Elections and Governance in Nigeria: A Critical Examination

Annotated Bibliography

CODICE, 2009
Introduction.................................................................................................................................3
Part I – Hard Copy Documents ..............................................................................................4
Part II : Electronic Documents .............................................................................................10
Part III : Research Proposal ..................................................................................................22

Table of Contents
Introduction

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) launched in 2008 a call for proposals for National Working Groups (NWGs). Ten (10) research proposals were selected among which the one of the National Working Group of Nigeria on the theme “Elections and Governance: A Critical Examination”.

As a support to the researchers involved in the National Working Groups, the CODESRIA Documentation and Information Centre (CODICE) has produced bibliographies on their research themes. This bibliography has been generated for the National Working Group of Nigeria. Classified alphabetically by author or by title, the selected references are in English on the topics of Elections and Governance in Nigeria and are grouped in two sections:

- Hard Copy Documents;
- Electronic Documents.

Specific bibliographic searches may also be done upon request from each participant of the National Working Group.

We hope that this bibliography will be useful for the members of the National Working Group, and suggestions for its improvement are welcome.

CODICE
1. ADEBANWUI, Adewale 'Niyi
The Nation as Grand Narrative: the Nigerian Press and the Politics of Meaning
Ibadan: University of Ibadan, August 2002.- xviii-573 p.
Dissertation, Ph.D, University of Ibadan, Faculty of the Social Sciences, Department of
Political Science, 2002

2. ADEJUMOBI, Said; MOMOH, Abubakar, ed.

3. ADEOTT, Gbemisola Aderemi
Aesthetics of Democratisation in Modern Nigerian Drama
Thesis, Doctor of Philosophy, University of Ibadan, Department of English, 2001

4. AKINOLA, Anthony A.
A Critique of Nigeria's Proposed Two-Party System

5. AKINSANYA, Adoye A.; IDANG, Gordon J., Ed.
Nigerian Government and Politics 1979-1983

6. AKO-NAI, Ronke Iyabowale
A Comparative study of the Role of Women in Governance and Democratisation in
Ghana and Nigeria
National Working Group of Nigeria, 2008
Elections and Governance in Nigeria: A Critical Examination

Thesis, Doctor of Philosophy, International Relations, Obafemi Awolowo University, Faculty of Administration, Department of International Relations, 2005

/WOMEN'S ROLE/ /POLITICS/ /GOVERNANCE/ /DEMOCRATIZATION/ /WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION/ /POLITICAL PARTICIPATION/ /WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS/ /COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS/ /GHANA/ /NIGERIA/

7. AYENI, Olugbenga
Lustreless Campaigns: Nigeria's SDP and SDP Join Battle in the Countdown to 1992 in Local Government Election

/POLITICS/ /ELECTIONS/ /GOVERNMENT/ /LEADERSHIP/ /POLITICIANS/ /NIGERIA/

8. COHEN, Ronald; HYDEN, Goran; NAGAN, Winston, ed.
Human Rights and Governance in Africa

/HUMAN RIGHTS/ /SOCIAL CONDITIONS/ /POLITICS/ /GOVERNMENT/ /SOCIAL POLICY/ /REFUGEES/ /VIOLENCE/ /LANGUAGE MINORITIES/ /EDUCATION/ /ACADEMIC FREEDOM/ /WOMEN'S RIGHTS/ /RIGHT TO EDUCATION/ /AFRICA/ /LESOTHO/ /NIGERIA/ /GOVERNANCE/ /POLITICAL VIOLENCE/ /PRECOLONIAL AFRICA/

9. DANIEL, John; SOUTHALL, Roger; SZEFTEL, Morris, Ed.
Voting for Democracy: Watershed Elections in contemporary Anglophone Africa


10. DIAMOND, Larry
Cleavage, Conflict and Anxiety in the Second Nigerian Republic

/POLITICAL PARTIES/ /POLITICS/ /ETHNICITY/ /ETHNIC GROUPS/ /CONFLICTS/ /POLITICAL OPPOSITION/ /POLITICAL SYSTEMS/ /ELECTIONS/ /NIGERIA/

