ELECTION PLANNING, ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT IN NIGERIA (1999 – 2010)

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TITLE PAGE

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA, NSUKKA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS OF SCIENCE DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE (PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION)

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my beloved family.
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Grateful be to God the Lord of the world

I will ever remain indebted to my supervisor Prof. Mariam Ikiejian-Clark whose sustained interest, patience, guidance and encouragement inspired me during the course of this study.

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My regards also goes to my parents and colleagues.

Ibrahim Babangida
Department of Political Science August, 2011
Abstract

This study investigates the Planning Administration and Management of elections in Nigeria with emphasis from 1999 –2010. The study becomes imperative following the deteriorating of the democratic process in Nigeria. We focused our empirical verification on two key areas viz: whether the establishment of the electoral institute and other electoral reforms has strengthened the planning, administration and management of elections in Nigeria.

We adopted the traditional management theory we also relied on content analysis and document study as our cardinal method of data collection.

From our findings we found out that though the establishment of the electoral institute and other relevant electoral administration and management strategies, there seems to be no striking difference witnessed.

The researcher recommends among other things that the establishment of the electoral institute and other relevant electoral administration and management strategies be strengthened for planning, administration and management of subsequent election.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO STUDY

Nigeria is the most populous black nations in the world and the largest in Africa, with a population of approximately one hundred and fifty million people, (NPC,2006) Nigeria’s political history was bedeviled with obstacles and struggles. Though, the country’s case was not a good example of countries where the struggle for the entrenchment of the franchise was intense and bloody as witnessed in Europe, some part of Africa and other part of the world. Its early political history was characterized by different political and cultural challenges.

The traditional stage witnessed varied patterns of practice of local political system. For instance, Northern Nigeria had large and distant areas with an established system of local administration with a distinct legal system also the period was characterized by the presence of modified financial management with established sources of public finance. Arabic education and literacy in the North also assisted the growth of local administration during the traditional phase.

In other areas such as the Eastern parts of Nigeria, the Igbo political system or pattern reflected a segmentary system of local administration with
clans and villages. The Ibibio and Ijaw societies also developed local political administrative and judicial systems, (Fadipe, 1970: 262).

The Yoruba Empire structured its political system to include the element of checks and balances. The head of the Yoruba people was the Alafin at the period of arrival of colonial lords. However, the situation drifted from that of checks and balances as provided by the Oyomesi to possession of absolute power by Alafin during the period of Indirect Rule (Kirk-Greene, 1968: 67).

New patterns of political leadership were introduced during the colonial period. However, the local political structure was borne in mind. The British officials posted to Nigeria were inadequate to manage the structure they met. They considered the complementary efforts of the indigenous leaders. This idea was convenient in the Northern parts of Nigeria where a reasonable degree of local systems had already been introduced. (Uche, 2011:43).

During the period of colonial rule, the government officials were largely made up of Europeans. In 1914 Lord Fredrick Lugard amalgamated the Southern and Northern Protectorates with the Colony of Lagos giving the birth of Nigeria as a nation. By 1960, when Nigeria became a sovereign nation and a Republic in 1963, she joined the race for political growth and
development among modern committee of nations. The democratic phase started in 1960 and was characterized by conflicts within the political class which in turn attracted the military to intervene and take over the affairs of the country in the year 1966. This led to the collapse of the first republic. It all happened in a military coup led by five military officers with the rank of major. However the leadership of the government fell on Major General Aguiyi Ironsi.

The above tragedy opened the annals of Nigerian Military in politics, but the enormity of the problems of ethnicity that was faced by the Major General Aguiyi Ironsi’s administration, and the assassination of the Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello leader of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) and his Deputy, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and the allegations of Igbo domination by the northerners, led to the assassination of the Major General Aguiyi Ironsi’s military administration in July 1966.

The General Yakubu Gowon’s led administration inherited the political crisis that featured with the assassination of the northern leaders and the series of killings of the Igbo people in the north which led to declaration of the sovereign state of Biafra by Lt. Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu. These and many other factors transformed into or led to the civil war of the 1967-1970. But the Gen. Yakubu Gowon’s administration failed in 1976 due to
lack of transparency and its inability to return Nigeria to civil rule, (Garba, 1974:29)

The General Murtala/Obasnjo’s led military regime came in July 1975, with the aim of good governance, state creation and a political transition programme. The regime created nineteen (19) states and modified the local government system, it also promulgated the Nigerian Constitution, and established Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO), the electoral umpire that conducted the 1979 elections that ushered in the second republic government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari. Despite the political turmoil that characterized the second republic they succeeded in completing a four year term of office and began their second tenure of office which was stagnated by the General Mohammadu Buhari’s led military coup, (Adebayo, 2001:31)

The General Mohammadu Buhari’s military government of Dec. 1983 - Aug 1985, also inherited a government with poor finances which led to the investigation of several cases of corruption and mismanagement of public funds; also the regime succeeded in introducing some institutional programmes aimed at redirecting the attitudes of Nigerians e.g. the popular or famous War Against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAIC). Though, it appeared that most of his subordinates or colleagues were not satisfied with
his style of administration, they toppled the administration in August 1985, (Ibid, 34)

The General Ibrahim Babangida’s Military Government came into power on the 27th of August, 1985, with the ultimate goal of hand over power to a civilian administration, The regime constituted a Political Bureau to examine the political problems in the country and touched on some issues of socio-economic growth of the nation, created more states, promoted representation of women in government and created a two political party system. In his bid for democratic consolidation, the administration conducted the controversial June 12th presidential election that was later annulled by the Babangida s administration. Chief Moshood Kashimawo Abiola of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) was the winner of the election.

In other to resolve the political crisis that ensued by the annulment of the election, an Interim National Government was established and headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan in August 1993. The illegitimacy of the administration was declared by the Court (Fawehinmi 1993: 4).

The claim of the avoidance of the disintegration of Nigeria led to the taken over of power by the General Sani Abacha’s led Military regime of Nov. 1993. On assumption of office the regime engaged in the arrest of politicians, retired military personnel, activists and pressure groups. But all
the aspirations of change by the regime were resolved with the death of 
General Sani Abacha on 8th June, 1998.

The events of 1999 began with the assumption of power by General 
Abdulsalami Abubakar in June 1998, after the death of General Sani 
Abacha. The administration worked tirelessly to return Nigeria to civil rule 
and decided to hand over power to a democratically elected government in 
May 1999.

At its inception or restructuring, sequel to the 1998/99 general 
elections, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) made 
elaborate preparations to ensure that the 1998/99 general elections becomes 
a water shed in the history of election administration in the country, but, 
unlike the 1993 elections, the political transition programme which produced 
the fourth republic, is by far the shortest in the history of the country, as it 
took less than a year to be accomplished.

The 1998/99 general elections had many things in common with the 
1979 elections including the constitutions under which they were conducted. 
Because there was no constitutional promulgation by 1998/99 Only that the 
1999 constitution became law by decree in 1999. But the transition did not 
witness much bitterness, boycotts, thuggery and other malpractices usually 
associated with electoral malpractices in the country, though this can be
attributed to persistent and dogged campaign and struggle by the civil society groups to get the military back to the barracks (New Nigeria, pg 12, 2000). Also during the 1999 general elections, the country was spared from the agony of ethnic rancor due to the fact that the two (2) presidential aspirants emerged from the same geopolitical zone. After the election exercise, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo of the PDP (Peoples Democratic Party) was declared the winner of the presidential election with a majority in states; the PDP won the majority in the Federal and states Houses of Assembly, and 25 states out of the 36 states governorship seats.

At the expiration of the term or tenure of office of the elected officials, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) re-strategized for the conduct of the 2002/2003 general elections, the election presented another opportunity of transiting from one civilian administration to another but after series of political maneuvering, the exercise was also marred by thuggery, boycotts, threats, intimidation, manhandling, kidnapping, assassination of political opponents, and manipulation of electoral processes and results, (TMG 2004) Chief Olusegun Obasanjo of the PDP (Peoples Democratic Party) was declared the winner of the presidential election with a majority in states; the PDP won the majority in the Federal
and states Houses of Assembly, and 28 states out of the 36 states governorship seats.

During the 2007 general elections the Independent National Electoral Commission planned and administered elections that were faced with several problems that includes the inability of the commission staff, members of the governing class to respect even the most rudiment rules and regulations fashioned out by them (EU, 2003). Again, it was an election aimed at transiting from one regime to another or from one civilian rule and government to another. Contrary to the electoral malpractices which characterized the 2003 general elections,

The 2007 general elections was also marred with electoral malpractices, intimidation, stuffing of ballot boxes, harassment by politicians, electorates and security officials. In addition to that, the ruling Peoples Democratic Party used the power or advantage of incumbency to its fullest at the expense of other political parties, (TMG, 2007). Despite all these problems and condemnation by both domestic and international election observers, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) declared Alhaji Umaru Musa Yaradua of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), the winner of the presidential elections; with a majority in states; the PDP won the majority seats in the Federal Houses of Assembly and 29 seats
out of the 36 States Governorship seats. His tenure was cut short, because he died after a protracted illness and the mantle of leadership was transferred to the then Vice President Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, who is now the substantive President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The essential question is why is it that Nigerian politicians and the electoral management body have never seized the historic moment to change its ways. Citing Hegel, the German philosopher, Sagay (2007: 104) submits that “This is the seal of the absolute and sublime destiny of man that he knows what is good and what is evil, that this destiny is his very ability to will either good or evil”. This point to the fact that elections need adequate management and proper planning before administering if they are to contribute to the sustainability of the present democracy. To this end, democracy particularly electoral democracy should be pursued side by side with proper voter education, appropriate electoral processes and legislation. This is imperative because the conduct of free and fair elections will go along way in enhancing changes in the polity, (Electoral Institute, Handbook 2005).

