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



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JULY 2016**

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CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE**

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**UUM**  
Universiti Utara Malaysia

**A Thesis Submitted to Dean Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government,  
in fulfilment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy  
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Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa  
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## DEDICATION

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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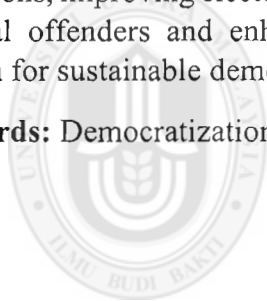


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## ABSTRACT

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,



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## 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

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## 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 become 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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## APPENDIX

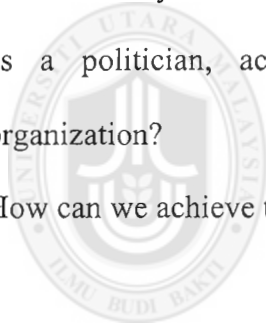
### Interview Questions

- 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?



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#### 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.