11. DIAMOND, Larry; LINZ, Iuan J.; LIPSET, Seymour Martin, ed.
Democracy in Developing Countries: Africa

12. GBOYEKA, Alex
Political Values and Local Government in Nigeria

/Locations/GOVERNMENT/ POLITICS/NIGERIA/POLITICAL VALUES/

13. GROS, Jean-Germain, Ed.
Democratization in Late Twentieth-Century Africa: Coping with Uncertainty

/DEMOCRATIZATION/ DEMOCRACY/ POLITICS/ ELECTIONS/AFRICA/ MALAWI/ CAMEROON/
NIGERIA/ETHIOPIA/TANZANIA/ GHANA/ GABON/ DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION/

14. HART, Christopher
The Nigerian Elections of 1983

/ELECTIONS/ POLITICAL PARTIES/ GOVERNMENT/ MILITARY ACTIVITY/ POLITICAL POWER/
JUDICIAL POWER/NIGERIA/ELECTORAL PROCESSES/

15. HYDEN, Goran; BRATTON, Michael, ed.
Governance and Politics in Africa

/POLITICS/ GOVERNMENT/ DEMOCRACY/ POLITICAL PARTICIPATION/AFRICA/ SENEGAL/
BOTSWANA/ NIGERIA/ GHANA/ BURKINA FASO/ NIGER/ KENYA/ TANZANIA/
ZAIRE/GOVERNANCE/ STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS/

16. IBRAHIM, Jibrin
Democratic Transition in Anglophone West Africa

/DEMOCRACY/ COUPS D'ETAT/ CORRUPTION/ CIVIL SOCIETY/ ELECTIONS/
MILITARISM/WEST AFRICA/ ENGLISH SPEAKING AFRICA/ GHANA/ NIGERIA/ SIERRA LEONE/
LIBERIA/ GAMBIA/ DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION/ ANGLOPHONE WEST AFRICA/

17. ILESANMI, Simeon O.
Constitutional Treatment of Religion and the Politics of Human Rights in Nigeria

18. KOEHN, Peter
Competitive Transition to Civilian Rule: Nigeria's First and Second Experiments

/POLITICAL POWER/ GOVERNMENT/ MILITARISM/ ELECTIONS/ NIGERIA/
19. LUMUMBA-KASONGO, Tukumbi, Ed.
Liberal Democracy and its Critics in Africa: Political Dysfunction and the Struggle for Social Progress


20. MOMOH, Abubakar; ADEJUMOBI, Said
The Nigerian Military and the Crisis of Democratic Transition: a study in the monopoly of power

/POLITICS/ DEMOCRACY/ POLITICAL PARTIES/ ELECTIONS/ MILITARISM/ HUMAN RIGHTS/ POLITICAL PARTICIPATION/NIGERIA/DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION/

21. OJO, Olatunde J. B.
The Impact of personality and ethnicity on the Nigerian elections of 1979

/ETHNICITY/ ETHNIC GROUPS/ ELECTIONS/ VOTING/ POLITICS/ POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR/ 1979/NIGERIA/

22. OKOROJI, Joseph C.
The Nigerian Presidential Elections / OKOROJI, Joseph C.

/ELECTIONS/ DEMOCRACY/NIGERIA/PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS/

23. OLOWU, Dele; SOREMEKUN, Kayode; WILLIAMS, Adebayo, ed.
Governance and Democratisation in Nigeria

/DEMOCRATIZATION/ WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS/ NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS/ TRADE UNIONISM/ INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK/ LOCAL GOVERNMENT/NIGERIA/DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION/ GOVERNANCE/

24. OLOWU, Dele; Williams, Adebayo; Soremekun, Kayode, ed.
Governance and Democratisation in West Africa

25. OLUKOTUM, Ayo
Authoritarian State, Crisis of Democratization and the Underground Media in Nigeria

26. OLUGBEMI, Stephen O., ed.
Alternative Political Futures for Nigeria

27. OMORUYI, Omo; BERG-SCHLOSSER, Dirk; SAMBO, Adesina;
OKWUOSA, Ada, ed.
Democratisation in Africa: African Perspectives