The scenario as stated above and the enormity of the challenges confronting elections in Nigeria compelled the electoral umpire to establish an Electoral Institute in 2005. The Electoral Institute is saddled with the
unique responsibility of enhancing adequate training for the electoral officials, so as to overcome the inherent poor and generally unaccepted state of the Nigerian electoral processes, with the ultimate aim of providing the officials with the required knowledge and awareness, which would facilitate informed and objective conducts, (The Electoral Institute Handbook 2005)

The Institute since its inception has as its cardinal objective the enlightenment of officials as an asset for the growth and development of an electoral process and healthier electoral habits. Therefore prior to the conduct of general elections, the Institute had developed series of trainings and seminars for all electoral officials. The Seminars and Training Programs entail or cover areas such as;

- The role of voters in the electoral processes, why we vote who can vote, how to vote and where to vote.
- Secrecy of vote during elections
- Electoral code of conduct during elections
- The right of eligible voters, obligations and responsibilities during elections
- Understanding and identifying the symbols of all registered political parties
- Dos and don’ts of an election exercise
Dos and don’ts of registration exercise

Election offences and penalties

Voting producers at polling units

Resolving disputes and how to report same to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)

Understanding the Independent National Electoral Commission its structures and operations

Understanding the electoral and the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria. (The electoral Institute Handbook 2005:6)

The essential task of the exercise is to ease future elections and to cover the inherent gap in the development of a healthy electoral process. The sustainability of any democracy and its electoral system is premised on the quality of elections obtain in such a society; that is the reason why, elections are central in any viable democracy.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Nigeria has gone through a turbulent process in its journey for democratic sustainability. Central to the incessant breakages of its democracy is a faulty electoral system bedeviled with abnormalities due
partly to the activities of selfish and corrupt politicians’, un-informed electorates, and un-enlightened electoral officials.

The adequate planning and management of the electoral circle will assist in the betterment of the entire electoral process. This is imperative owing to the sensitivity and relevance of elections to the entrenchment of qualitative democracy in Nigeria.

For instance, the international Democratic institute (IDI Report 2007: 6) states that,” lack of adequate human and financial resources for the Elections commissions, has greatly hampered democratic consolidations in Nigeria.

United States Article (1966:128) provides that funding and administration should be provided for objective and non-partisan electoral management body in the conduct of democratic elections.

The international observer groups (2003:4) inevitably comments on the inadequacy of proper planning and management of elections, in other words it is what is required in other to ensure a free and fair elections e.g. enhancing access and level of participation in elections.

The common Wealth Article (1993:46) states that “appropriate and effective steps should be taken in increasing Sensitivity about democratic performance and participation, especially in the area of conduct of elections in emerging democracies, it made it clear that democracy cannot be taken for
granted in any circumstance. As such electoral management body (EMB) should be fully funded and professionally organize

Since Nigeria returned to a civilian rule in May 1999, after almost three (3) decades of military rule, economic crisis and political upheavals. Therefore in the quest for democratization, there is a serious need of electoral reform and re-structuring as a cardinal point for the quest or fulfillment for democratic consolidation. Hence if the story of democratic failure in Nigeria can be converted to history, then elections needs to be properly planned, managed and administered.

Although Since independence in 1960, Nigeria had shifted from a parliamentary to the presidential system of government with several military incursions into politics over the years. Even the present presidential democratic dispensation is still undergoing experimentation, with varying degrees of trial and errors.

One of the major problems with the democratic system of governance in Nigeria, is in the area of electoral procedures, which has generates conflicts both in its pre and post electoral activities; also the very nature of the Nigeria society with its multi-lingual, multi-cultural and multi-religious nature, has helped to prepare the grounds on which electoral conflict seem to be thriving. This is in addition to the prevalence of poverty, greed and
dishonest practices which exist within the Nigerian society. In addition to challenges or problems faced by the electoral managers and administrators, which include the non understanding of the concept of democracy and the need for a free and fair election to enthronce people choice, there is the fear of victimization, civil and environmental factors, e.g. conflicts, violence, thuggery, culture and nature or terrain of the areas of operation etc. Many Years of military rule have accelerated the drift towards hegemonic politics at the expenses of democracy. As noted by Alex Ekwueme, a former Vice President of Nigeria.

Nigeria has experienced decades of military and authoritarian rule which has left deep imprints in our party democracy and electoral process. Consequently, our political elite have become used to centralization; concentration and personalization of political power the central defining elements of modern despotism. The consolidation of democracy however requires the institutionalization of political power in which the process and rules and regulations replace the exercise of personal power (Ekwueme, 2000:8).

Electoral fraud is not limited to political polls did occur in the elections where the potential gain was worth the risk for the cheater. Despite many instances of electoral fraud, Lakeman, and Roseblom, (1970) took position that it remains a difficult phenomenon to study.
One thing was unique in the 2003/7 elections the Independent National Electoral Commission was genuinely not in control of activities on election days. Extra-INEC forces often working in tandem with INEC officials used unconstitutional methods to determine the outcome of many of the election conducted by INEC. There are several issues that impinge on the autonomy of the electoral commission and its efficacy.

According to Jinadu (1997:6) what should firmly come to our mind is the composition and mode of appointments of the electoral body. How are its members selected, what should be its numerical strength, the tenure of members, and under what circumstances can they be removed from office and how? Secondly is the legal framework of its powers. How its autonomy guaranteed concretely in constitution? In other words, what institutional autonomy does it have from the executive and the legislature? How is the electoral commission funded? To whom is the commission answerable? And with what freedom does it conduct its activities like voters’ registration, and the actual voting process?

Ezeilo, (2007:53) stated that the composition of Nigeria’s electoral body is at the behest of the President. The Commission is one of the executive organs of the state albeit recognized by the Constitution as independent. INEC is composed of a Chairman, twelve National Commissioners, and thirty seven Resident Electoral Commissioners, all of
whom are appointed by the federal government, and thereby tendered vulnerable to the manipulation of the President and federal authorities.

Although members of the electoral Commission are to be screened by the National Assembly, this has become a mere formality as the ruling party has overwhelming majority in the National Assembly. Hence the recent practice by the President has been to appoint people without credible professional or intellectual competence in electoral matters to chair the Commission (Kurfi, 2005:22). All these are attributed to the poor planning, administration and management of elections in Nigeria where people join politics and become leaders not for the sake of the citizenry but for a personal gain through a corrupt electoral process.

Lastly, the existing scholarship failed to establish the link between poor planning, administrations and management of elections and the monumental failure and fraud recorded during the conducts of 1999, 2003 and 2007 general elections in Nigeria.

It is against this background that the research work seeks to answer the following research questions.

1. How has the planning, administration and management of elections influenced the electoral outcome in Nigeria between 1999, 2003 and 2007?

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

The central aim of this work is to explore the relevance of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to the enhancement and sustainability of the Nigeria electoral system and consolidation of Nigerian democracy. The specific objectives are

1. To ascertain whether or not the planning, administration and management of elections had influenced the electoral outcome in Nigeria, between 1999, 2003 and 2007.

2. To appraise whether or not the Electoral Institute had improved the quality of elections in Nigeria in 1999, 2003 and 2007.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

The relevance of the study cannot be over emphasized, its significance to the attainment of a qualitative kind of democracy and electoral process. The significance can be categorized into academic and practical significance.
First and foremost, this study is inspired by the fact that a group
dearth of materials and knowledge exist in the area of election planning,
administration and management in Nigeria. Secondly, the study would
provide relevant theoretical backgrounds and practical knowledge and skills
required to effectively and efficiently manage and administer elections. To
this end this work shall strongly contribute to the advancement of academic
frontiers. It will be a great document for scholarly activities and a reference
document for scholarly activities also a reference document for students and
researchers who desire to investigate more into area of Election planning,
administration and management

In other words, information contained in this piece of academic work
will greatly broaden academic horizon and will mark a fundamental
beginning of a concerted and harmonized academic and research work in the
field of election administration, planning and management. Besides, the
study also posses some salient practical significance in the first place, the
recommendations and entire discussions will constitute a strong policy
document for policy makers both in government and Non-governmental
organization

For instance Government Agency such as the Independent National
Electoral Commission (INEC) the Non-Government organization (NGOs)
and Civil Society Organization (C.S.O’s) Civil Liberty Organization (C.L.O’s) Professional and Labor Organization, Traditional and Religious bodies and the International Electoral Agencies will find this work very useful in assuring the quality of elections in Nigeria and other parts of the world.

Finally, other countries in West Africa, Africa and of course the entire world will find the information continued in this work very useful in broadening their electoral system. In short, the aggravation and intensification of democratic process the world over and the need to ensure strong and virile electoral system, to sustain it calls for taking the issue of Election planning administration and management seriously.

The recommendation there in, will also help the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to take more practical steps towards enhancing proper planning, Administration and management of election in Nigeria.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW.

Basically, we intend to conduct our literature review within the context of the research questions. The main focus of our literature review is on the following sub-headings viz.
A) How has the planning, administration and management of elections influenced the electoral outcome in Nigeria between 1999, 2003 and 2007?

B) How has the Electoral Institute improved the quality of elections in Nigeria, 1999, 2003 and 2007 elections?

