated. You see a lot of abandoned projects in states and the federal because the political process does not do justice to it. You see a wrong person coming to power. And when a wrong person comes to power it affects the continuity of governance and structural development (Informant, 1-politician-MP-Rep. I).*

Both the data above described the consequences of electoral malpractices on Nigeria's fourth republic democratic transition in the sense that; those who secured political offices through dubious means have less concern in the continuation of policies that could improve the lives of the electorates. This explains why there are so many abandoned and uncompleted projects around the country. And a democratic government without projects that would improve the lives of citizens is truncating the ethos of democratic governance and transition.
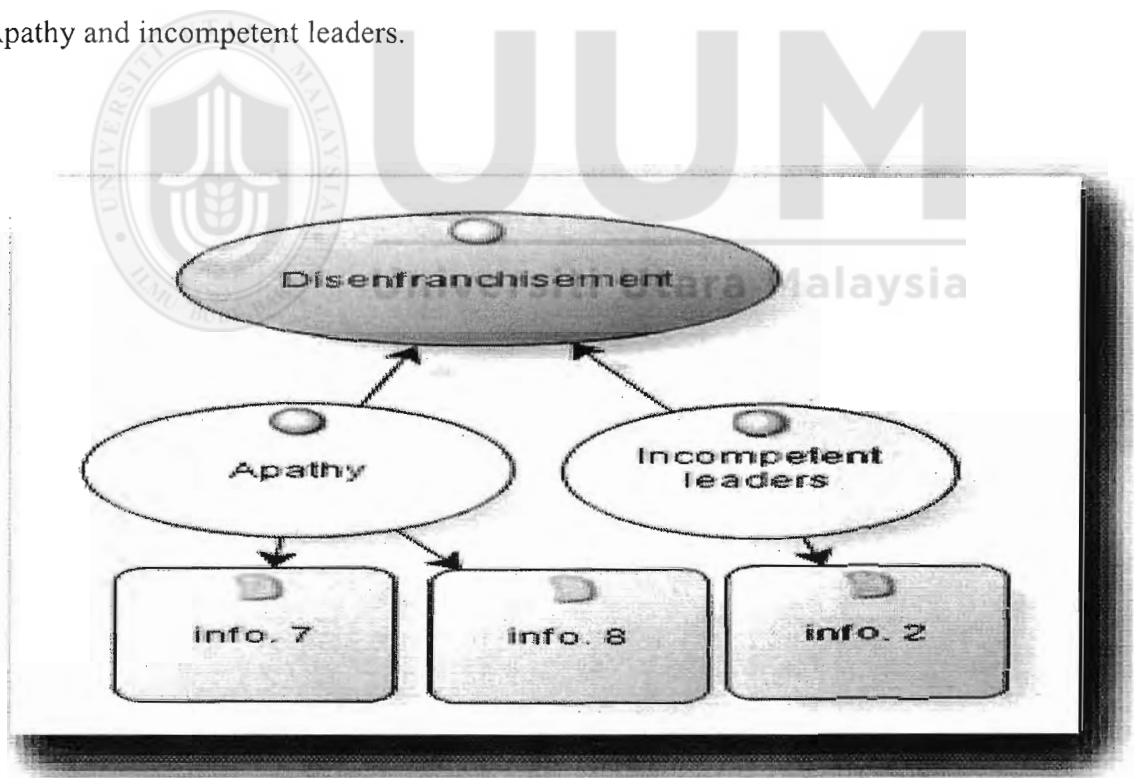
5.3.2 Disenfranchisement

The major goal of democratic government is the provision of maximum participation through responsive and responsible government in its liberal tradition of periodic election, active involvement of civil society in decision making, development of competitive political parties and the flourishing of the rule of law. Ernest and Okoli (2014) observed that a direct consequence of weak electoral institution and security apparatus is the systematic disenfranchisement of the electorates. Situation where the ballot papers arrive very late to polling centres when most voters must have left after waiting for long hours, where names of some registered eligible voters are omitted in voters' register tantamount to systematic disenfranchise of electorates. For instance, INEC indicated that it needed 30,000 data capturing machines for registration of voters during the 2007 elections but only about 10,000 were eventually provided and were being rotated around polling stations for registration. In corroboration with this, ICG (2011:6) writes, "Voters have on many occasions been disenfranchised as a result of missing names in the ballot register, ballot snatching, violence as well as heavy presence of military in polling stations, misconduct of INEC officials and intimidation".

Similarly, the muddling of the state security institutions expressed in its inability to protect most of the electorates from intimidation and to secure the ballot boxes from snatching translates to voters' disenfranchisement. The Centre for Environment Human Right and Development (2007) noted that the INEC, security agencies and party members were responsible for the 110 reported incidents of electoral violence in the South-South region of Nigeria during the 2007 elections. These acts of violence led to disenfranchisement of most voters who had to stay back at home because they

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were psychologically intimidated by the terror gangs (Ernest and Okoli, ibid). Other issues of participation which have not been given appropriate concern in Nigeria's fourth republic include the disenfranchisement of prisoners and Nigerians in diaspora. For instance the electoral act or constitution of should consider the participation of prisoners that are awaiting trial as well as Nigerians residing outside the country to vote in an election at the embassy of Nigeria in the country they are residing.

The model 5.13 below depicts the views and perceptions of Nigerians regarding disenfranchisement as threat to democratic transition as perceived by the informants with its dynamic relationship from the interviews and group discussion. These are Apathy and incompetent leaders.

Model 5.13: Model for disenfranchisement
Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.3.2.1 Incompetent Leaders

The consequences of disenfranchisement of the citizens for the fear of insecurity, cynicism, corrupt practices and imposition of candidates which pave way for electoral malpractices is that the democratic transition will end up producing incompetent leaders. For instance when party flag bearers are selected at the whims of the god-father and imposed on the electorate not on the basis of competence, but on loyalty to the god-father to whom the successful political office holder account for stewardship in cash and kind. Thus the government business which is ideally base on the preferences of citizens cannot be adhered to because the leadership of the government is busy considering the preferences of political godfathers.

Ballot snatching, intimidations, harassment, maiming, killing, religious and ethnic conflagrations as well as electoral misconduct on the part of electoral umpire and pervasive corruption have not only disenfranchise citizens. But also give way for incompetent politicians to emerge as leaders unlawfully. And since democratic governance is built on a foundation of lawful and credible elections, the implication for the entire society is not farfetched. This is so because no unlawful, perverse and corrupt process (means) will ever give birth to a constructive and transparent end.

As such, the immediate consequence is very poor quality human resource shaping the future of the nation, which materialises in ineffective governance and leadership identified as the bane of Nigeria's many troubles. And since these leaders got into power through crooked and fraudulent means, they tend to employ corrupt means to maintain themselves in power. As such corruption like a cancer has permeated into all levels of governance and every gamut of the Nigerian society.

The above however, were viewed by this research informant based on the following excerpt.

> *It is a major challenge. It affects you because if your voter card is destroyed, automatically you cannot vote the person you want to vote for. It gives way to the emergence of people who are not competent enough (Informant, 2-politician-MP-Rep.II).*

Both the data above described the consequences of electoral malpractices on Nigeria's fourth republic democratic transition. These challenges manifest in form of dis enfranchising sections of some parts of the society as result of insecurity, cynicism, corrupt practices and imposition of candidates. It also manifest in the weakness of the election commission to provide ways for other stakeholders to participate in the voting exercise such as Nigerian in diaspora. The outcome of these disenfranchisements therefore leads to emergence of incompetent leaders, who have not been doing well for democratic governance.

5.3.2.2 Apathy
Apathy is a state of indifference of an individual or people towards a particular aspect of social life. "Political apathy is therefore absence of interest in, or concern about, socio-political life. Thus, an apathetic person lacks interest in the social and political affairs of his country" (Yakubu, 2012:39). Without a sufficient voter's turnout, there would be no true elections that would reflect people's choices. It is worrisome, therefore, that there is evidence of political apathy in Nigeria, the lack of psychological involvement in public affairs, emotional detachment from civic obligations, and abstention from political activity. Prominent factors that bring about voter apathy include broad psychological factors and collective memory of historical and contemporary events. There are also issues of trust, feelings of efficacy, political

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engagement and disengagement at individual, group and regional levels. It has been identified that politicians are the most responsible for voter apathy, with the politicians, Government and INEC ranking highest on their list of those considered responsible for voter apathy (Olurode and Matigg, 2011).

Political violence and bad governance makes electorate apathetic, thus crippling the principle of participation in a democracy. The effects of political violence and bad governance on democracy, therefore results to apathy and subsequently disenfranchisement of qualified Nigerian voters. This leads to the election of irresponsible political leadership as well as destroys the future of the Nigerian youths by enlisting them into thuggery and consequently turning them to armed robbers and hired assassins. It also contributes to the "dearth of responsible and responsive future leaders as youths of today have been taught the act of violence rather than compromise, negotiation, conciliation and sportsmanship" (Arowolo and Aluko, 2012:5-6).