28. OSAGHAE, Eghosa E.
Babangida's Unique Transition Process in Nigeria and the Prospects

29. OYEDIRAN, Oyeleye; AGBAJE, Adigun
Two-Partyism and Democratic Transition in Nigeria

30. OYEDIRAN, Oyeleye; AGBAJE, Adigun, ed.

31. OYELAKIN, O.O.
Implementation of the Executive Federal Presidential System of Government at the Local Government Level: its Logic, Merits and Constraints

CODESRIA Documentation and Information Centre / Centre de documentation et d’information du CODESRIA
CODICE
32. ROTIMI, Ajayi Ola; IHONVBERE, Julius O.
Democratic Impasse: Remilitarisation in Nigeria
/DEMOCRACY/ /MILITARISM/ /POLITICS/ /ELECTIONS/ /NIGERIA/ /CIVIL SOCIETY/ /REMILITARISATION/

33. SUBERU, Rotimi T.
The Struggle for New States in Nigeria, 1976-1990
/STATE/ /POLITICAL PARTIES/ /1976-1990/ /NIGERIA/ /STRUGGLE/

34. SUBERU, Rotimi T.
The Challenge of Ethnic Conflict: the Travails of Federalism in Nigeria
/ETHNICITY/ /RELIGION/ /ELECTIONS/ /POLITICS/ /ECONOMIC REFORM/ /NIGERIA/ /FEDERALISM/

35. UDOGU, E. Ike
/DEMOCRACY/ /POLITICAL PARTIES/ /POLITICAL SYSTEMS/ /ELECTIONS/ /NIGERIA/ /DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION/

36. USMAN, Yusufu Bala, ed.
Political Repression in Nigeria. A Selection of Basic Documents 1979-1981
/POLITICS/ /POLITICAL PARTIES/ /1979-1981/ /NIGERIA/ /POLITICAL REPRESSION/

37. WUNSCH, James S.; OLOWU, Dele, ed.
The Failure of the Centralized State: Institutions and Self-Governance in Africa
/CENTRALIZATION/ /GOVERNMENT/ /DECENTRALIZATION/ /INSTITUTIONS/ /ECONOMIC POLICY/ /AFRICA/ /EAST AFRICA/ /SENEGAL/ /LIBERIA/ /NIGERIA/

38. YOUNG, Tom
Introduction: Election and Electoral Politics in Africa
/ELECTIONS/ /DEMOCRATIZATION/ /AFRICA/ /NIGERIA/ /KENYA/ /BENIN/ /ZAMBIA/ /CAPE VERDE/ /ELECTORAL PROCESSES/
Part II : Electronic Documents

1. ABUBAKAR, Dauda

2. ADEBAYO, S. O.; OGUNLEYE, A. J.
The Psychology of Participatory Democracy and the Personality Profile of the Nigerian Politicians

Abstract: This paper explores the personality profiles of the Nigerian politician as antithetic to the enthronement of participatory democracy in Nigeria. It contends that the antidemocratic and corruptive behaviour of the Nigerian politician is hinged on a lack of sterling personality traits of these Nigerian politicians. The paper argues that although the behaviour impede on national growth and development; nonetheless, the behaviour are a result of entrenched poverty, political ignorance and political alienation of the civic public. The paper, thus, suggests political education, self-enfranchisement and friendly and virile political environment for the production, development and growth of Nigerian politicians with deep vision and sublime mission to turn around the political misfortunes of Nigeria.

3. AHUNWAN, Boniface
Corporate Governance in Nigeria

Abstract: In recent years, international economic pressures have induced Nigeria to adopt a program of economic liberalization and deregulation. Advocates of the reforms tout their potential not only for generating greater economic growth, but also for contributing to more responsible corporate governance. Skeptics abound. This paper provides an account of the nature of corporate governance in Nigeria and investigates the prospects for recent reforms contributing to more responsible governance and development.