As noted earlier in this work the essential pillars of any electoral democracy is a strong and verile electoral system. The concepts of election planning, administration and management entails the process by which an electoral umpire or body determines its major goals and objectives and identifies all the tasks or activities and methods of accomplishing each of these tasks or activities towards the overall realization of the goals and objectives (FAME, 2009)

Though, electoral administration and management the world over are fraught with one problem or the other, (Musa (2001:6), following its restructuring in 1998, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was faced first with the task of political parties formation and registration, which after due consultation with wide spectrum of political associations seeking registration as political parties, and in pursuance of that, guidelines were formulated to ensure that only associations with national appeal were registered. The political associations were required to submit a
short profile of their Association, Constitution /Manifestos, and an evidence or receipt of payment of their dues. After the registration of the political parties, then the next step commenced, which was the registration of voters and compilation of the voters register. The voters register is an important document in the conduct of any election which needs to be revised and updated.

The problems of managing and administering elections in Nigeria are pronounced, because most of the processes are manually carried out. For instance Musa (2001:3) observed that, during the 1999 general elections, the voter registration exercise was characterized by multiple registrations due to collusion between the registration officials and the politicians. The result was that registration cards were not enough to go round, even though enough had been issued to the officials for the two weeks registration exercise. This caused artificial scarcity and shortage of registration materials and as well as multiple registrations.

However, these account for lack of democratic culture and an un-wholesome attitude on the part of some of the political leaders and electoral officials in Nigeria. Most of them are basically self centered and unproductive and relies mainly on the acquisition and control of state power, (i.e. the use of political power for personal interest) is responsible for the high incidence of poor planning, administration and management of
elections which in turn contributed to poor quality of the electoral process in Nigeria.

In 2002, the existing voters register that was used for the transitional elections was jettison and a new one was compiled in November 2002, in preparations for the conduct of the 2003 general elections. But the registration exercise did not go down well, due to poor and late planning, before administering.

The Report of the International Observer Mission (2005), narrates how the technology failed woefully in registering eligible voters, and the inability of the electoral officials to check underage registration or stop kids from acquiring the voter cards.

The enormity of these challenges led to the establishment of the Electoral Institute in 2005, which is considered one of the greatest achievements or success in the history of election administration and management in Nigeria. EOM (2007).

The report also observed during the conduct of the elections how people queued in the scorching sun and made to vote in vain without ballot papers and result sheets and also how lack of secrecy in the balloting led to intimidation of voters by agents of dominant political parties and their
supporters in addition to under aged voting in many states which is as a result of poor planning and administration of the relevant electoral laws.

However, Agu (2007) noted, that the strategic significance of election is that it connotes the evolution of democratization in particular, as it provides a country the unique and rare opportunity of transiting from one civilian administration to another.

The United Nations Development Programmes, UNDP, (2004:2) states:

Elections are one of the most important ways citizens can participate in decisions that affect their lives and hold their representatives accountable for results. Elections therefore provide a critical intersection between citizens and the interlinked goals of poverty alleviation, human development and achievement of the MDGs. The political legitimacy that credible elections confer is essential for robust states and provides a crucial mandate if government are to have the capacity to tackle a myriad of sustainable development challenges.

To the UNDP, elections have three main functions in a democracy. First, they are a means for people to choose their representatives in a legislature, a congress and / or a single executive office such as government or president, second, elections are a means of choosing governments; finally, elections confer legitimacy on the political system. In summary, UNDP (2004:3) contends that:
Elections are the paradigm of enforceable accountability: when a government fails to live up to the needs and desires of the people, the people can throw it out of office. No form of accountability is more direct; no form of participation is more egalitarian. But it would be a mistake to equate democracy with regular elections. Democracy also requires functioning institutions.

The second opinion states that elections are a means of choosing government. Indeed, in many (not all) parts of the world, elections are primarily a contest between competing political parties to see who controls the government. This position is often associated with the fact that election is treated as republican instead of democratic institution. It therefore sees it as a mechanism for selection individuals who in their reasoning are seen to merit their selection and so worthy of entrusting the government of the republic into their care. In this thinking is a limited role for the members of the public, although they function as the final arbiter in the choice of elected officials.

In liberal democratic theory, an election is a viable mechanism for consummation of representative government, responsiveness on the part of the elected officials to that of leadership. Walter and Sidney are the proponent of this thought.
Apart from facilitating leadership succession, it promotes political accountability, citizens’ participation and gives voice and power to the people.

In other words, Elections are an expression of the people’s sovereign will. Mill (1948:161), in his treatise on representative government, noted that:

The meaning of representative government is that the whole people or some numerous portions of them can not participate directly except through deputies that are periodically elected by them. Also the ultimate controlling power by the constitution resides with the people.

The reality however is that the nostalgia of direct democracy which Ake, (1996) states is problematic in a complex and complicated post-modern society. In any case, liberal democracy is in crisis in many countries, developed and developing (Ezeilo, 2007:14). nd ballot snatching.

The present democratic experiment in Nigeria is virtually characterized by all the features enumerated above e. g absence of free and fair elections; civil liberties are flagrantly violated, that’s why, It has still being acknowledged that the June 12, 1993 presidential election in Nigeria remains the freest and fairest and so we cannot talk of free and fair election in the present dispensation. Due to the series of clashes between the ruling party and opposition parties in different part of country, also the case of some politicians whose right to contest as candidates were truanted and
dampened through the use of stage managed political party primary election, these are typical case in point.

Ibori (2007) in an address delivered on the occasion of the Independent National Electoral Commissions workshop for religion leaders from the Seventeen (17) Southern states emphasized the need for clergy men to join hands together in the success of the nation’s transition. He emphasized the secular nature of Nigerian’s Constitution and the need for religious leaders to desist from preaching religion as the basis for voting in Nigeria. Be that as it may, he only emphasized religion as a source of moral strength and virtue, and the need to be God-fearing and elect credible leaders or candidates.

On its part the International Human Right Law Group (2003) a non-Governmental organization takes the perspectives of dramatizing and practical demonstration as a strategy for Administering and management of the entire electoral process or system

To them, staying a loaf during elections and perpetrating electoral violence and fraud will not help the Nigeria’s electoral system. The target of this organization is the youth who have a major stake in the entire business of elections.
Jega (2006) adduced that for the battle against the incessant cases of rigging, fraud and violence in elections to succeed, one of the fundamental strategies is the need to involve credible stakeholders, especially non-Government organization (NGO’s) in the electoral process.

Ehindero (2007) identified the general poverty and illiteracy of citizens as one of the potent causes of electoral fraud and violence in Nigeria. That is why he adds that, free and fair elections require all electorare that is aware of the value of democracy, of the right and responsibilities of citizens and of the relationship between the right to vote, freedom of speech and duty to accept laws and participate. According to him an agenda should be targeted at advancing the benefit of a democratically elected Government and overcoming of electoral apathy. He also emphasized the use of non-Government organizations (NGO’s) both local and international and other parts of the civil society such as trade unions and local religious organizations as part of the election stakeholders.

Sagay (2007: 3) on his part points out the relevance of voters as the engine wheel of any democratic society; he points out their relevance as the only set of people that have the capacity to change the system. His worry was that, about 60%-80% of these electorates are still walloping in ignorance, illiteracy, and poverty. So these electorates most be protected
against the dubious acts of some politicians who appeal to ethnic cleavages and blind allegiance to personalities,

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

We employed in this study the Traditional Management theory as our framework of analysis. Gulicks, (1937) asserts that the traditional management system with its seven core functions was used to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the management system, its functions and activities.

However, the traditional system function approach easily translate into recommending for strengthening an organizations standard operating procedures and chain of custody controls to check electoral excesses in all stages of the electoral processes..

Abaje and Adejumobi, (2006:28) in conjunction with Nwankwo, (2004:31) observe that the primary responsibility for election management in Nigeria resides in an electoral body. This body has the responsibility for constituency delimitation, registration of votes, registration of political parties and organization of elections and declaration of election results.

Ezeilo, (2007:35) held that the problems of legitimacy and credibility are embedded in this institutional. Like its predecessors, INEC has not been able to engender public confidence in the electoral process or organize

This argument is further strengthened by the seven (7) core functions of the theory;

1. Planning.
2. Organizing (design of formal structures).
3. Staffing (including capacity-building).
4. Directing (including leadership, decision-making which embodied orders and instructions to staff/personnel and ensuring compliance)
5. Co-ordinating
6. Reporting (including fiscal and physical performance)
7. Budgeting (including control and evaluation)

It is from this perspectives that the recurrent problem of administration and management of elections in Nigeria could be further explain, in other words these problems are as a result of external creation or manipulations by the ruling class.

Nwankwo, (2007:19) remarked on the conduct of the 2007 election, the high quest for material accumulation propel the ruling class or leaders to influence an institution such as, INEC, to a dangerous degree in committing electoral fraud,
As Okakpu, (2008:18), observed; this ruling class devotes considerable amount of energy and resources in defending their interest at the expense of democracy and national interest.

However, the consequence of this, Is that it undermined public confidence and legitimacy of the electoral process.

1.7 HYPOTHESIS

This research is guided by the following Hypothesis.

- The planning, administration and management of elections has improved the electoral outcome in Nigeria
- The establishment of the Electoral Institute has improved the quality of elections in Nigeria between 1999, 2003 and 2007 elections.

1.8 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

We shall adopt the use of sources such as books, Scholarly Journals, and documents that contain or treat the role of Non-Governmental Organizations, and international agencies reports by UN, NDI, and IDI, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), The Electoral Act, and the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, also other official publications from seminar papers, Magazine, News Paper, Internet
materials, are of primary importance, we shall rely on content analysis of materials to ensure consistency and validity.