Another argument contends that "women are, and have been side-lined in the political scheme of things in Nigeria and this state of affairs spells a dangerous omen for the Nigerian system which is now literally dominated and controlled by men" (Esidence and Shuaibu 2013:14). Similarly Ngara et al (2014) avers that high level of poverty in Nigeria has increased high level of inequality, social injustice and consequent political apathy. The poverty level since the beginning of the Fourth Republic in 1999 vindicated a situation of powerlessness. This is visible in dependence on others, and a lack of voice and options. "The implications of limited participation of the people in democracy removes such a system from the realm of true democracy and prevents it

from engineering people's centred development as well as the loss of its essence and meaning" (Ngara et al 2014:54).

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

> *Of course badly conducted elections resulted into massive disenfranchisement of citizens, the questioning of the legitimacy of elected representatives and elected government. It also resulted in apathy and indifference. People perceived that their votes would not count and therefore they stayed away from voting because they thought it was a wasteful of time and that those who would win the elections were pre-determined. So, these are many ways in which electoral malpractice undermine democratic governance (Informant, 7-Academician/former EMB chair.).*

> *The Fourth Republic became particularly notorious with respect to electoral malpractices because the system that could check the impunity of rulers was not there. It was as simple as that. The nationalists had been totally stopped from participating into political affairs. There was no free election even at party levels. During the 2003, 2007 and 2011 elections, these abuses became widespread that people began to ask how could we check these excesses and build democracy in such situations (Informant, 8-Academician-NGO executive-ARADA).*

Above data described the consequences of electoral malpractices on Nigeria's fourth republic democratic transition. These consequences manifest in form of dis enfranchising the electorates as result of apathy, which is indifference of an individual or people towards the electoral process. It also manifest in side-lining women in political participation. Horrible memories such as political violence and bad governance made electorate apathetic thereby distant themselves from exercising their civic responsibilities such as voting. The outcome of apathy therefore does not augur well to democratic transition and governance, due to less participation of electorate in the democratic processes.
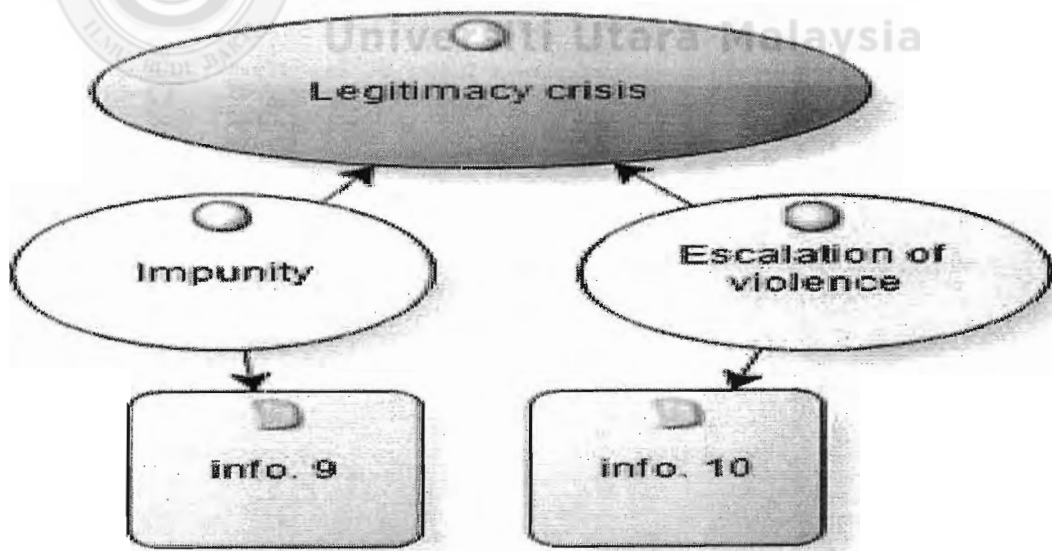
5.3.3 Legitimacy Crisis

Like many other social science terms, legitimacy crisis has been enjoying literature from different perceptions. In a concise approach Bensman (1998) perceives "legitimacy crisis as a problem emanating from the frustration of the expectation of the governed" (cited in Ogundiya, 2009:130). While legitimate government refers to popular acceptance of an authority of government, legitimacy crisis is the disputation of the credibility of the authority of government, it is usually an expression of frustration towards unpopular government. The major characteristics of legitimacy crisis as affects democratic governance is related to electoral malpractice that brought government into existence as well as the failure of the government to implement preferences of electorates.

Ogundiya (2009) noted that policy failures and incapacitation of Nigerian state are the major causes of legitimacy crisis. He emphasized that the challenge has been the in which government is made to "satisfy the desire of the states' constituent and fragmented ethnic groups to have some measure of authority or control over their own destinies and well- being and at the same time meet the desire for stability and unity" (ibid: 132).

Several literature on causes of legitimacy crisis in the political history of Nigeria reveals that it is a chequered history of political violence (ICG, 2011; Paki and Ebienfa, 2011; Ogbeidi, 2013; Mbaya, 2013 Muheeb, Onofade, 2014; 2015; EUEOM, 2015). Omodia (2009) and Omotola (2010) have noted that paradoxically the Nigeria's fourth republic and its fledgling democracy has been beset "with phenomenal violence and atrocities ranging from those that come in the form of religious crises, like Sharia,

Niger-Delta militancy, ethnoreligious conflicts, the Boko Haram insurgency, electoral violence, politically motorated assassinations- all with alleged political undertones" (cited in Alfa, 2012: 43). Lending credence to this view Shapeera, et al (2014) affirmed that electoral malpractices and the violence that characterized it, particularly that of legitimacy, cast very dark shadow on Nigeria's democratic experiment since 1999. And "leaders that emerge in the midst of electoral violence in this fourth republic are often "elected" by the minority because the majority who have fear for their lives do not go near the electoral process" (ibid: 66).

The model 5.14 below depicts the views and perceptions of Nigerians regarding legitimacy crisis as it threaten democratic transition as perceived by the informants with its dynamic relationship from the interviews and group discussion. These are impunity and escalation of violence.

Model 5.14: Model for legitimacy crisis

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.3.3.1 Escalation of Violence

Like in the past republics, lack of free, fair and credible elections in the fourth republic tends to threaten the democratic experiment. The legitimacy crisis degenerate into political wrangling of disturbing frequencies in the form of thuggery, assassination, killings and arson. It is however pertinent to note the three stages of electoral violence-pre-election violence is characterized by inflammatory rhetoric and attack on politicians and party supporters. The election stage is characterized by intimidation, harassment, ballot stuffing and snatching and attack on election officials at the polling stations. The post- election stage usually referred to as escalation stage starts from the collation period and announcement of election result, is usually triggered by pre-election and during the election stages (Orji and Uzodi, 2012). They further noted that there are remote and immediate causes of electoral violence. The remote causes includes; 1-Cleavage structure, saliency of ethnicity in Nigerian politics and communal tensions, 2-Decline in trust and social capital among communities 3-Culture of impunity, 4-Economic vulnerabilities 5-Erosion of trust in the electoral justice system 6-Low level of internal party democracy. The immediate causes includes; 1-Integrity of elections, 2-Imflammatory rhetoric, 3-Institutional changes

Although almost all the elections in the fourth republic were characterized with violence, the 2011 was bloody. Halliru, (2012: 88-89) described the 2011 as follows;

> Although the April 2011 election received commendations on the conduct and successful atmosphere by the international observers during the national and presidential elections, but very unfortunate the negative reactions follow by violence. The conduct of the election was at least fair than that of 2003 and that of 2007 respectively, several factors were responsible for the escalation of political violence such as; ethnic and religious agitation, reckless manipulation of the electoral process, imposition of candidates by the political elites, poverty, intolerance and injustice. Violence erupt in northern Nigeria on the April 17, 2011, the day after the presidential election, with supporters of General Buhari, a northern Muslim, alleging that the ruling party had rigged the election in support of President Jonathan, a southern

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Christian, were such agitation resulted to several killings, and other incidents of politically motivated violence. Within just four days Human Rights Watch, recorded about 800 people were killed and over 65,000 people were found to be temporarily internally displaced. In Kaduna state alone over 500 people were said to be killed in southern part of the state, with over 180 people also killed in the northern part respectively, this destruction includes burning of some villages in the areas between Muslim and Christian, in Bauchi state about ten INEC adhoc staff were killed who are serving as members of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC).

The above however, were viewed by this research informant based on the following excerpt.

> *Violence affects transition in a number of ways. For example, look at 2003, 2007, 2011 and the 2015 elections, they were all marred with violence and all forms of rigging. When you make politics a do or die affair, you snatch ballot-boxes, you threaten the people, you inflate figures of election result, you have then undermined the electoral process and the transition. When politicians use hate campaigns, people get scared to come out and vote for the candidates of their choice. When people don't participate in any democratic process, it affects the credibility of election. This results to questioning the legitimacy and sanctity of the elected officials. People don't accord respect to the people in authority because of the way the elections were conducted (Informant 10-Academician III).*

The above analysed the consequences of electoral malpractice to democratic transition, through describing legitimacy crisis as frustration against process that brought government into existence as well as the failure of the government to implement preferences of electorates. It further describe escalation of violence as the consequences of legitimacy crisis such as the 2011 post-election violence. Thus for democratic transition to last long and democracy to be consolidated as well as good governance to flourish, hatred and violence must be distance away from democratic experiment.