4. AITO, Emmanuel
A Glottopolitical Appraisal of Diversity in Nation Building in Nigeria

Abstract: This article twines language and democratic processes in Nigeria, while highlighting the oft-neglected intricate glottopolitical dimensions inherent in a complex polity. In this acutely diverse country, language use, culture and ethnicity play discernibly critical roles as they affect the attendant political discourses (Gonzalez and Melis 2000, Van Dijk 1997, Kaplan and Baldauf Jr. 1997, Ricento and Burnaby 1998, Ricento 2000, Coulombe 1994, Calvet 1998, Gaudin 1993, Guespin 1985). However, little sustained research has examined the multifarious complexities of language use or choice in its political discourse. As the country has evolved painfully through military interventions to its current fledgling civil government, attention should now turn to the linguistic issues hampering the full participation in democracy and nation building of large sections of the polity. In its geopolitical zones, low literacy levels persist among speakers of minority languages. Consequently, these languages fail to adequately mediate political discourse, thereby resulting in severely limited participatory opportunities at the grassroots. Our reflections therefore advance hybridized approaches, proposing, for instance, the use of a functionalist lexicological
methodology in the study of the political lexicon in order to enhance the denominative capacities of disadvantaged languages. The resulting politolect would in turn encourage group or individual idiolects in these idioms in a variety of communicative contexts. The conception of language planning as resource planning should thus nudge stakeholders toward the strategic use of minor languages in public discourses. The major languages in Nigeria respond varyingly to these challenges, but after 48 years of independence, political communication in Nigeria now reveals specific discursive traits and lexical creativities that may very well be unique to each of its widely used languages; an observation that merits further inquiry through creative methodological prisms.


5. AIYEDE, E. Remi
The Dynamics of Civil Society and the Democratization Process in Nigeria

Abstract: On a représenté les sociétés civiles africaines "à l'état naissant" comme les initiatrices principales du processus de démocratisation des années 1990. Mais, suite à l'instauration de gouvernements démocratiques en Afrique, les grands espoirs investis dans le rôle et la capacité des organisations de ces sociétés civiles à promouvoir les réformes de gouvernance et à favoriser l'approfondissement de la démocratie ont été fortement exagérés. Si l'autorité démocratique a permis un plus grand espace favorable à l'expression politique au Nigéria, les acteurs non-démocratiques sont devenus très visibles et les chasseurs de pouvoir ont dominé l'espace politique parce qu'un secteur substantial des organisations des sociétés civiles est tellement détaché de l'état et leur orientation vers le désengagement est tel que les conditions ne sont guère propices à la construction d'un état ou à la démocratisation. Les associations professionnelles ou celles de la classe moyenne, initialement au premier rang du mouvement démocratique ont tendance à se séparer du mouvement populaire. Les organisations civiques pro-démocratie au Nigéria ont été en grande partie modélées par la nécessité de confronter des régimes autoritaires et de ce fait, ont été limitées dans leur capacité à promouvoir une consolidation de la démocratie. Ces organisations doivent subir un processus de renouvellement démocratique interne, se rapprocher davantage du mouvement populaire et construire des structures capables de faire face aux institutions étatiques.


6. AIYEDE, E. Remi
United We Stand: Labour Unions and Human Rights NGOs in the Democratisation Process in Nigeria

Abstract: United we stand: labour unions and human rights NGOs in the democratisation process in Nigeria E. Remi Aiyede Human rights NGOs were the vanguard of the struggle for democratisation in Nigeria, but they had to forge alliances with labour unions and other groups to galvanise this process effectively. This paper explores the alliances between labour unions and NGOs in the struggle against military dictatorship in Nigeria to analyse how horizontal relationships have fared in exchanges within civil society. It argues that the exigencies of sustained political struggle throw up conflicts over issues of participation, accountability, and egalitarianism that in turn promote social capital within civil society by mitigating hierarchically structured and asymmetrical patterns of exchange among its members.


7. AMADIFE, Egbunam E.
Liberalization and Democratization in Nigeria: The International and Domestic Challenge
Abstract: Maintenance of democratic governance in Nigeria has proven to be particularly problematic since independence was gained in October 1960. Nigeria has been under military rule for 26 of 37 years of independent statehood, and attempts at transition to democratic rule have failed a number of times, most recently in 1993. This article examines the roots of military rule in Nigeria, and the apparent reasons for its continuation, and it proffers that under contemporary global conditions, concerted international efforts as well as domestic pressures for change are essential for successful transition to democratic governance. Because of the nature of many post-colonial African states, the character of the global political economy, and the formidable tools developed by the Nigerian military for sustaining itself in power, the need for such concerted international efforts to facilitate transition to just, democratic governance calls into question conventional conceptions of national sovereignty and international responsibility.