1.9 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

In this study, we adopted descriptive method of data analysis, the use of documentaries form our empirical source of data, this method enabled us to isolate the variables that formed our hypothesis to aid analysis, and we also relied on traditional method of analysis even though some statistical variables/data are applied as the case may be.
CHAPTER TWO

NIGERIAN POLITICAL HISTORY

2.1 PRE INDEPENDENCE, 1900-1950

The pre-independence period was characterized by the struggles for self succession and freedom. But nonetheless for over a decade and a half in the Lagos and Calabar legislative Councils, membership was based on nomination or selection by the then colonial authorities; the use of these legislative council members within the British colonies was purposefully to suppress opposition and protest (Tamuno 1972: 128)

During the selection or nomination process, the colonial authorities or the British made use of mostly the mercantile group and traditional groups, instead of the educated African elite. These wrangling that bedeviled the legislative council especially the non-election of council members prompted or formed the basis of criticisms and attacks both within and outside the legislative chamber. For instance Mr. Obadia an unofficial member of the council, suggested during a debate in October 1911, that instead of having nominated members within the government, there should elected members; This and many other reasons gave rise to the introduction of elective representation in the Lagos and Calabar legislative councils in 1922 by Sir Hugh Clifford. Agboola (2005; 92)
The 1922 elective principle were very restrictive, because they not were on based on the universal adult suffrage. Rather, it was based on an income-based adult male suffrage, as stipulated in the electoral regulation which in turn facilitated the creation or formation of political parties that led to the first election in 1923. The second election took place in 1947 following the introduction of Arthur Richard Constitution; this Constitution created the central legislature in Nigeria with 24 members, where three (3) members out of four were from Lagos and a single member (1) from Calabar, but the rest were nominated by the colonial authorities and regional local authorities. (Nnoli, 2003)

While the subsequent elections took place between 1954 and 1959, after the introduction of the Lyttleton Constitution, which provided or created room for the recognition of political parties as a condition for election into the regional and central legislatures, the Constitution continued the system of operating different electoral laws for the three region. For example, the Eastern region operated the universal adult suffrage for persons over 21 years, in the West only adult males who paid taxes were allowed to vote while in the North the indirect college system was used and only adult male who were tax payers were allowed to vote. The important issue here is that the colonial office always super-imposed their dictates in form of
Constitution which the nationalist always opposed as being tandem with democratic principles, (Onu 2006)

2.2 POST INDEPENDENCE – 1960

Although at independence Nigeria adopted a parliamentary system of government based on the West-Minster model of parliamentary democracy, where both executive and legislative functions are fused (legislation and execution), nevertheless there where strains and stresses. Thus the very idea of official opposition in 1960 was an anathema. According to Ajomo (1996), as early as 19 November 1960, during the debate on the defense pact between the United Kingdom and Nigeria, being promoted by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa’s government, but vehemently opposed by the Action Group opposition, Alhaji Muhammed Ribadu, the NPC (Northern Peoples Congress) Minister of Defense stated that “unless this man Awolowo is put in jail, this country will know no peace” Ironically, and quite to the contrary, it was when Awolowo was eventually put in jail that the country knew no peace.(Ajumobi 1996).
2.3 THE FIRST REPUBLIC, 1960-1966

The political history of the first republic, 1960 to 1966, was replete with the abuse of parliamentary majority for illegitimate ends, intimidation and violence against opponents during elections, manipulation of electoral process to produce candidate returned unopposed, and the publication of false, illegal and predetermined election results. (Nnoli 2003) Three sets of elections were held in the period from 1960-1965. These elections include the elections conducted within the newly created Midwest region in February 1964, the federal elections of December 1964, and the regional elections of 1965. Prelude to the December 1964 federal elections, the first indigenous census was organize and conducted, but the figures obtained or released generated a lot of debate and disagreements within the then political class and this generated a lot of tension in the country coupled with the creeping crisis in the western region in 1962, for instance Ojo, (1985), provides us with a picture of how the NPC-NCNC coalition declared a state of emergency in the Western House of Assembly on May 25, 1962, in order to provide an excuse to take over the control of the Western Region, to finally destroy the political opposition.

But the census result or figures released in 1961 was cancelled by the Balewa, coalition government and a recount was slated for 1963 before the
1964 federal elections, although the 1964 elections were conducted, but the results were rejected due to fraud and massive boycott by the East and mid-western regions, that led to a constitutional crisis that ended the first republic, Ikejiani and Ikejiani (1986).

2.4 SECOND REPUBLIC 1979-1983

The 1979 Constitution, on which the Second Republic was based, differed from the 1960 and 1963 Constitutions in significant respects. It marked the jettisoning of the cabinet system of government and the adoption of the American Presidential System. The rationale for this adoption was the argument that the cabinet system created room for institutionalized opposition and was not well suited to a diverse country with many different ethnic and religious groups. (Shagari, 1993). The new Constitution consequently required political parties to have offices in at least two third of the nineteen states of the federation. Under the presidential system of government, there is separation of power between the executive, legislative and judiciary.

Separation of powers involves three things:

(a) That the same person should not form part of more than one of the three organs of government e.g. the Ministers should not sit in parliament.
(b) That one organ of government should not control or interfere with the exercise of the functions of another e.g. the judiciary should be independent of the executive.

(c) That one organ of government should not be exercising the powers of another e.g. ministers should not have legislative powers. All these are in conformity with the doctrine of separation of powers.

Alhaji Shehu Shagari, Second Republic President of Nigeria, in 1993 painted an uncomplimentary picture of the Nigerian legislator. He referred to the second republic legislators as a bunch of irresponsible law makers full of vanity and deeply in the pursuit of narrow selfish interests. Shagari buttressed his indictment by noting that throughout the four-year span of the second republic Nigerians were treaded to a theater of the absurd by their legislators. According to him that period was notorious for the evident subordination of the legislative chamber to the weak executive branch of government. Shagari (1993)

During the 1983 transitional elections the NPN government perpetrated all sort of electoral activities, the voting process altered, voter registration inflated, and actual votes cast were all grossly distorted to produce the so called landslides, (Garba 1979). The legislature of the Second Republic was hardly effectual, as President Shagari pointed out,
in their constitutional roles by paying more attention to passing resolution than law making; they were unable to moderate the excesses of the other arms of government, especially the executive.

According to Amina (2006), another situation of acrimony was in the second republic, was when members of the legislature and the executive in the ruling party (NPN), contested elections, either for the House of Representative, Senate or Governorship, and lost, he/she is then made a powerful minister controlling enormous resources. This obviously created much envy and polluted the atmosphere between the executive and the legislature, especially between the successful legislator and powerful and influential opponent he had defeated.

Two further factors which emerged in the second republic were the party caucus and the bionic legislator. The Shagari administration allowed party caucus and the ruling party to be influential. It was alleged that they reviewed decisions of the federal executive council particularly on contracts. (Amina, 2006) This often lead to cries of marginalization and domination by others in the opposition camps.

In short Nigeria successfully embarked upon the presidential system, but the experiment was cut short by the excessively poor behavior of the
operators. As observed by Eso (1993: p21) on the failure of the second republic, he stated:

The second coming of the military into Nigeria’s political stage was because of the intolerant conduct of the legislature. Most of the legislators dabbled into the functions of the judiciary by arrogating to themselves the court’s role to interpret laws” (C.F. Olagunju et al (1993: 21).

This assessment could be generalized to the entire political process, under such circumstances, there was inevitably stalemate, if not paralysis of the governmental process, politicians had not lived up to the high expectations which had been generated by the coming of the second republic.

2.5 THIRD REPUBLIC (1988-1993)

Adejumobi and Momoh (1995); clearly stated that the signs of having learnt nothing from past misfortunes were evident; for example the nomination for governorship elections was pervaded by fraud, arbitrariness and high handedness, and the governors who emerged were evidently happy to serve a military president after June 12, 1993. They clearly demonstrated their preference for a military President over a democratically elected civilian president.

The Senate capriciously removed or impeached its president, apparently because he was too committed to democracy and the full establishment of the third republic. Altogether, the strong impression emanating from the
politicians was that what matters most to them was being in one office or the other, with the material rewards that it entailed. Whether this was in a democratic setting or in a despotic military setting, it was secondary. Thus the Chairman, officers and leaders of the victorious SDP (Social Democratic Party), criminally bargained away their presidential victory for material rewards. Thus they helped to install an unelected Head of State, in place of the elected presidential candidate of their own party. Momoh, et al (1995)

The exhibition of immaturity and irresponsibility was staggering; speakers and other officers of the various houses were impeached and changed on daily basis. However they provided the nation with the only source of interlude during the uncompleted process of the third republic. The truth of the matter is that the so called political class destroyed every hope for the full realization of a third republic from the very beginning by collaborating with the Babangida regime in embracing the patently undemocratic military established and military bred parties. Politicians allowed themselves to be herded like sheep into either of the two military guided and controlled arms of government (executive or the legislature), in order to pursue their pretender ambitions. National interest and indeed long term self interest were thus sacrificed on the altar of rank opportunism. If
they had rejected that political insult and absurdity outright, we would today have had a flourishing democratic third Federal Republic of Nigeria.

2.6 THE FOURTH REPUBLIC; 1999 TO PRESENT.

The fourth republic emerged after the death of Gen. Sani Abacha in 1998 with the take over of power by the Gen. Abulsalami Abubakar’s military government. The National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (NECON) was dissolved and a new electoral commission was re constituted called the Independent National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (INEC), in 1998. There was a Chairman and 12 national commissioners, two of which were drawn from each of the six geo political zones of Nigeria and 37 Resident Electoral Commissioners in charge of the 36 states and Abuja, while the 774 local government areas was headed by Electoral Officers who were staff of the Commission.

The 1999 Nigeria Constitution (Sec, 156:1) conferred on the Commission the powers to.

1. Organize, undertake and supervise all elections to the office of the President, the Governor and Deputy Governor of a state, and to the Member of the House of Senate the House of Representative and the House of Assembly of each state of the federation.
2. Register Political Parties in accordance with the provision of the Constitution and the act of the National Assembly.