5.3.3.2 Impunity

Derived from the Latin, the word impunity means, "without punishment or exemption from punishment". It can simply be referred to as deliberate disregard or violation of law, rights or abuse of power. It is a phenomenon that can be found in the structures of government all around the world. HDI (2014:5) noted that "impunity is the failure of a State to enforce the rule of law by meting out appropriate punishment to offenders and providing requisite remedies for victims". In fact the state security and law enforcement agencies have not only been unable to forestall electoral malpractice or failed to apprehend the perpetrators, rather the incumbents in some occasions have been accused of using the law enforcement agents to harass and intimidate political opponents. "This weakness of the state security agencies correlates with the culture of impunity among the political elites who indulge in and sponsor all forms of fraud and irregularities in the political process knowing too well that the security apparatus cannot apprehend them" (Ernest and Okoli,2014: 15-16).

The implications of the culture of impunity in the form of embezzlement, corruption, murder, assassination, thuggery etcetera resulted to weakening of state to uphold justice, fairness and democratic principles. Today in Nigeria there are politicians accused of malpractices or embezzlement, instead of being apprehended by the law, they are now occupying high profile public office because of their "untouchable" impunity character.

The above however, were viewed by this research informant based on the following excerpt.

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What we have now is people who are in offices that they have not won legitimately. Therefore they cannot represent the interest of the people. The consequence is that there will be no meaningful development in states. They will only be strived to protect their interests. It also affects the transition in the sense that they will always want to rig election. Because they believe they are above the law (Informant, 9-Academician II).

The above analysed the consequences of electoral malpractice to democratic transition, through describing legitimacy crisis as frustration against process that brought government into existence as well as the failure of the government to implement preferences of electorates. It further describe impunity as the consequences of legitimacy crisis which manifests in the failure of a government to enforce the rule of law. The implications of the culture of impunity in the form of embezzlement and corruption therefore grease elbows of the culprit to rig forthcoming elections, and this spell doom for democratic transition and governance.

5.4. Theme Four: Elections as First Among Equals of the Principles of Democracy

On one hand, election is a process of making decision through which particular group of people or constituent choose a person to hold and act in public office on their behalf. On the other hand democracy is a system of government under which the people of the state participate in governance, particularly through voting directly or electing representative to make decision with their consent. Democracy and election are thus germane, to the extent that free, fair and credible election is linked with legitimacy of democracy. Democratic governance as the best system of government protects the interests and rights of both majority and minority who have participated in the election or voting processes. Absence of free, fair and credible election therefore exposed democratic illegitimacy and lacking stable polity.

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Other democratic processes such as rule of law, constitutionalism, participation, equality, and human rights etcetera have equally important role in sustaining democracy, election is the connection between exercising other principles and representative democracy. This section deals with the debate on elections are the determining factor of a democracy or not. It dwells on examining perceptions that makes elections to be or not to be first among equals of principles of democracy. Most of the responses argued that elections are stronghold of every liberal representative democracy, it is certainly applicable in democratization – where regime is increasingly engaged in the quest for democratic governance through elections. Lindberg (2007:6) clarified that:

> Electoral path is one of many options of choosing leadership and disposing old governments in a political system. As a core institution of representative democracy, elections are supposedly the only means to decide who holds legislative or executive power. Yet, elections take place in undemocratic countries as well and elections, *pace* the political system *writ large*, can be characterized by varying degrees of democratic features ranging from zero to a theoretical maximum.

Nigeria like many other African countries have been undergoing democratization, since 1999 Nigeria began its fourth republic journey where elected democratic government was put in place. Therefore the practice of representative democracy for the past 16 years in the country witnessed series of elections, which could presumably make Nigerians to express their understanding regarding the position of election in a democracy. The question is how does Nigerians understand the role of elections in this republic? Why does election become first among other principles of democracy? And does it satisfy the aspiration for democratic governance or not?

The proposition on elections is first among equals of the principles of democracy has been debated by Nigerians as one of the objectives of this study, which allows

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respondents to express their views freely. These views have been categorized and developed in a model as sub-themes of the main theme. Two sub-themes were generated as follows: Opponents of elections and Proponents of elections as first among equals of the principles of democracy.

The model 5.15 below shows the relationships mentioned above between the main theme; elections as first among equals of the principles of democracy and its subthemes; opponents of elections and proponents of elections as generated from informants response, all with their dimensions.
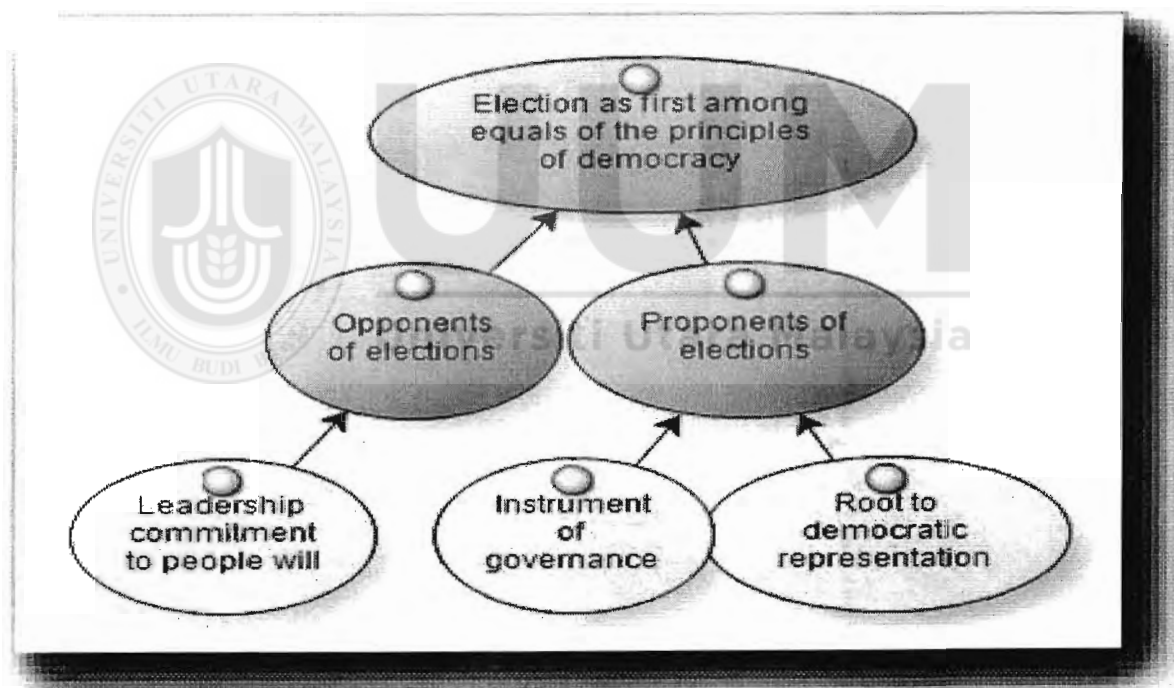
Model 5.15: Models for elections as first among equal of the principles of democracy with sub- themes
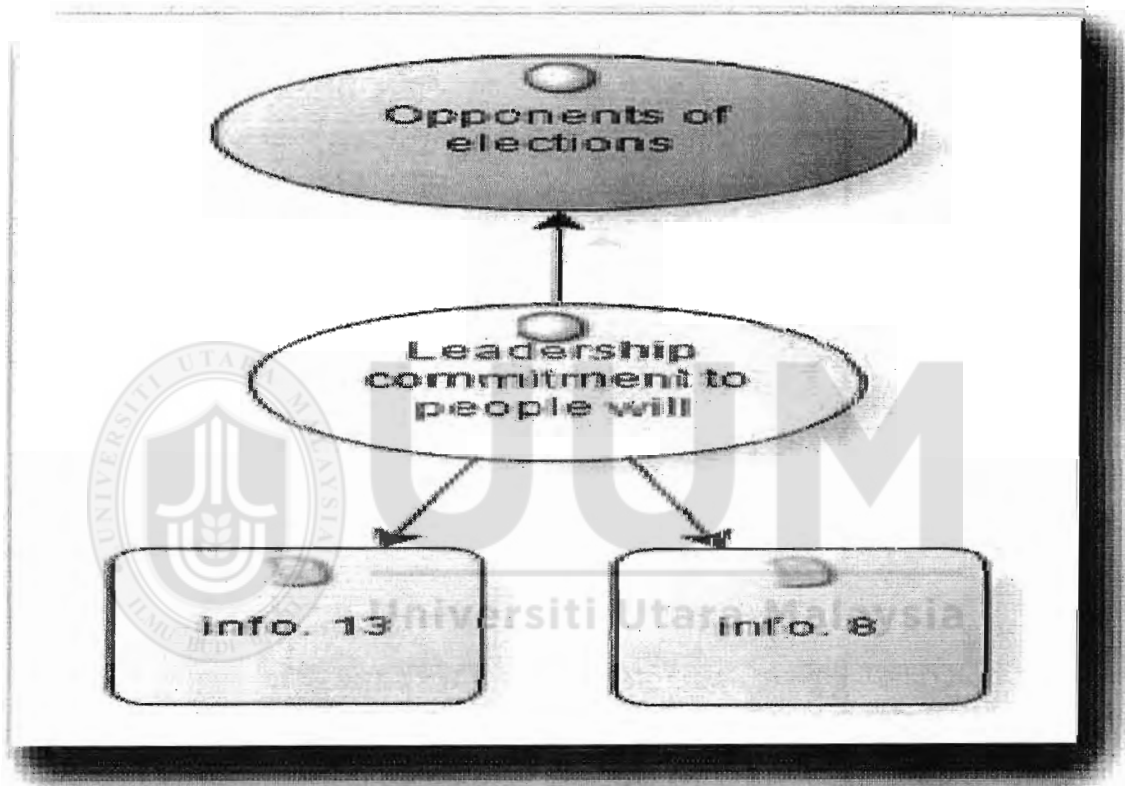
Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.4.1 Opponents of Elections

Elections are just the beginning of a stable democratic governance. However protecting the interest and rights of citizens, constitutionalism, ensuring participation, rule of law, and freedom of speech as well as promoting civil societies are synonymous with democratic governance. Until these are adhered after electing of individuals to act in public offices, the process of election could become meaningless. According to the former Secretary of state of the united states Hilary Clinton, "Democracy means not only elections to choose leaders, but also active citizens and a free press and an independent judiciary and transparent and responsive institutions that are accountable to all citizens and protects their rights equally and fairly" (cited in USDS, 2010: 4). Meanwhile the expectations in an election is to have successful democratic governance in which citizens would be free from oppression, conflict as well as improve in welfare packages. Failure of the outcome of elections to provide this is therefore subject to critical consideration. As Kuhne (2010:3) puts it "elections are not at all synonymous with successful democratization...they are merely a first step in a long and difficult process. Indeed they may even provoke instability".