8. AMUWO, Ade Kunle


9. AMUWO, Ade Kunle
Between Intellectual Responsibility and Political Commodification of Knowledge:
Nigeria's Academic Political Scientists under the Babangida Military Junta, 1985-1993

Abstract: Les spécialistes universitaires en sciences politiques-surtout les professeurs-qui furent officiellement engagés par le gouvernement militaire de Babangida au Nigeria entre 1985 et 1993 pour théoriser et mettre en place une nouvelle culture et une nouvelle moralité politiques grâce au programme de transition politique (PTP), ont fait l'objet de sérieuses critiques, à l'époque et depuis lors, sur leur rôle et leur contribution à un programme qui a fait beaucoup de promesses mais n'en a tenu aucune, ou que peu. La critique la plus importante à l'égard de ces spécialistes en sciences politiques est qu'en dépit de leur engagement initial à aider le pouvoir militaire à façonner un nouvel ordre politique, ils ont perdu leur « science » en fournissant une couverture intellectuelle aux intrigues du général, et ont enrichi les « politiques », y compris les politiques de corruption et d'enrichissement personnel. Nous examinons ici cette critique et nous montrons que ces personnes, en choisissant de rester en fonction-sinon au pouvoir-même après avoir été témoins de tant de promesses non tenues de la part du régime, ont terni leur intégrité intellectuelle et leur crédibilité morale. Nommés pour servir d'instruments de légitimation pour le régime, ils ont resserré et rétréci l'espace politique et intellectuel plutôt que de faciliter la prise de pouvoir intellectuelle et démocratique


10. AWE, Bolanle
Conflict and Divergence: Government and Society in Nigeria

Abstract: The paper postulates that the potential conflict and divergence between the Nigerian government in its formal structure and its beneficiaries, the Nigerian people, are crucial factors in the development of the country's present crisis. Its discourse adopts the historical approach, starting from the precolonial to the colonial and independent periods of Nigerian existence. It shows that, while governance in the precolonial period ensured largely the participation and the accommodation of the interest of all, including the women and the youth, the later periods witnessed the alienation of the ruled from the rulers; an elite group, the British and their Nigerian successors, made the interest of the majority subservient to their own. The long period of military rule only increased this alienation. Other potential factors of conflict such as ethnicity and religion intensified the subsequent crisis, which was further aggravated by the oil boom and the corruption it encouraged. The paper concludes by acknowledging civil society's valiant efforts to challenge government's increasing arbitrariness in spite of its constraints, and asserts that only democratic governance
and a sovereign national conference to establish the basis of accommodation can provide a lasting solution to Nigeria's present predicament.


11. CHAZAN, Naomi
Planning Democracy in Africa: A Comparative Perspective on Nigeria and Ghana

12. DALOZ, Jean-Pascal
Nigeria: Trust Your Patron, not the Institutions.
*Comparative Sociology*. Vol. 4, Issue 1/2, 2005, p. 155-172

Abstract: In Nigeria, trust and mistrust remain a permanent and sensitive issue. This obviously concerns elite-population relationships or rather – when considering the personalized and particularistic aspects of political life- between patrons and their dependants. This issue of trust is also crucial when it comes to relations among "Big Men" leading factions cutting across communities. Emphasizing the lack of confidence in the institutions and the difficult question of reliance within informal clientelistic networks, this article proposes interpretations based on the study of socio-political relations in a long-term perspective.

13. DIAMOND, Larry; OYEDIRAN, Oyeleye
Military Authoritarianism and Democratic Transition in Nigeria.

Abstract: Focuses on Nigerian military government's timetable for liberalization and elections. Social impact of the economic plan designed to decrease consumption and boost exports; Obstacles of the transition to democratic government; Lack of public confidence in the regime.

14. EJOBOWAH, John Boye
Constitutional Design and Conflict Management in Nigeria.

Abstract: This article evaluates the previous constitutional strategies of Nigeria. The purpose of the author is to determine the shortcomings of Nigeria's strategies for accommodating different groups during the last three decades of the 20th century. The author also attempts to spell out alternatives generated by the violent conflicts that took place in the country during the last few years. The author describes some criticisms of the previous Nigerian Constitutions and argues that these fell short of the requirements of liberal justice.