3. Monitor the organization and operation of the Political parties including their finances.

4. Arrange for the annual examination and auditing of funds and accounts of the political parties and publish a report on such examination and audit for public information.

5. Arrange and conduct the registration of persons qualified to vote and prepare and maintain and revise the register of voters for the purpose or conduct of any elections under the Constitution.

6. Monitor political campaigns and provide rules and regulations which shall govern the political parties

7. Ensure that all electoral commissioners, electoral and returning officers take and subscribe to the oath office prescribe by law.

8. Delegate such of its powers to any Electoral Commissioner and;

9. Carry out any other functions as may be conferred upon by the national assembly (The Electoral Journal 2005p.4)

After the inception of the Commission in 1998, the Commission was faced with the task of managing the conduct of the series of elections that would usher in a democratically elected government in 1999, with the aim of
ending 16 years of military rule in Nigeria. In an effort to avoid the occurrence or mistake of the past by registering political parties based on primordial ties, the Commission registered only three (3) political parties out of the two hundred and sixty eight (268) political associations- Alliance for Democracy (AD) All people Party (APP), and the People Democratic Party (PDP). Musa (2001)

Immediately after the registration of political parties the voters registration exercise commenced, the register compiled the names of persons qualified to vote during the 1998/99 general elections which ushered in the fourth republic in April 1999. The registration of voters, was undertaken in one hundred and twenty thousand registration centers nationwide; these centers also served as poling stations or voting centers on the election day, (Musa:2001)

In addition the election activities were spread into three stages- pre election, election activities and the post election activities. The elections were conducted with the 1979 Constitution; apart from the transition programme being the shortest in the history of transition in Nigeria, the planning of the elections and the elections took less than a year to be accomplished. The elections were contested by the three political parties whose candidates were nominated for the different/various position. But
after the first phase of the elections, the AD and APP later entered into an alliance for the presidential election, which enabled them to resent Chief Olu Falae as their flag bearer, while the PDP, presented Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as their flag bearer.

The two led contestants or presidential aspirants/ candidates emerged from the same geopolitical zone as a result of political arrangement that was reached and signed within the political parties in the name of power shift or rotational presidency. Positions were to rotate between the geopolitical zones of the country, (Oyovbaire et al, 1993. 11).

This political arrangement was neither constitutional nor enshrined in electoral act, but it played a role in curtailing some of the political tensions in the country and it brought a sense of togetherness within the Nigerian society or state. At the end or close of polls, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo of the (PDP) emerged victorious with a 2/3 majority and the (PDP) won almost all the elective positions in the south east, south-south and north central states, as the AD won a majority in the south western states while APP captured some states in the north east, north west, and a state in north central. There were accusations of electoral fraud/rigging among others complaints from the politicians. Shehu. (2001).
The 2003 general elections was yet another type of transition from one civilian administration to another, though it was the third attempt to transiting from one democratically elected government to another, as a result of the failure in the previous two attempts, as a result of massive boycott and electoral fraud as observed by Ikejiani, and Ikejiani. (1986).

The transition programmed of the fourth republic right from on-set witnessed the opening or enlargement of the political space by the registration of three more political parties after a ruling by the Supreme Court on the 8th of November 2002. the registration of the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), United Nigeria People Party (UNPP), and the National Democratic Party (NDP) was added to the already existing three parties. These newly registered political parties allegedly enlarged or opened up the political atmosphere for full political participation in the country, Agboola, (2005).

However, the electoral process did not go down well because the elections turned out to be a nightmare. As Ginsberg, (2001:240) observed, at some point in every countries electoral history, incumbent elites sought the use of military force to suppress their political opponent. The quality of the 2003 general elections in Nigeria in terms of how local government electoral officials allowed greater flexibility in other to tailor their personal demands
and that of the politicians at the expense of the people they were supposed to, appalling. The voter register was inaccurate with various degrees of mistakes, omissions, and misspellings of voters’ names and their addresses. (TMG, 2003)

On elections day, many of the electorates/voters were disenfranchised, because of the inability to trace their names during accreditations, coupled with the series of violence that characterized the election exercise. But after the sorting and counting of the votes, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo succeeded himself as the returned President with a majority of the votes in 2/3 of the states. The Federal and States Houses of Assembly members were all returned.

After the formation of government in both states and federal level, came the deadly impeachment syndrome and the rubber stamped war against corruption that was staged managed by the government in other to silence or do away with or suppress opposition within the polity. (Cite source). Many state governors were impeached and put behind bars due to clash of interests and indulgence in corrupt practices. There were a series of confrontations and impeachment threats by the Legislators to the President and the clash of interest between the then Vice President Alhaji Atiku Abubakar and former
President Olusegun Obasanjo are events that took place in the fourth republic.

The 2007 State and Federal Elections fell short of basic international required standard for democratic elections and this resulted in the lack of confidence among stakeholder; further this questioned the legitimacy of the government of Late Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar’adua. He was ushered in as president as a result of this controversial elections; the government rolled out the seven (7) points agenda and stated that the bedrock of the government was the rule of law.

In its bid to douse the tensions that arose from the various degree of disruptions, violence, malpractice, and assassinations, etc that happened or occurred during the elections, the Government inaugurated the Electoral Reform Committee (ERC) on the 28th of August 2007, with the mandate to review and ensure quality and standards as regard to issues of Nigeria’s electoral democracy, and future conduct of elections in the country (Cite source). The Committee was headed by a retired Justice of the Supreme Court, Justice Mohammed Uwais. The committee traveled throughout the country taking memoranda, oral presentations and met with several interest groups in the country, in order to arrive at a consensus or be guided on electoral issues.
The Committee Report was passed to Government and the president then set up a committee headed by Chief Aoudoka M. to review the report and advice government. After the review, the government subsequently passed the report to the National Assembly for public hearing and deliberations, and later, the committee report or recommendations were passed into law as the 2010 electoral law and the harmonized or reviewed sections//clauses in the constitution were also passed.

The Independent candidate and the State House of Assembly autonomy proposals were among the notable sections or suggestions expunged from the Uwais committee report by the government and the legislators. This clearly shows the failure of the Nigerian electoral reform.

Although, the political crisis that arose during the sickness and the subsequent death of President Umaru Musa Yar’adua after a protracted illness, and the Constitutional transfer of power to the then Vice President and now President, Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan has shown a sign of political maturity of the fourth republic, despite some political and ethno-religious conflicts in Plateau, Borno, Bauchi, Kaduna, Niger, and, Oyo state.
CHAPTER THREE

MILITARY INTERVENTION AND TRANSITION IN NIGERIA

3.1 MILITARY INTERVENTION AND ITS IMPACT ON NIGERIAN DEMOCRACY

The period of independence was characterized by conflicts within the political class. There was political instability which attracted the intervention of the military. The military intervention was basically as a result of the inability of the civilian administration to govern well and the series of uncontained political crisis, coupled with the high level of corruption that existed within the ruling class. Another major factor was the political ambitions of the military officers engaged in such coups, which, the military ascribed to as intervention in recognition of its role as the custodian of the Constitution. However, aspects of such Constitutions were flouted by the Military in the series of military coups in Nigeria, which affected rather than shaped the Nigerian politics. (Garba, 1979)

These military regimes depended on the bureaucratic class in ruling, due to the diverse nature of government. The military held sway since independence in government from 1966, a total period of twenty nine (29) years before 1999 when a civilian regime was returned. Garba (1979: 29) opined that military intervention in politics is not only an aberration, it is to
some extent, a negative way of solving political problems, because the military is not by training to have a role in partisan politics.

Nigeria with its diverse people with different cultures, languages and religions was envisaged to be united for growth and development. The military tried to achieve ethnic balancing in appointments and other relevant structures of government. Thus, the quota system and National Youth Service Corp program among others were used to solve the problem of unity. This however affected the application of competence as qualifications were de-emphasized (Garba, 1979: 31).

The military created additional states, local governments and established the Constitutional Drafting Committees. No doubt, the military had a political vision for Nigeria but had problems of implementation of strategies (Ibid, 34). The role of the military government in Nigeria is mixed with successes and failures; however it is noted that the military should only provide supportive role for the sustenance of Nigeria’s democracy.

Nigerians over the years have criticized the involvement of the military in politics. This is due to the reason that they prefer consultative administrations where their views are heard and their aspirations/reactions taken into consideration. The military did not provide the environment for
reactions to policies formulated and unfortunately most of the policies introduced were not acceptable.

Attempts were made by the military to improve economic and social condition of Nigeria. Fiscal and monetary policies were introduced which was aimed at increasing the country’s revenue. Similarly, duties increased on import, export and excise. Importations of goods were discouraged to assist locally made goods to enjoy the patronage of Nigerians. Consequently, the country generated funds internally. In order to aid the growth of the country during the post-war reconstruction years, the Second National Development Plan of 1970-74 was introduced, a substantial increased in funds was achieved, but the main thrust of the plan was that of reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country (Garba, 1979: 32). However, corruption increased more ever.

3.2 THE IMPACTS OF MILITARY TRANSITION ON NIGERIAN DEMOCRACY

The concept of “transition” derives from the various attempts, by the different military regimes to engineer the process of returning Nigeria to a civil democratic form of government.

Transitions from military to civilian rule have been a major feature of the post-independence political landscape in Nigeria since the 1970s. These
transitions have always been supervised by the military. The various instances include the Yakubu Gowon political transitions program (1967-74), the Murtala Muhammed/Obasanjo transitions (1975-79), the Ibrahim Babangida’s transitions (1988-92), the Sani Abacha transitions (1995) and the Abdusalami Abubakar transitions (1998). Their transition programs illustrate attempts to institute a democratic system of government in the country. With the exception of the civilian government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari, which was a product of the Obasanjo transition, these transitions became an on-going process (or event). The military supervised political transition programs were inherently problematic and were incapable of installing a fully democratic system in the Nigerian society.