Aftermath of elections in Nigeria's democratic experiments since the first republic to date was characterized with intense and bitter instability rendering the quest for democratic governance vulnerable. Perhaps, conducting election in Nigeria within the standard of international acceptability has remained a serious challenge as much as it is all over the world. The task of ensuring that an election is free, fair and credible is still a daunting challenge, even in the developed countries (Ogbeidi, 2010).

The model 5.16 below depicts the views of opponent of elections in Nigeria as perceived by the informants with its relationship from the interviews. The informants considered that with only leadership commitment, elections would not become first among equals of the principles of democracy.

Model 5.16: Model for opponents of elections as first among equals of the principles of democracy

Source: Nvivo 10 Output Generated from Interviews, 2015

5.4.1.1 Leadership Commitment to People
Leadership has been one of the oldest phenomenon and pre-occupation in human relationships that played important role in the development of groups, societies and nations. However, the definition of democratic leadership is "inconsistence and

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inadequate in the leadership literature, there is no clear and well developed definition of the term, some literatures distinguished democratic from autocratic and laissez-faire leadership". Notwithstanding, Choir (2007: 244) defines democratic leadership as "political relationship among leaders and followers for achieving democracy through sacrifice, courage, symbolism, participation and vision". Leadership commitment to people therefore, can be considered as political relationship between leaders and followers in which the leaders dedicated their efforts towards progress and development of their societies or nations through stimulating participation, group discussion and decisions. As Institute of Leadership Management (2000:5) puts it "how well leaders translate their vision into clear sense of purpose in their individual followers, generating personal commitment to make it happen". For leaders to be committed to people is therefore, to take charge and empower others, to be politically savvy and authentic, to be flexible and steadfast. Actually leading a country encapsulate making policies, as well as solving problems, ensuring stable polity and guiding the society to greater heights.

The concern on leadership in Nigeria's aspiration for democratic governance has long been a major issue. The ways in which institutions of democracy such as political parties, political offices and electoral commission are led has been a challenging phenomenon. Ogbeidi (2011) explained that, Nigeria's leadership crisis is related with the follower ship, "that every nation gets the kinds of leaders they want. Visionary leadership will therefore emerge in Nigeria when the volition expressed by the people to be led consist of up-ward looking, loving and a desire for justice, peace and harmonious relationships" (ibid: 6). The current democratic dispensation of the fourth republic is characterized by heightened bane of committed leadership. According to

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Omodia (2012) political leadership constitute the greatest challenge to the country. He noted "although such factors as institutional fragility, poverty, lack of credible elections, the nature and structure of the Nigerian state constitute the major challenge, the conception here is that these challenges would have been changed with focused leadership" (ibid: 92-3). Acknowledging that Nigeria's major "approach to leadership is troubling Adeyemi, (2012:168) stated that "in Nigeria the primary goal of assuming leadership position is self-enrichment". The world's developed democracies have reach their position because their leaders are committed and innovative and always looking for ways to solve their social, political and economic problems. But that is not the case with Nigeria; evidence of bad leadership is all over the landscape as the leaders have not gone beyond a promise for change.

The above however, were viewed by this research informants based on the following excerpts.

We cannot say it is first among equals but it is the context of our society. It is because of the benefit people derive from it that they see it as first among equals. Our state Governors have become lords. We need to de-emphasise that lucrative aspect of public offices. Let it be about serving the people (Informant, 13- Snr prog. Officer-NGO- CDD).

Election is not the first among equals. It is just an important aspect. You can run a government which is very popular and effective even where there might be no election and that is why you have to know which principle to respect. The struggle against the military rule was not election. The struggle against colonisation was not election. It could be revolutionary. When the Americans conducted a revolution against the British, was it not democracy? It is absolute monarchy in Britain. Election is just a deceptive effort by the West in particular to give you a semblance that they are leading a kind of human salvation based on electoral democracy. It is a lie. They are imperialists. Mandela and Mohandas Ghandhi did not move around asking people to vote for them. It was their commitments to their people that led to their victories. (Informant, 8- Academician/NGO Executive-ARADA-).

The data above analyses the argument of opponents of election as first among the equal of the principles of democracy. Their views emphasize that election is not above other principles, rather it is just a beginning of stable democratic system where other principle must equally be respected for the legitimacy of government to be fully recognized. It further noted that other democratic processes that were run without elections such as revolutions, struggles for democracy by nationalists and the struggle against military rule. The fundamental concern according to opponents of election was that what is needed most is to have commitment of leadership to the people. The data however, describes lack commitment of leadership to the people characterized Nigeria's fourth republic, the leaders' exhibits commitment to personal enrichment rather the plight of the masses.

5.4.2 Proponents of Elections

Election is a fundamental element in a democracy. It is widely recognized as a foundation of a legitimate democratic government. It has become a major factor in the stabilization of democratization in emerging democracies (Kuhne, 2010). According Odusote (2014) there is clear matrix between democracy and electoral process. He noted that only if election is credible, there will be credible democracy. Democracy is connected with credible electoral process, and if there are no elections, "there cannot be political office holders that will exercise the peoples' sovereignty" (ibid: 27). There are extensive literature on theories and models of political representation, Arts and Thomassen (2005) analysed majoritarian and consensus models. A main point of difference between theories of political representation is the function of elections. Whereas in majoritarian theories the function of government accountability is emphasized, proportional theories emphasize the selection of a representative

legislature. This difference is reflected in the choice of electoral systems, which can be ordered according to the degree of proportionality or representativeness and to the degree of accountability they tend to produce.

Even if democracy consist of other principles, election is the most basic, it is the fact of electing decision makers and getting rid of them when electorate dislike what they did. Although election is much more than electing and disposing representatives into political offices, election holds a central position in a democratic government to the point that any hindrance to the electoral process has direct impact to the political system. Therefore free, fair and credible electoral contest between political parties are central to the function of electoral democracy. As Ogbe (2014) rightly observed "other core values to be considered and embedded by the operators of a credible electoral process should among others include discipline, honesty, openness, transparency and accountability" (ibid: 34). The electorate on their part, must exhibit a positive manner in order to facilitate and enhance the atmosphere of good electoral process.

Despite the fact that, election is holding a vital place in the 21st century democracy, the organization of free, fair and credible elections remained a critical challenge in west Africa and in Nigeria in particular (Samuel, Chidozie and Ade, 2013). Gilbert and Allen (2014:529) succinctly stated that "unfortunately, Nigeria, as with many other African countries has had sad experiences and stories of badly managed elections with outcomes that have made nonsense of democracy".

The model 5.17 below depicts the views of proponents of elections in Nigeria as perceived by the informants with its dynamic relationship from the interviews and