In general, these transitional programs had negative impact on the sociopolitical stability of the country. Though political transitions imply the gradual withdrawal of the military from politics, where their transitional program succeeds, this reinforces their role in the supposedly democratic state. As Robin Luckham (1998) puts it:

Even in retreat they influence the composition and behavior of incoming regimes and are formidably equipped to destabilize or re-intervene against them if their interests are threatened. Their failures have also been crucial in contributing to political instability which prevailed in Nigeria today.
An implication of this enormous influence wielded by the military is that a failed transition leads to an unstable polity, which in turn precipitates a coup d’ e tat and brings in another military government with it’s own new political transition program. This has been the case of Nigeria since she experienced her first military coup in January 1966.

Dudley (1975) has thus described the Nigerian Army of the post-civil war period as a form of criminal organization responsible for the crippling of Nigerian society as a pluralistic community.

Joseph (1991) and Luckham (1998) have posited that the Nigerian experience with the military is a “Pasted Exit”, from power by the military on their own terms Hutchful (1998) buttresses this argument, thus:

The transition to democracy was preceded by attempts at military reform, the military regime also retained tight control over the process, permitting no discussion or input by the civilians. The domain of military reform was seen as the exclusive preserve of the military hierarchy. This process of self reform allowed the military to retain the initiative or at least to pre-empt unwelcome initiatives on the part of incoming civilian governments, and to incorporate the interest of both regime and institution into the reform process. Uncontested control over the military was also seen as necessary for keeping the democratic movement in check and preventing the possible unraveling of the carefully calculated transitions.
3.3 MAJOR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS ENGINEERED BY THE MILITARY IN NIGERIA.

Between 1975 and 1996, Nigeria has had three written constitutions. This situation implies that the problem of political governance lies in the republic’s constitutional designs.

Following the promulgation of the 1979 Constitution by the Mohammed/Obasanjo regimes, Nigeria opted for a system of separation of powers between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, as against what obtained in the past, which is the parliamentary system of fused legislative and executive power. For example in part 11, Article 4 (1-2) of the 1979 Constitution, the function of the legislative branch was outlined, thus:

The legislative powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be vested in the National Assembly, which shall consist of the Senate and the House of representatives... The National Assembly shall have powers of the executive branch as noted in section 5 (1 a, and b), which states that “subject to provision of this constitution, the executive power of the federation.

a. Shall be vested in the president, and may, subject as aforesaid and to the provisions of any law made by the National Assembly, be exercised by him either directly or through the vice president and minister of the Government of the Federation or officers in the public service of the federation; and
b. Shall extend to the execution and maintenance of this constitution, all
laws made by the national Assembly and to all matters with respect to
which the National Assembly has for the time being power to make
laws.

The Babangida Administration through a 17 man political Bureau
introduced what is known as diarchy system, where there is a civil-military
rulings coalition, for example Babangida was ruling alongside elected
legislature.

Similarly the Constitutional Conference of 1995, promulgated by
General Sani Abacha, contains some decisions made by the conference
which include: Rotation of power between North and South, multi-partyism,
multiple vice - presidency, proportional representation of parties in
government etc. The institutionalization of the rotational system of
presidency is an acknowledgement that power at the federal level of
government was dominated by an ethnic group. According to the
Conference, “this reality has been one of the sources of political agitation
and instability”. (Abacha, 1993).This was especially the case with respect to
those groups who see themselves as being marginalized because of their
minority status. In this regard, Gen Abacha declared:
The PRC (Provisional Ruling Council) has endorsed a modified presidential system in which six key executive and legislative offices will be zoned and rotated between six identifiable geographical groupings… (C.F Oyovbaire et al, 1993:p11)

The National political offices, which will be filled by candidates on rotational basis, are, the president, vice president, Prime Minister, deputy prime minister, senate President and speaker of the House of Representatives. The power sharing arrangement was entrenched in the Constitution and applicable for an experimental period of 30 years. (PRC Gazette 1993) Although there was no Constitutional promulgation by the Gen. Abdulsalam Abubakar administration in 1998, but the 1999 constitution became into existence or law by a decree in 1999.

3.4 THE LEGACY OF THE MILITARY ON NIGERIAN DEMOCRACY

Despite the formal withdrawal of the armed forces from politics, the state of civil-military relations in Nigeria remains abysmal after decades of military rule which was associated with high levels of corruption, gross mismanagement, non accountability, human right abuses and outright criminality, these have constituted monumental challenges to Nigeria’s democracy.
For the politicians, elections became a quest to win by all means, after all the military (the guardians of the process) were dishonest. Thus, various kinds of immoral and criminal acts and omissions resulted from the situation. For example General Obasanjo succeeded in handing over to a democratically elected president Alhaji Shehu Shagari, in October, 1, 1979, however from the period 1981-1983, it had become clear that there were serious lapses in the practice of the Presidential system of government due to intra and inter elite conflicts in the management of the country’s system and economy. This failure was due to the lack of proper and clear knowledge of the constitutional roles of the executives and the legislature. For, instance, most of the time the legislature assigns to itself the functions of the executive by overlapping and dabbling into executive affairs. Furthermore, the politicians behaved as if they learnt nothing.

The cohabitation between the military and civilians in national governance tended to weaken the power of the civilians. The most pronounced diarchic (cohabitation) system of government was instituted during the Babangida’s Administration consistent with that administration’s concept of sequential disengagement from the political centre-stage. The National Assembly for example was inaugurated on December 5, 1992, although a military President was still in charge of the federal government.
Military rulers appropriate executive and legislative powers when they assume political office and they push the limits of executive and legislative power by being unrestrained in its use. This explains why even democratically elected officials often employ coercion and other undemocratic practices in pushing through their agendas instead of persuasion which is the hallmark of democratic practice.

Another legacy the military bestowed on the Nigerian democracy and its branches of government is that it created an “overdeveloped” executive, relative to the other two arms of government. This legacy of the dominance of executive over the two other arms especially the legislature has created a type of “subservient” relationship, where the legislature feels it has to acquiesce to the executive in order to have access to state privileges.

In practical terms therefore, successive legislatures in Nigeria have found it rewarding to play along with the executive both for relevance and to a large extent survival. Thus, the Nigerian legislature has not sought their relevance in terms of their capacity to fulfill the constitutionally mandate roles and the moral imperatives of being responsive to the constituency from where they derive their status as representatives of the people, instead relevance is sought in accommodation with the “dominant” executive who controls large quantum of resources and patronage that are not readily
available to the legislator. Ultimately, the survival of the legislator as perceived and hence their continued relevance in the political power matrix, is tied to and explainable in terms of their accommodation with the executive branch of government. The end result of co-optation of the legislature by the executive is the gradual erosion of the powers vested in the legislature by the 1999 Constitution.

Furthermore, the military created a character of “unaccountability” on the executive and the legislature. Since the military rule by nature is not accountable to the citizens, likewise the civilian class feels they are not accountable to the people but rather to the forces that lord it over them, i.e. their political Godfathers, political parties or fraternal organization they belong to. This breeds the culture of primitive accumulation and misappropriation, looting and prebendalism. More importantly, having succeeded in manipulating elections and its process, where sometimes elections were not held and results announced these so called representatives did not have need to account to the electorate. This has had serious consequences and implications for the democratic process and institutions.

Another feature of military legacy involve the agitation by different section of the country for power rotation, for example the North is seriously agitating for power return to the region based on alleged agreement it
entered in to, with the South for power shift after four years. This implies that who ever controls the state at the federal level has access to enormous resources and wealth.
CHAPTER FOUR

DEMOCRACY TODAY

4.1 DEMOCRACY BEGINNINGS

There is no clear-cut, universal definition of democracy. Most definitions of democracy focus on qualities, procedures and institution. There are many types of democracies and their varied practices produce similarly varied effects.

Democracy does not consist of single, unique set of institution that is universally applicable. The specific form that democracy takes in a country is largely determined by prevailing political, social, and economic circumstance and it is greatly influenced by historical, traditional and cultural factors. Most readings in democracy begin with identifying where the word came from and where the first, recorded and formalized practiced of democracy started. The following are a number of definitions from very simple to more complex ones.
“Democracy comes from the Greek words meaning demo ‘people’ and kratos meaning ‘power’ or ‘authority’.”
“…government which is conducted with the freely given consent of the people”.
“…a system of a government in which supreme authority lies with the people”.
“Rule by the people in a country directly or by representation”. “The word ‘democracy’ itself means ‘rule by the people’. A democracy is a system where people change their rulers in a peaceful manner and the government is given the right to rule because the people say it may”.
CF Keane (2006: 11)

The word democracy was coined by the ancient Greeks who established a direct form of government in Athens, all adults’ males would gather to discuss issues and they would vote by a show of hands. Slaves and women did.

Democracies exist to provide a way for people to live and be together in a way that is beneficial to all, although many of today’s democracies may not have existed before the WW II.

It has been claimed that democracy is a concept alien to Africa, a claim that rests on the confusion between the principles of democracy and their institutional manifestations. The principles of democracy include: participation, consent of the governed and public accountability of those in power-principles that permeated traditional African political systems. Jega, (2006)
Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representative. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government: this shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections that shall be held by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or the equivalent of free voting procedures. Voting is one of the mechanisms that guide a democratic state and keep its leaders on track, and it serves to let the leadership know how the have performed. Iwu, (2006)

During elections, citizens vote for the candidate of their choice, the elected candidates or representatives become the government of the country. Elected leaders represent “the people” and govern for a set of periods of office. Representatives are chosen through elections based on the constituency or proportional representation system, or the combination of the two.