group discussion. These are root to democratic representation and instrument of governance.
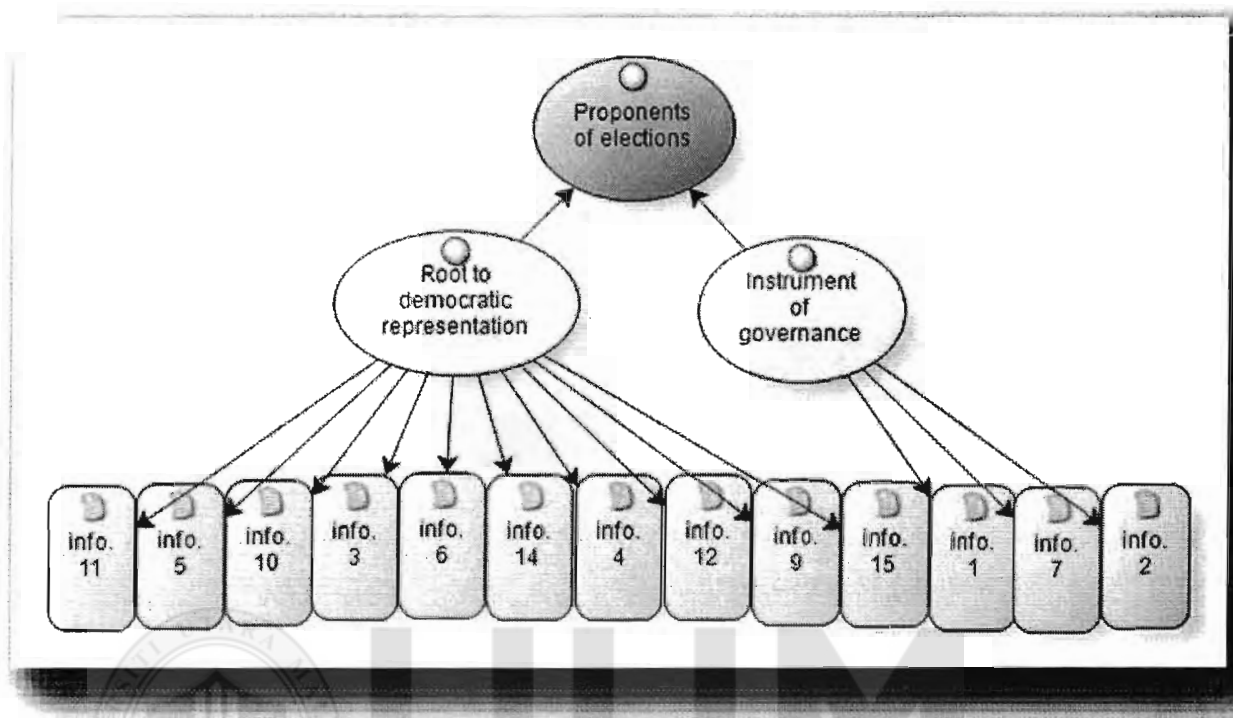
Model 5.17: Model for proponents of election

5.4.2.1 Root to Democratic Representation

The significance of elections in every democracy around the world especially in representative democracy cannot be over emphasized. Certainly its main focus revolves around how the processes of governance is evolving from the mandate of electorate. Perhaps other principles of democracy are also significantly important, however, in practice discharging the functions of governance such as in the parliament and the executive would not be achieved if the governed have not freely and fairly entrusted those responsibilities to their representative through elections. "An election process is a means of pursuing or retaining political power in which social differences are highlighted by candidates and parties campaigning for popular support" (Korth,

2011:9).They are means in which the people should freely choose people who would represent their wishes and aspirations to be able to discharge the act of governance. In line with this US department of states' Bureau of International Information stated that

> By allowing citizens to choose the manner in which they are governed, elections form the starting point for all other democratic institutions and practices... Elections are the central institution of democratic representative governments. Because, in a democracy, the authority of the government derives solely from the consent of the governed. The principal mechanism for translating that consent into governmental authority is the holding of free and fair elections (2010:4).

These were however viewed by this research informant's base on the following excerpts.

> *One of the things that make democracy what it is, is the election process. It is through election that you can elect people who will represent you. You cannot do it by selection. It gives you the opportunity to exercise your right, to participate, to express your freedom. It is first among equals in a democratic process (Informant, 10-Academecian).*

> *Election is the root of every democratic setting (Informant, 11- electoral officer- commissioner).*

> *It is because election is more or less the way the people elect their leaders and representatives. That is why it becomes first among equals (Informant, 12- Electoral officer).*

> *It is a device where people express their rights. Rule of law and other principles of democracy rely heavily on decision-making aspect of the polity. To have people to decide, you must have election. To have an effective representation, election has to be the first among equals (Informant, 14-EMB staff).*

> *Election is a matter of choice, therefore the whole principle of democracy is about free choice by the people for the people (Informant, 15-Grass root politician).*

> *Election is the first priority. Electing good leaders gives you peace in your country. So, election is first among equals (Informant, 3- Grass root politician.).*

People show interest in becoming governors, president, and house of assembly members or national assembly members. You cannot determine who gets what without election. It allows people to choose who they want (Informant, 4-Grass root politician).

We talk about election because we want to render services to the people. Without elections you cannot talk about other principles of democracy (Informant, 5-politician- MP-Sen.).

Election is the most fundamental distinction between democratic process and authoritarianism, monarchy, military rule, aristocracy, oligarchy, or anything. And if you find fault in it, it is in the process. You should address the process not the election. I would advise how to address our electoral malice rather than thinking of doing away with elections (Informant, 6- Academician I).

Election deals with people freely giving you their consent and that is why it is unique compared to other principles (Informant, 9-Academecian).

Above data analyses the views and perceptions of the proponents of election as the first among equals of other principles of democracy. Beside the observation that election and democracy are connected and that there cannot be good democratic governance without elections. They asserted that elections are the fundamental distinction between democracy and authoritarianism, it is therefore the root of democratic representation, which allows people to vote for someone or for someone to stand and be voted for representation.

5.4.2.2 Instrument of Governance

The point here is concerning the connection between citizens with what they expect from their elected representatives. It is about citizens' delegating politicians with powers to make decisions on their behalf, while in return the politicians would ensure satisfactions of their constituents. In other words democratic system of governance "ensures that those chosen by public do what the electorates want them to do or that they can be replaced even between elections. It's supervising the work of government.

A Dialogue between the ruler and the ruled" (Sec 69, CFRN, 1999). Elections are therefore tools for governance in a democratic setting (Lippman 1925; Mill, 1958; Powell, 2000 and Tocqueville, 200). Marinova (2014) stated that elections are "instruments of democracy". He noted that to understand the effects of accountability on policy performance more broadly, there is need to examine additional policy outcomes, including social and political performance. Therefore whenever election processes were conducted in fraudulent manner, the process of governance is most likely to follow suit. On the other hand in a fraudulent free elections, the expectations could amount to effective governance, a situation where other elements of good democratic governance would function well. This point is buttressed in African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance": Declaration vs Policy Practice (2008:7) that:

> The Charter thus reinforces the commitment of the AU member states to holding credible, transparent and legitimate elections that add value to democratic governance, and in the process, promoting peace, security and political stability, all of which are critical pre-requisites for socio-economic development.

The excerpts below shows the views of our informants on election as instrument of governance.

> *Yes, election is first among equals because without credible elections freedom of expression will not come to bear. Good governance will not be possible. So, election is the first cardinal point in ensuring a totally good governance and democratic process (Informant, 1- politician-MP- Rep. I).*

> *Election gives rise to instrument of governance. When this instrument of governance is not put in place, it will affect rights. That action that happens only one day has the ability of changing and destroying everything. So election is the focal point. Election is first among equals (Informant, 2-Politician.-MP-Rep. II).*

I think there is no doubt that election is indeed first among equals. It is not the matter of it becoming but it is one of the tenants of democracy because you have to have periodic elections to elect representatives in parliament and to elect governments or executives that can preside over the governance process. I think what is important is how to keep improving the governance process to make it democratic, to make it amenable to the satisfaction of the needs and the aspirations of the people. (Informant, 7- Academician/former EMB chair.).

Above data analyses the views and perceptions of the proponents of election as the first among equals of other principles of democracy. It describes election as an instrument of governance in the sense that it is a reciprocal relationship between the electorates and the elected. While democracy allows people to vote for someone or for someone to stand and be voted for representation, voters should supervise that the voted must ensure that the government provide ways to serve its purpose

5.5 Discussion of Major Findings

Both primary and secondary data were used for the analysis above. While the primary data consists of data obtained from informants in the form of interviews and group discussion; the secondary data is obtained from textbooks and journal publications to discuss the information generated from the research respondents. Therefore mainly qualitative data was used in this study, thus Nvivo qualitative software was used for categorization and thematic analysis. The investigations revealed the following major findings:

There is considerable perceptions that the factors responsible for re-emergence of democracy in Nigeria in 1999 was due to internally generated struggles as well as external influence. This shows that, perceptions towards understanding the factors responsible for the emergence of the fourth republic in Nigeria in 1999 can be

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explained from the internal factors and the external factors. It further shows that, from the internal factors, low performance of the military despite their long stay in power made the Nigerians seek democratic for government. Similarly, through public agitations in form of human rights organizations, civil society organizations and democratic coalition activities, Nigerians sent the military back to the barrack and earned the fourth republic.

Furthermore, from the angle of external factors, two major issues were found responsible for the return of democracy in Nigeria in 1999, particularly external pressure and global appeal for democracy. While the factors from external pressure were related to pressures such as sanctions and embargo from international community for Nigeria to democratize. Global appeal has to do with snowballing phenomenon and incentives from US and European countries through international institutions that promote democracy around the world. Nevertheless, the international promoters of democracy were found to have been disguising under the promotion of democracy to equally promote and front their multinational corporation for investment opportunities and their general economic interests. Despite that the perception that democracy is the best form of government around the world, Nigeria had no choice than to go the democratic way. Generally however, it reveals that, emergence of the fourth republic did not exist in a vacuum, thus internal and external factors were responsible for its existence. .

One major finding of this study is that the fourth republic has been characterized with several challenges. Among other challenges found to have remained a clog to the progress of the fourth republic democratic experiment in Nigeria includes; weak

democratic institutions, corruption, insecurity, lack of internal democracy within political parties, military mentality and weak electoral umpire. Thus, while democratic institutions are necessary essential elements of democratic political system, they are designed to ensure authorization of popular power of the citizens. However in the fourth republic era these institutions especially the legislature, judiciary and political parties are weak and therefore negatively affects the quality of democratic governance. Likewise the flagrant corruption scandals among the political office holders as well as the lack of internal democracy due to imposition of candidates within political parties has enormously undermined the fourth republic democratic experiment. These manifests in bad governance, infrastructural decay and excessive and unnecessary monetization in the political process.

The study also found that insecurity in the form of political and electoral violence as well as ethno-religious conflicts such as thuggery, militancy in the Niger-Delta and Boko-Haram insurgencies in the North have been seriously challenging the democratic experiment of Nigeria's fourth republic. Furthermore, the study reveals that there exists military mentality in the Nigerian politics and by extension democratic process. The study thus found this is as a result of long years of military rule and the many ex-service men in politics. Above all, especially as it is related to the issue of electoral process, is the weak structure of Election Management Body. The lack of independency and autonomy of INEC leads to poor conducts of elections thus spell doom legitimacy of government.

One other significant finding of this study is the consequences of electoral malpractice to democratic transition. It was found that, while irregularities in the conduct of an

election seriously threatened democratic transition, its consequences undermines the confidence of election stakeholders. The study reveals the cases of discontinuity, disenfranchisement and legitimacy crisis as consequences of electoral malpractices. Discontinuity in policies as a result of change of government that came up through fraudulent means on democratic transition leads to unnecessary expenditure and abandoned projects. Similarly as result of malpractice voters have on many occasions been disenfranchised because of missing names in the ballot register, ballot snatching, violence as well as heavy presence of military in polling stations, misconduct of INEC officials and intimidation. By implications while citizens become apathetic, yet incompetent leaders were produced. Thus consequences of Legitimacy crisis emerged, in the sense that citizens disputes the credibility of the authority of government, through expression of frustration. The major characteristics of legitimacy crisis as affects democratic governance is related to electoral malpractice that brought government into existence as well as the failure of the government to implement preferences of electorates. The implications of legitimacy crisis are therefore escalation of violence and impunity leading to state of anarchy.

It was also found that, Nigerians like many other electorates around the world perceived and views the debate on election as first among equals of the principles of democracy from two positions-proponent of elections and opponents of elections. However majority of respondents are of the opinion that election is first among equals of the principles of democracy. From the opposing views however, their arguments rests squarely on the view that elections are just the beginning of a stable democratic governance, they are merely a first step in a long and difficult process of democratization. They further argued that in as long as there is strong and committed

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leadership socio-economic and problems will become things of the past. However, for the proponents, election is a fundamental element in a democracy. It has become a major factor in the stabilization of democratization in emerging democracies. Democracy is connected with credible electoral process, and if there are no elections, "there cannot be political office holders that will exercise the peoples' sovereignty". Even if democracy consist of other principles, election is the most basic, it is the fact of electing decision makers and getting rid of them when electorate dislike what they did. With proponents views therefore, this study answered the question that seek to find reasons why election first among is equals.

Findings from this study shows that, there is so much to be desired since the inception of the fourth republic in Nigeria. The era is characterized by corruption, weak institutions of democracy, political and electoral violence, poverty, social inequality and electoral malpractices. However the 2011and 2015 elections shows improvement compared with the 1999, 2003 and 2007 elections, yet the need for total independency of INEC, the need for honest men and women of integrity like the immediate past chairman to lead the commission is highly significant. The findings also shows the need of getting rid of impunity, suffice to say that there is need to prosecute electoral offenders, especially by creating an independent electoral offences commission.

Regarding the application of critical theory and its relevance in understanding the phenomenon in this study, the findings indicates that; according to critical theorist such as Horkheimer, Marcuse and Adorno in the late twentieth century as well as Fuchs, (1015), Nowlan (2009), Robinson (2006), Encyclopaedia of Philosophy

(2005) Bohman (2004) and O'neil (2000); the theory explains a better understanding of present social conditions, how these conditions evolved and how they are transformed. They noted it is concerned with applying knowledge to emancipate the dominated from the injustices and inequities so as to reform and transform .Since critical theory is about transformation, and its approach concerns knowledge in researcher's responsibility to challenge and change the inequalities in the statuesque so as to empower the people its relevance in this study emerged as large volume of literature understood and revealed the trend in which powerful politicians engage in electoral rigging and malpractices during the fourth republic elections in Nigeria (Ibrahim and Aturu, 2009; Abutudu and Obakhedo, 2009, Mu'azu, 2009 and Ogbonnaya, 2012).

The study on the Malpractices in Nigeria's fourth republic elections: Challenges on democratic governance can therefore be use as a dialectical medium to challenge and change the statuesque of those who enjoined electoral malpractice to dominate electorates. This is achievable particularly through recommendations offered such as; strengthening democratic institutions, improving electoral innovations and reforms, addressing corruption, poverty and respect for the rule of law such as prosecuting electoral offenders as well as enhancing participation and sensitization of electorate regarding the importance of election to democracy.

5.6 Conclusion

The primary purpose of this qualitative study is to gain an in-depth understanding of the challenges of electoral malpractice as it obstructs Nigeria's aspiration for democratic governance in the fourth republic. This chapter comprises data

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presentation and analysis of the research findings based on themes and sub-themes that are gleaned from primary source, which contains; factors responsible for the emergence of democracy in Nigeria in 1999, challenges of the fourth republic democratic experiment, challenges of electoral malpractice on democratic transition and the debate for consideration of election as first among equals of the principles of democracy.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter contains general summary in which the major issues raised in the study were highlighted; conclusions were made, recommendations offered in line with research findings and observations. The research contributions particularly theoretical, methodological and practical mentioned, suggestions for further studies were made and lastly suggestions for further study have been stated.

6.1 General Summary

This research assessed the challenges of electoral malpractices as it affects aspiration for democratic governance that had been instituted since 1999 in Nigeria. Chapter one covers general introduction where the background of the study was laid, problems were stated, objectives were mentions, research questions were asked, justification and significance of the study were mentioned, theoretical framework discussed, research methodological approach was explained. Also, chapter two provided literature review on issues pertaining to globalization as it influences democracy, democratization and democratic governance. Discussion on the challenges of globalization on democracy, democratization was also provided. It further provided conceptual clarifications on democracy, democratization and democratic governance. Description of democratization in West Africa was also briefly made. Furthermore, challenges of democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic was also discussed. Hence a review on elections, electoral process and

election integrity, electoral malpractices, and challenges of electoral malpractices in Nigeria as well as challenges and consequences of electoral malpractice on democratic governance in Nigeria were also provided. Thus gaps in the literature reviewed were enumerated.

Chapter three described the research location and provides information on the study area, chapter four discusses mainly the challenges of electoral malpractice as it affects democratic consolidation in Nigeria's fourth republic. Chapter five present and analyses the data as well as discussed the major findings. The last chapter concludes and offered recommendations and provides the contributions with future studies and limitations

Generally however, the study investigates these phenomena by looking at election as a significant principle of democracy which serve as a means to uphold popular power of people, and therefore a medium through which democracy is realised. The emphasis is that since democracy is increasingly considered as the best system of government around the world; and that authoritarian/military regimes around the world have been making transition to democracy, conducting elections is the most significant characteristics of these new democracies, thus Nigeria is not an exception. However, not only does conducting elections matters in these new democracies, but the credibility of the election is what matters the most. Therefore the concern of this research has been investigating the challenges of electoral malpractices as it affects democratization process in Nigeria's fourth republic. Furthermore, the study affirms that only the conduct of credible elections could pave ways for effective and good democratic governance. Because it is revealed that political office holders who

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secured offices through fraudulent electoral process are most likely to deny citizens the benefits of good democratic governance. Therefore democratic governance can only be achieved in the absence or less political and electoral violence, corruption, weak democratic institutions and electoral malpractice. Unfortunately however, Nigeria's fourth republic has been characterized with these vices, nevertheless, in the 2011 and 2015 elections Nigerians have witnessed less of these vices.

Democratic system of government has been regarded the best form of government and increasingly accepted by all and sundry around the world including Nigeria. Its practice in Nigeria from 1999 to date however yield little impact to democratic consolidation and well-being of the citizens. This study observed that the sixteen years 'experiment of democratic government of the fourth republic does not satisfy the desired expectations of many Nigerians. The poor political leadership and bad governance, weak democratic institutions and crises in society, and infrastructural decay; discontinuity, impunity and ineffective implementation of democratic reforms and poor service delivery orchestrated with the lack of political wills, corruption and ineffective cooperation among the major stakeholders amongst others frame the crucial challenges of the fourth republic. The attendant consequences of these however, remains the high poverty rate, inequality, illiteracy, insecurity and general denial and deprival of social services to majority of Nigerian population. Therefore the much anticipated dividends of democratic government that is clamoured as the best form of government become a mere rhetoric, since the majority of the citizens are denied these benefits due to fraudulent competition for political offices.

6.2 Conclusion

This study investigates the challenges of electoral malpractice on democratic governance in Nigeria with special focus on the fourth republic. Based on empirical evidences presented in qualitative methodological approach as analysed in the previous chapter, the picture reveals the vital importance of election in a democracy. Hence the evidence suggest that only strict adherence to democratic values and ideals will bring good democratic governance in the country. It also, shows the need for resuscitating the decaying democratic institutions, attitudes, resources and infrastructure at all levels of society; and as it affects electoral process and democratic governance. It is on these lights that, this research is concluding by emphasizing that, unless a conscious and deliberate attempt is made to enhance electoral process by ensuring that, the political leaders strictly adhered to the application of rule of law, constitutionalism and democratic values; the legitimacy of government and consolidation of democracy may not be sustained. Also, to ensure the achievement of Nigeria's greatness status not only in Africa but around the world, the clamour for democratic governance must be given adequate attention in which credible electoral process played a vital role.