Most, but not all, democracies are based on a written constitution or a supreme law that serve to guide legislators and the law they make. Written constitution serve as a guarantee to citizens that the government is required to act in a certain way and uphold certain rights. Mantu (2003)

The strength of real democracy depends on certain fundamental rights and freedoms, which must be protected to make sure that democracy
succeed. The constitution also set out the functions of the government. It provides the guidelines for establishing new laws; and procedures for constitutional amendments in order to protect it from the evils of people or government.

4.2 INTERNAL / INTRA PARTY DEMOCRACY

Elections being the crucial instruments of getting or recruiting leaders in a democracy, involves candidates contesting under the platform of political parties. The political party in turn is a vehicle used by like-minded individuals who wish to contest for power in such a democratic setting.

Therefore electoral process either intra or inter-party constitutes a critical pillar not only for the attainment, but also for the entrenchment of democratic culture and practice, internal party democracy is the cardinal or basic idea of democracy, which stands for freedom and choice made by electorates or voters.

Okadigbo, (2001,17) observed that “internal party democracy must be invigorated in political parties in Nigeria, otherwise, democracy would be truncated” in essence since independence most of the political parties that existed at one point or the other had the problem of practicing or adhering strictly to democratic principles due to mind set and ambitions.
UNDP (2007:2) observed, that the non-adherence to the electoral process in the Nigerian democratic span has caused the crisis of legitimacy which pervaded the whole system, which in turn had adverse effect on the developmental needs of the people.

Nigeria’s electoral act prescribes for the formation of political parties; these political parties are registered political associations of people who adopt a policy, manifestoes or programs with which they campaign in order to win and form government. Political parties play a major role in the electoral process in Nigeria, because they are the only Association or organization recognized by law to nominate candidates, set policies and mount extensive campaign to canvas for votes. (Sec, 226)

4.3 POLITICAL PARTY FINANCE

The 1959 election preceded the grant of political independence to Nigeria in 1960. The electoral laws under which elections were conducted throughout the period of the 1950’s and 1960’s were derive from the provision of the British representation of the peoples act of 1948 and regulations made in it. (Nigerian electoral journal, vol.1)

The over three decades of military rule in Nigeria has distorted our social values and undermined our democratic institutions, also the oil boom
of the 1970’s which increased or introduced a huge cash flow which served to deepen rent-seeking behavior in the country especially in the absence of a political culture that promotes and supports transparency and accountability.

The Journey to civil rule after the military incursion of 1983 dates back to the mid-1980’s, in a 1986 Budget speech by former president, Ibrahim Babangida at the inauguration of the political bureau set up to review the Nigeria political history, it’s identity, and also to analyze the Nigerian socio-political economy.

Political party finances, these are monies and assets generated and owned by the political parties which are used in running their day to day activities and other expenditures. This also include finances that are utilized in the general operations, management and maintenance of the entire party structures (Sec. 225: 226) that’s why, the (1999 Constitution) of the Federal republic of Nigeria provides for the finances and other valuable assets of political parties to be drawn or generated from both internal and external sources such as membership registration fees, levies, dominations, subscriptions etc. Also party funds can as well be generated from public donations, gift, and proceeds from lawful investments and grants by individuals or groups of persons as allowed by law to the political parties (Jechin (84:2) of the electoral act 2002.
Political parties also receive grants from the federal government of Nigeria through the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), as prescribed in the electoral act, this grant is disburse in two installments, the first grant or disbursement is an annual grant, while the second grant or disbursement is for election purposes, the commission appoints external auditors to audit the financial accounts of the political parties as required by law. Therefore, these parties are expected to submit a statement of their expenses within the time limit stipulated in the electoral act. (PPF Handbook (2006), Electoral act, Sec, 225)

4.4 THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

This relate to the entire electoral cycle ranging from the provision of voter education to the dissolution of the houses of assemblies, maintaining an up-to date Register of voters, nominations and campaigns (pre-election period) election day activities and post elections activities including election petitions (post election period).

The poor planning and administration of elections in Nigeria, has greatly reduced the level of citizen participation in the electoral process, this is as a result of people becoming powerless, and the elections are riddled with tension, crises and fraud such that it is difficult to use it as a barometer of the people choice. Also within the political class there was un-even access
to resources, this happens as the incumbents had control over state infrastructure, buildings, vehicles, communication equipments for electoral campaign, also personnel or public employee are mobilized in large number to work for the governing party. In some instances security forces are mobilized on behalf of the governing party. These resource disparities are regular occurrences created or maintained to hinder opposition’s ability to compete or participate in the electoral process.

For example the access to media, it is obvious that where opposition parties lack access to state or private media that reaches most of the population, there is no possibility of fair competition, the dominant political party controls most television, radio broadcasting stations, therefore information is skewed in favor of the governing party in some instances. There is also uneven access to the law, the courts, electoral authorities, and other nominally Independent arbiters of the rules of the game are not only controlled by the incumbents, but, through blackmail, bribery or intimidation, in some cases they are systematically employed as partisan tools against the opposition. Incumbent manipulation of the legal system may affect political competition in at least two ways: firstly, where the judiciary is solidly controlled by the governing party, the government may violate democratic procedure with impunity and secondly may engage in
“legal” repression or the discretionary use of legal instruments, Lucan et al (2006:4)

4.5 NIGERIA’S ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Elections as stated some where in this study is synonymous with modern democratic systems. This is consequent upon the fact that ascendancy to position of government and top decision-making is done through popular elections. Nigeria for instance has in its intermittent periods of democratic experiences embarked on elections before bringing people to various positions of authority. So, an exploration of the Nigeria’s electoral system will reveal some of the salient issues about the nature attribute and dimension of our electoral system or practices.

The Nigeria’s electoral system has not been a stable and consistent one. Generally, it emanated as a result of the introduction of the elective principles by the Clifford constitution of 1922. This culminated in the formation of the first Nigerian political party. The Nigeria National Democratic party (NNDP) which of course heralded the conduct of the 1923 elections. This marks a notable beginning of the Nigeria election system. Onu, and Momoh(2005).

The general conception about system in political science means a whole containing parts. Simply put, a compendium of several parts when merged
together constitutes a system. It was a concept borrowed from the physical sciences once fit correctly into the study of the socio-economic and political system,

A conception of an electoral system is multi-faceted. It involves all the forces and factors that constitute the process leading to an election. Naturally, several Agencies, parastatals; establishments, directorate and organizations are involved in the process leading to an election. All those sub-divisions when merged together for the common goal of an election constitute the electoral system.

Consequent upon this, Igwe (2005:125) opined that, electoral system is “the institutionalized process of determining popular choice in direct and popular representation in indirect or representative democracies”. This is seen judging its synonymity with modern bourgeois electoral democracies where voting determines who governs. For instance, Nnoli (2003:230) adds that “the electoral system is a complex of rules and regulations that governs the selection of office holders in an organization”. The electoral system adopted by a country has a great effect not only on those who are recruited into political offices but also may be quite significant in deciding persons or political parties that can form a government, the size of the government majority in the legislature and, therefore, also its stability.
With respect to the nature, dynamics and complexities of modern nation-state, there are many electoral system variations notable among these variations are the simple plurality system, and the proportional representative system. Internal variations may still exist among these various systems. For instance Nnoli, (2003:131) sub-divided the plurality majority system into two. There are the first past the post and the block vote, and Two-majority systems, the Alternations vote and the Two-round systems. But the requirement of this section which is on Nigeria’s electoral system will make us to dwell on the one that relates to Nigeria.

Most essentially, Igwe (2005: 123) Submits, that “the easiest and also perhaps the most popular electoral or voting system is the simple plurality or fist past the post.” This is picked out from the list of electoral system because it is the one used in Nigeria.

Nnoli (2003:231) also affirms the popularity and universality of this electoral system. He submits that “the First past the post (FPTP) is the world’s most commonly used system” Nnoli (2003:132). In this system of election, contests are held in simple-member districts, and the winner is the candidate with the most votes. It is the most simple among all the electoral systems. One of the challenges that confront this system is its tendency to
produce an unpopular candidate. This is because; a candidate can win an
election without necessarily winning up to 50% of the total vote cast.

The first past the post, (FPTP) electoral system is used by countries
such as the United Kingdom, the United States, India, Canada, and most
countries that were once part of the British Empire (including Nigeria).
Nigeria has been using this system of election since its emergence as a
nation. For instance, the 1964 general elections, 1965 western regional
elections, 1979 general elections, 1999 general elections, 2003 general
elections and the 2007 general elections were all conducted using the first
past the post electoral system. A little variation from this was the
introduction of the option A4, which maintained that individual’s victory
should be counted first from his/her ward, and in that order till the top most
(i.e. the position he/her is contesting for) before he /she can be adjudged a
winner. The essential aim of this is to test the grass root popularity of the
candidate.

Besides, the first past the post system used by Nigeria is bedeviled
with so many disadvantages. Notable among them is its capacity to produce
an unpopular candidate. A candidate can be declared a winner of an election
even though he/she do not win up to 50% of the total vote cast. Be that as it
may, its simplicity has endeared it to the Nigerian people, hence, furthering its applicability to the Nigerian electoral process.

Also very cardinal aspect of the Nigeria’s electoral system is the fundamental roles played the electoral body, candidates, electorates, political parties, etc in the electoral process. Generally, an independent electoral body is a panacea for a peaceful election in any democratic society. Nigeria all parts of her democratic journey has had different kind of electoral bodies. The change of nomenclature ie from Federal Electoral Commission, (FEDECO), to National Electoral Commission (NEC), National Electoral Commission of Nigeria, (NECON) and to the Independent National Electoral Commission, (INEC) notwithstanding.