6.3 Recommendations

Nigeria's Electoral Process has been experiencing series of reforms, yet more recommendations are needed for credible elections in the country. Consequently, this study examines the intersection of perceptions of scholars and commentators in determining not only to identify the challenges and consequences of electoral mal practice to democratic governance in Nigeria in the fourth republic. But also to critically recommend strategies that could contribute in combating the challenges of

electoral process towards good democratic governance in the country. In line with the major findings stated above in 5.5, the following recommendations with their functional strategies were made.

One thing that can remarkably improve the integrity of Nigerian electoral process and reduce dramatically electoral malpractices is if our politicians change their behaviours and attitudes. For instance, before 2015 General Elections, Nigerian politicians believed that money would win elections, they believed that fraudulent activities would help them win elections. Until elections was conducted with Card Reader that, it became clear to them that money was of little use and fraud was also useless in terms of making people to win elections fraudulently. But until the politicians change their attitudes, they will continue to undermine the electoral process because they will continue to try using money to fraudulently win elections. What is very important is the change of attitudes and change of mind set. We need to work hard in ensuring that our politicians change their attitudes. Before 2015 elections, there was the 'do or die' mentality of Nigerian politicians. They want to win by hook or by crook. Thank God when INEC understood the way in which they fraudulently win elections, INEC introduced measures which systematically and slowly and steadily blocked many of those ways. But unless they change their attitudes, they will look for other ways and avenues of rigging elections and so on. Change of attitudes is very important. Politicians need to know that elections are games which you have to play in and knowing there must be a winner and loser. If you lose today, you can try again and win. It is like football. You have to keep trying and working hard. This is the kind of mind set we want from our politicians.

6.3.1 How can we achieve that?

We can achieve that by ensuring that we improve the sections in electoral law. Right now many politicians believe they can make electoral offenses and get away with it. Unless we make sure whoever commits electoral offense is penalised for it, no matter how highly placed, then that mentality will continue. Once we do that, it will be a deterrence for others. People need to know one don't have to use force or money to win elections because the whole idea about democratic governance is that you present yourself to the people as the best candidate, who can deliver what they need in the governance process and for them to say yes and be able to elect you. But if politicians feel the people don't matter and that what matters is money or their ability to buy off election officials, then obviously we will continue to face daunting challenges.

The main concern is the attitude of our politicians of not accepting defeat must be changed. The election stakeholders should change their mind sets and allow a level playing ground for all. There should be healthy competition. The former President, Goodluck Jonathan conceded defeat in the previous election. This is what should be done with any politician who loses election. Also, politicians should learn to accept innovations from the electoral body. We bring innovations to improve the credibility of our elections. The stakeholders should also be fair to the system; observers, security agents and others should do their jobs diligently.

In other words, we should ensure that the laws and the constitution are respected. That is why we say democracy under the rule of law. The constitution and the law should be the yardstick for measuring and delivering judgments. Again, there should be

political reforms so that INEC can be completely independent. People should be given the wherewithal to express themselves freely.

We should see the issue of enthroning democracy as a collective responsibility. People have to ensure that their votes are counted because the people we elect impart much into our lives. The Electoral Act should be over-hauled. New clauses should be inserted and obnoxious clauses should be removed. For instance, the Electoral Act should take care of petitions within the space of time, you must not be a member of a political party before you contest. There should be independent candidates. When you have an emblem of a party attached to you, you cannot work as an individual. You must not go beyond your party. When this is done, people would not blame your party for failure. They would blame you as an individual and that will affect your future.

The use of Card Reader in 2015 elections is good and should be improved. The use of the Card Reader is recommended as a way of making sure people who are recognised by the Card reader; their age, finger-prints to make sure they are the real owners of their cards. People should understand the importance of one man, one vote. The card reader should be improved. In fact the use of card reader should be sign into law in order to totally block the chances of those who rig elections before the introduction of the card reader. Some politicians may think they can reverse the use of the card because it was only introduce by INEC, therefore if the law gives it a backing, it would be sustained and would surely add integrity to future elections. INEC should always be on research on how to improve the credibility of elections.

People should therefore protect their mandates constitutionally. We should also engage into political education so that people will be adequately sensitised. People should also be committed to democratic process. What is needed is to educate the people that they have the right to protect their votes and therefore at any time they can organise themselves and do that within the circumstances that allows it. There are places where you need more people to look over your interest. Let it just be a political framework not legal. Mandate protection is important, it is necessary and it is recommended but let it be within political framework. When you legalise it, you are limiting it.

Voter education, discipline, fight against corruption, internal party democracy, reducing the reward for political office holders should be encouraged. For free and fair elections, the election management, media, judiciary, political parties, electorate, security agencies etcetera, must be strengthened for them to be neutral and impartial in carrying out their electoral responsibilities. Security men should do their job. INEC should also do their job diligently. People should know that election is not a matter of life and death. People should also learn to accept defeat. In general, people should sustain what they did in 2015 elections and improve upon it. INEC should also be provided with enough security officials to guard election materials so that they cannot be snatched by hoodlums.

Police should be trained and retrained on their jobs. Electoral Law should empower INEC to prosecute any person; whether it is the President, Governor, Vice President, media or a military-man or policeman, for electoral offense. Nobody should be spared when they go contrary to Electoral Law. If those things are done and the justice

system is delivering justice, you will find out our electoral space would be good and electoral malpractices will be something of the past.

There is need for continuous and clear-cut voter registration exercise for actual registration of Nigerian voters. It should be done every year so that it does not become cumbersome. Distribution of cards should be contracted. Voters' card should be delivered at your door-step. The country has the resources to fund voters' registration in schools, business areas, and homes to register voters and allocate them their polling units. When a person moves from one place to another, he informs the government so that his unit will be changed. As soon as a person reaches 18 years, he will be told that he is qualified to vote. Such activities would not only increase civic consciousness but also reduces the level of political apathy.

Also, now that first alternation of power from the 16 years ruling PDP to Opposition APC is witnessed, the new government should not have the mentality of winner takes all. It should invite the opponent parties and ask for their best materials. It is the government of Nigeria and not the government of a particular party. There should also be a political party regulatory body so that members cannot be jumping from one party to another. One should spend at least 20 years in a party before moving to another party. There should be some element of control. This will do away with electoral malpractices within the political parties. To deny benefits of election riggers is to amend the electoral act with the provision that once an election result is disputed at the election tribunal or in the court, the proclaimed winner of such election should not be sworn into office until the final determination of the case.

There is also the need to improve the economic condition of Nigerian people so that the unfortunate aspect of the electorate putting monetary value to their vote to the highest bidder would be address. There must also be dramatic reduction of monetisation of electoral process. Nigerians should stop looking for goods from candidates to vote for them. Because when someone gives you money to vote for him, he will have to recover his money when elected. Secondly, the money for nomination forms is too exorbitant. Parties collect 20 million Naira for Presidency, House of Representative is 5 million Naira, while the Senate is 10 million Naira. A good candidate may not have the money to buy the form. The current President had to borrow money to buy his nomination form. We have to start with sensitisation of the people. We have to understand that politics is not about enriching ourselves. We should know that politics is about serving the people. We should also know that it is not a do or die affair. Laws should be made to try electoral offenders. Our political parties should adhere strictly to internal democracy.
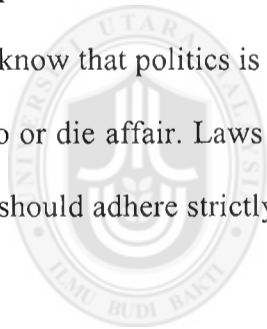
Political party internal democracy must be adhered, because once internal democracy is practiced, it would reduce electoral malpractices. People who are voted through free and fair election would have credibility in coming to the table in their various political parties. The campaign space should also be wide enough so that the people will be able to rate individuals as they bring their manifestos. The first-line charge should be given to INEC to make sure it is totally independent in bringing out administrative process for the election process. To address such challenges, some of our political parties should be abrogated. We should not have more than four to five political parties. Let us have strong parties. Also, all arms of government should wake

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up, especially the Code of Conduct Bureau so that politicians should declare their assets properly.

Above all there should be leadership by example the need for good leadership is crucial, because without good leadership the above cannot be achieved. The only way we can save ourselves is sincerity, honesty and impeccable leadership, we should not look at politics as lucrative business. Party structures should not be handed over to Governors. Parties should stop imposing candidates on people.

Lastly, there should also be a call to international institutions promoting democracy such as World Bank, IMF, MNCs and powerful countries to restructure harsh liberalization policies that are detrimental to developing world democracies such as Nigeria. Perhaps there should be a call for the establishment of international institute for democracy to regulate anti-democratic excess of transnational organizations as it affects under developed countries. Thus there is need for them to avoid disguising under the pretence of promoting democracy to perpetuate their self-centred business and economic interests. There is need for them to guarantee genuine conditions that would promote peace and democracy.

6.4 Research Implication and Contributions

The research of this nature will not be complete without discussing its specific contributions and implications. The contributions however was discussed under the following headings: theoretical contributions, methodological contributions and practical contributions.