The Nigeria’s electoral system even though has been bedeviled with several inadequacies such as the provision of leaders and government that are characterized by legitimacy question as the only option for electing a candidate into an electoral position …. What is necessary here is an over haul of the entire process aimed at bringing credibility to the system.
CHAPTER FIVE

ASSESSMENT OF ELECTION PLANNING, ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT IN NIGERIA

This chapter seems to be the soul of this project report/work. This is based on the fact that the entire assessment and Evaluation of election planning, administration and management in Nigeria shall be carried out. This appraisal will include the activity of the Electoral Institute of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) from the year 2006 and its implication for election administration and management.

Attention shall be drawn in the Nigeria’s experience between 1999, 2003 and 2007, the implications of election administration and management for the Nigeria’s electoral process and the conditions that must be on ground before a sound electoral system can be come a possibility in Nigeria.

5.1 THE ELECTORAL INSTITUTE

The centrality and relevance of training and re-training of people as a panacea for maximum productivity in any organization or establishment cannot be over-emphasized. Underlying this assumption was the establishment of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Electoral Institute. It is a training arm of the body aimed at boosting the
productivity of the organization while restoring credibility and orderliness into the Nigeria’s electoral system.

The enormity of the challenges confronting elections in Nigeria propels the election umpire to establish an agency or a department saddled with the unique responsibility of enhancing adequate training for both the electorates and the staff of the Commission, so, In other to overcome the inherent poor and generally unacceptable state of the Nigerian elections, proper planning is fundamental.

The scenario pointed underlies the formation of the independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Electoral Institute in 2004. This establishment is among other things responsible for the planning and organization of training manuals for the later. It was hoped that the hurdles confronting the Nigerian electoral process and system can be over come when the right department responsible for electoral research is established and functional.

Besides, the Electoral Institute is to provide basis for a planned, effective and comprehensive multi-dimensional approach to the dissemination of relevant electoral knowledge and strategy that could enable the electoral officials operate freely and consciously, at any given election. The intention of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) for
establishing this Institute is that, it wants a program that will span through the pre-election, election, and post election period. The institute is also expected to educate the populace on procedures for voters’ registration, the actual voting process, electoral offences and the sanctions for breach of laws.

The legality of the establishment of this Institute is enmeshed in section 162 of the Electoral Act Empowering the Commission to conduct elections. This eventually metamorphosized into the establishment of a particular Institute or research center saddled with such responsibility.

In comparison to what is obtainable in the advanced democracies of the world when a specialized agency or organization exists for the purpose of electoral research, a corresponding and seemingly similar organization is expedient if we must clear the cloud of ignorance hovering our electoral process.

Consequently, the Electoral Institute has the following functions:

To develop concepts for effective election planning, administration and management at all levels,

To create and implement strategies for electoral delivery,

In spite, I think what the institute does, essentially was what the Administration and Cost of Election (ACE) Electoral knowledge Network
refers to as electoral training. But, the essential task of the Institute was electoral research, which desires a special curriculum on electoral management.

5.2 IMPACTS OF ELECTION ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT FOR THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

Our choice of the bourgeois electoral democracy is equally a choice of the accompanying challenges and implications. Election administration and management irrespective of where it is coming from should be taken as a serious business if the sustainability and consolidation of our democracy must be guaranteed.

The impacts of proper planning and administration of election for the Nigeria’s electoral process cannot be over emphasized. This can be understood by first of all understanding the challenges confronting the electoral process.

It is worthy of note that the Nigerian electoral process has been bedeviled with several anomalies and problems. Most visible among them are issues or electoral manipulation characterized by rigging, ballot snatching, stuffing of ballot boxes, sales of votes, electoral violence, primitive accumulation of votes etc. the politician use thugs to perpetrate evils against the Nigerian people hence upturning their choices.
The most essential implication of this for the electoral process is that people no longer have control of the electoral process and hence their right and chance of choosing their leaders are greatly compromised.

The scenario pointed above justifies the necessity of proper planning and administration for a better and more viable electoral process.

First and foremost it will help greatly in building confidence in the electoral system. As a popular opinion in Nigeria, people always feel reluctant to vote at elections. This is premised upon the lack of confidence they have on the system. To them, the whole process is fraudulent and participating in it may not bring any change.

Also, some of the ills of election such as violence, thuggery, money politics, rigging etc may become history if adequate planning and administration is given priority. Often times people act out of total ignorance, so it is good they are aware of some the consequences of their activities or actions.

Adequate planning and administration will equally make votes counts. Hence, it will eventually lead to the emergence of a government that will not be enmeshed in legitimacy crisis. The cumulative effects of these crisis is the violent conflicts witnessed in recent times through the manipulation of
primordial ties of ethnic and religious identity in fighting pure political cause.

Finally, proper planning and administration will accelerate and polish the entire electoral process beginning from voters’ registration through the main election to the post-election developments. This informed the position of Ibrahim Biu, when he commented on the implication of effective planning for successful 2007 elections.

5.3 TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

The aforementioned positions brought us to a vantage position of making some varied judgments on our hypotheses.

For instance the Null ($H_0$) hypothesis which states that the planning, administration and management of elections has improved the electoral outcome in Nigeria and the alternate hypothesis ($H_1$) which adduced that the establishment of the electoral institute has improved the quality of elections in Nigeria in 1999, 2003, and 2007 stand true.

This consequent upon our discussion that the ills and problems confronting and bedeviling the Nigeria’s electoral system, process is consequent upon lack of proper planning and administration. It therefore stands to reason that the more the electoral institute is properly positioned,
the more the quality of the Nigerian electoral process and the restoration of public (both national and international) confidence in the electoral process.

Besides, if the Independent National Electoral Commission’s (INEC) Electoral Institute is well positioned and given the required physical, moral, financial, intellectual, etc. support, it will eventually revolutionaries the electoral process through improved and high density election administration and management.

The opposite of the foregoing will surely be the case if the Electoral Institute is not allowed free hand to operate. Manipulation of the Institute through undue financial, personnel and intellectual starvation of the Institute will inevitably affects its performance hence jeopardizing the noble intention of good and comprehensive efforts, and its attendant efficiency in the electoral process.

5.4 REQUIREMENTS FOR SOUND ELECTION PLANNING, ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT IN NIGERIA

Nigeria as a country has adopted and is using the simple plurality system of first past the post (Nnoli 2003, Igwe 2005) as its electoral system. In as much as this system is caught-up in the web of some challenges and difficulties, certain foundations are expedient for a sound election administration and management as briefly discussed below:-
The pattern of party formation and organization is essential for a sound electoral process and system. Most of the political parties in Nigeria are formed without a specific ideology, unlike what is obtained in the advanced western countries where parties are built on specific ideologies. A very careful example was the five political parties registered under the military dictatorship of General Sanii Abacha. As rightly viewed, late Chief Bola Ige described those parties as five fingers on a leprous hand. The Scenario is virtually the same for all the existing political parties in Nigeria. Also, the electoral body must be without any kind of control by the executives. This control can be in the form of its personnel, budgetary etc. The Commission will never be truly independent so long as it depends on the executive to perform its functions. He that pays the pipers they say dictates the tune. So, true Independence of the Commission is a necessary panacea for a sound election planning, administration and management in Nigeria.
CHAPTER SIX

6.1 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this research, thus, reveals the importance of adequate planning and research in elections, in other to alleviate the constraints faced in the conduct of elections as well as approach for the electoral umpire to review its electoral management approach, in view of the sophistication that is increasingly characterizing the Nigerian electoral system, It is also important to note that in the face of new challenges and deployment of technology, the need for effective research and planning cannot be over emphasized.

Lastly, the Nigerian electoral umpire has failed to achieve its set objectives due to the inability of the planners of the system to design a strategy that would properly utilize the needs, interest and aspirations of the people.

From the foregoing it remains undisputable that Elections, the world over has become the most potent way leading to the emergence of leaders at all levels of governance. The Nigerian experience is not an exception. Elections have become a prerequisite for having new leadership in Nigeria, after having a long time experience in the military rule, from January 15, 1966 coup that led to the collapsed of the first Republic, military rule
continues until 29\textsuperscript{th} may, 1999 with the exception of short democratic period of 1979-1983, the aborted third Republic.

Meanwhile, the problem of conducting and managing elections constitutes a central factor in the annals of democratic rule in Nigeria and many sub-Saharan African state Momoh and Adejunobi, (1999:81).

However, the integrating of elections is fundamentally germane to the sustenance of a truly representative form of government, but conduct of elections in Nigeria has been persistently incredible and unsatisfactory, as the election umpire has consistently performed below expectations. Iwu (2006)

In the various facets of election administration and management electoral umpire faces daunting challenges. These challenges are more complicated in Nigeria, where increasing corruption, violence, ethno-religious and political crisis; which have been attributed to the lack of good democratic governance.

As Sagay (2007:104) states that between 60\% -80\% of those who actually bother to cast their votes on elections day are a clog in the wheels of the nation progress towards authentic democracy via the ballot box.

This only leads to the evolution of quantitative rather than qualitative democracy. To him, people vote during election without actually choosing
their political leadership. This to him is more worrisome since about 60%-80% of those electorates are still walloping in ignorance and illiteracy about the entire electoral process. So, for them to realize their destiny, they must be educated. The weapon of war in a bloodless revolution according to him is the voters’ card. So, these voters must be enlightened against the dubious acts of some politicians appeal to ethnic cleavages and blind allegiance to personalities.
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