6.4.1 Theoretical Contributions

This research contributes to the body of knowledge in expanding critical theory. In the sense that, it is used to explain the challenges of electoral malpractice on democratic governance in Nigeria's fourth republic. The theory was adopted in explaining the dominance of political elites in the democratic processes through electoral irregularities. The fact that Nigerians celebrated with high expectations from the re-emergence of democracy in 1999, the political class have institutionalized electoral malpractice to secure political offices. Thus critical theory helps us to not only understand that, but also to challenge and change the statuesque. While the politicians engaged in imposition of candidates, buying votes and electoral officials, intimidation, snatching and stuffing of ballot boxes, kidnappings and killings, they did that to perpetuate themselves in power. It is the responsibility of critical theory to suggest ways that would overcome these irregularities, in order for the benefits of democratic governance to be felt and touched by the electorates.

The evidence of electoral malpractice in Nigeria's fourth republic is visible in structural and operational weakness of INEC. The use of security personnel, incumbency factor and godfatherism in the electioneering process to divert peoples' choices further disenfranchise the citizens and relegate the aspiration for democratic governance to the background. Moreover the act of impunity by political office holders or money bag politicians are also other ways of perpetuating electoral irregularities. However since critical theory is about empowerment, its main goal is to challenge and change the obnoxious electoral laws, especially where there is need for prosecuting electoral offenders. Also, by challenging the statuesque of dominating and disempowering the majority Nigerians by the political class, critical

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theory would help in transforming the Nigerian society in terms of socio-economic development, especially when issues of corruption and mismanagement are addressed.

Only a transformed and legitimate democratic government will embrace policies that would convert infrastructural decay and discontinuity in government policies. The ruling elites must be honest and sincere for responsible developmental policies in response to popular demands, an accountable and responsible government for the achievement of good democratic governance. The views of critical theory is therefore to transform Nigerian state and the accountability questions of the political office holders in Nigeria. The theory emphasised that, to uphold the legitimacy of government the electoral process must be credible to the optimum satisfaction of the election stakeholders in achieving the desired aspiration for democratic governance.

Furthermore, it contributes to the development of models that were generated from interview responses. In this research four main models developed from main research themes, each were developed with their dimensions, having thirteen subsidiary models. These includes: models of factors responsible for emergence of the fourth republic; model for internal factors responsible for emergence of the fourth republic, model for external factors responsible for emergence of the fourth republic, model for the challenges of the fourth republic democratic experience, model for weak democratic institutions, model of corruption as a challenge to the quest for democratic governance, model for insecurity as a challenge to the quest for democratic governance, model for lack of internal democracy, model for military mentality, model for weak electoral umpire, model for rural challenges of electoral

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malpractice on democratic transition, model for discontinuity as challenge to democratic transition, model for disenfranchisement, model for legitimacy crisis, model for election as first among equals of the principles of democracy, model for opponents of election as first among equals of the principles of democracy and model for proponents of election as first among equals of the principles of democracy.

6.4.2 Methodological Contributions

Methodologically this research has contributed in adopting the use of both primary and secondary data. Qualitative data obtained from interviews was used to make in-depth analysis and triangulation to arrive at reliable result free from biased. Through that, the interviews data obtained as primary data where by respondents were able to freely express their perceptions on certain issues that were ordinarily could not have been opportune to do same through in quantitative method. Thus secondary data were used to discuss and compliment the primary data, which provide additional comparative or collateral evidence that verify the result of the main analysis.

6.4.3 Practical Contributions

Practically this research has contributed to understanding not only the international trends which leads to emergence of Nigeria's fourth republic but also the challenges of electoral malpractices in Nigeria, and shows clearly the vulnerable nature of democratic governance in the country. It also contributes to government and democratic institutions as major stakeholders in democratization to understand clearly the felt needs of Nigerians for better and effective policy and necessary interventions for democratic governance to augur well. It further contributes to the electorates to understand the challenges of democratic governance and the

implications of electoral malpractices as regards the realities of situation in their constituencies and Nigeria in general. So that they can quickly intervene and make necessary support either on their individual organizational capacity or in partnership and collaborations with the government to achieve the desired goal of democratic governance.

6.5 Suggestions for Further Studies

This study focused on challenges of electoral malpractice on democratic governance in Nigeria with reference to the fourth republic. Though exhaustive in its own rights, but the study will not claim perfection and indispensability. It is in this light that, the following areas were suggested for further studies:

The study deliberately covers the challenges of electoral malpractice only for assessing its impact on democratic governance on Nigerians from 1999 to date, because of the acknowledgement that, it is democratic government that is more concerned about the participation of citizens in governance. Perhaps citizens participate in governance or decision making only through election of their representatives who ensures the protections of the decision of their people in government policies. It is however suggested that, further studies be carried out to include other principles of democracy such as constitutionalism or freedom or rights of expression.

Certainly other principles of democracy can equally be assessed in the fourth republic democratic experiment in Nigeria. This is because, it was observed that, in spite of the deliberate choice of relating the principle of election with democratic governance

by the researcher in the study, reference was often made by the respondents on the relevance of the other principles of democracy in Nigeria's quest for democratic governance. Moreover, in the course of conducting this study especially from the secondary sources of data the researcher found that elections are just the beginning of democratization process. There are other processes involved in democratic governance that needs more enlightenment such as human rights and rule of law, or even other institutions such as political parties, legislature and electoral umpire.

Furthermore, the research scope also may need to be extended to cover one or more country, particularly, in comparison within West African countries that have also been categorized in the "third wave" democratization process. However Nigeria was chosen for this study because of the long period it takes under military rule, but now in its sixteenth year of practicing democracy, yet consolidation of democratic governance is threatened by electoral irregularities.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter summarizes, concludes and made recommendations, it is a general summary of the assessment of the challenges of electoral malpractice on Nigeria's experiment of democracy from 1999 to date. While reiterating the importance of election in democracy, the chapter concludes that evidences from the research reveals the state of decaying democratic institutions, attitudes, resources and infrastructure as it affects electoral process in the country. Following the revelation of these predicaments a number of suggestions were made to overcome the challenges.

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APPENDIX

Interview Questions

1- What do you think are the challenges of the current Fourth Republic democratic experiment?

2- What do you think are the challenges of the current Fourth Republic democratic experiment?

3- In what ways do the consequences of the challenges of electoral malpractices affect civilian-to-civilian transition?

4- Will you recommend protection of votes by voters after casting their votes in Nigeria's Electoral Act?

5- What is your assessment as regards to the use of Card Reader in the 2015 General Elections?

6- How will you rate the 2015 General Elections compared to previous elections?

7- Considering the fact that voting is a process, do you think voting alone can represent credible elections?

8- There are other principles of democracy like freedom of expression, constitutionalism, and many more. In what ways does election become first among equals?

Probing Questions

1- You made mention of the issue of internal democracy. What can you say to it?

2- Still on electoral malpractices. Do you have any evidence of electoral malpractice in this Fourth Republic?

3- So if you give 2015 elections 80% free and fair, how many percent would you give to 2011 and 2007 General Elections?

4- What would you recommend to overcome those challenges you spoke about as a politician, academician or an executive of non-governmental organization?

5- How can we achieve that?
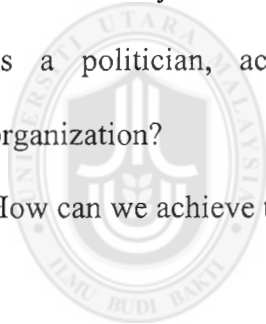
Research Informants

Informant 1- Honourable Member of the Parliament (MP), National Assembly, Representing Ndokwa West and Ndokwa East and Ukwuani Federal Constituency, Delta State, South-South zone.

Informant 2- Honourable Member of the Parliament (MP), National Assembly, Representing Ajeromi/ Ifelodun Federal Constituency, Lagos State, South-West zone.

Informant 3- Grass root Politician, Wuse Federal Capital Territory Abuja from North-Central zone.

Informant 4- Grass root Politician, Damaturu Yobe State from North-East zone.

Informant 5- Distinguished Senator, Member of Parliament, National Assembly from Bayelsa Senatorial District, Bayelsa State, South-South zone.

Informant 6- Academician, PhD Political Science Department, Bayero University, Kano

Informant 7- Academician, Political Science Professor and former (immediate past) Chairman of (EMB) Electoral Management Body-INEC (Independent National Electoral Commission) of Nigeria.

Informant 8-Academecian (Professor)/ NGO Executive, African Research and Development Agency (ARADA).

Informant 9- Academician, Political Science Professor, University of Abuja, Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

Informant 10- Academician, Political Science Professor, Bayero University, Kano

Informant 11- Electoral Commissioner, Kano State Independent Electoral Commission (KANSIEC), Kano State, North-West zone.

Informant 12- Electoral Officer, Fagge Local Government, Kano State Independent Electoral Commission (KANSIEC), Kano State, North-West zone.

Informant 13-Senior Programme Officer, Centre for Democracy and Development, Nigeria Office, Abuja

Informant 14- Electoral Officers II and III, EMB Staffs (Deputy Director and Assistant Director Statistics Department and Electoral Process Department respectively). Independent National Electoral Commission Headquarters, Abuja.

Informant 15- Grass root Politician III from Enugu State, South-East.