15. EJOBOWAH, John Boye
Political Recognition of Ethnic Pluralism: Lessons from Nigeria

Abstract: Addresses criticisms on the constitutional recognition of ethnic groups in Nigeria. Origin of the criticisms; Principles of liberal democracy; Details of the Nigerian experience.
16. ELISCHER, Sebastian.
Do African parties contribute to democracy? Some findings from Kenya, Ghana and Nigeria
*Africa Spectrum*. Vol. 43 Issue 2, 2008, p. 175-201

**Abstract:** It is often said that ethnic and clientelistic parties are bad for democracy. Empirical testing of this claim has been hindered by lack of agreement on what constitutes an ethnic or clientelistic party. This paper proposes a conceptualization and operationalisation of different party types as part of a succinct typology of parties. The usefulness of the empirical typology of political parties is then verified for three African countries: Ghana, Kenya, and Nigeria. In addition, ‘democratic’ party behaviour, both within parties and among them is investigated. Subsequently, the claim about the systemic consequences of party types is tentatively tested with a comparative design covering three African cases that display variation on both causes and outcomes. The findings indicate that programmatic parties behave most democratically and that, moreover, there seems to be a relationship between a party's internal democracy and the way it interacts with other parties.


17. ENEMUO, Francis C.
Elite Solidarity, Communal Support, and the 1999 Presidential Election in Nigeria


18. FRANCK, Thomas M.
The Emerging Right to Democratic Governance


19. GUSEH, James S.; ORITSEJAFOR, Emmanuel
*Journal of Third World Studies*. Vol. 24 Issue 1, 2007, p. 139-165

**Abstract:** The article assesses the impact of government and political structures on economic growth in Nigeria from 1960 to 2005. It presents an overview of the political and economic performance of the country since it gained independence on October 1, 1960. It explores how the country's economy has been influenced by government size, political freedom, and openness of the economy. It concludes that political freedom and international economic transactions are major determinants of economic growth in Nigeria.


20. HARRISON, Graham
The World Bank, Governance and Theories of Political Action in Africa
*British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. Vol. 7 Issue 2, 2005, p. 240-260,

**Abstract:** This article considers the World Bank as a political thinker. This involves an interpretation of the values, methodologies, and theoretical references contained within the Bank's governance documentation. Generally, the Bank steers away from a serious engagement with the nature of states, or the dynamics of reform execution, even in its more detailed policy documents in reform areas such as administrative reform. But, by looking at the World Bank's involvement in African states, we can understand the ways in which the World Bank works with certain expectations concerning how reforms will work. The article critically analyses the Bank’s ‘political vision’ by comparing it with prominent theories of African politics. The article concludes that the World Bank's governance agenda misses three pivotal aspects of African politics: the unity of political and economic power, the extreme openness of African states to external pressures, and the salience of historically-embedded cultural and political relations. These three points directly raise important
questions about the prospects of good governance reforms in Africa, and the involvement of the Bank therein.


21. HERSKOVITS, Jean
Democracy in Nigeria

22. IHONVBERE, Julius O.
The 1999 Presidential Elections in Nigeria: The Unresolved Issues

23. IHONVBERE, Julius O.
Are Things Falling Apart? the Military and the Crisis of Democratisation in Nigeria

Abstract: It is part of the tragedy of Nigeria that when the military decided to intervene finally, it did not do so on the side of the electorate. Instead, it sided with those who voided the June I 1993 verdict. It sided with the anti-democratic cabal who had been holding the nation hostage for more than three decades.

-Dare Babarinsa, 'The New Inheritors', in TELL (Lagos), 6 December 1993

24. IFEANACHO, Martin Ikechukwu
Democratization and National Integration in Nigeria

Abstract: Nigeria has been democratizing since 1975. Democratization is closely associated with the enabling environment for political integration and development. Paradoxically, the history of democratization in Africa, Nigeria in particular has remained the history of national disintegration. In this paper we have situated the paradox within the colonial hegemonic legacies and their imperatives for the indigenous ruling class that must necessarily contend with a weak economic base by using the instruments of the state to acquire surplus. Simultaneously the same ruling class makes pretences at democratizing. We therefore posit that power has to transit from the ruling class to civil society for true democratization to emerge.

25. IJOMAH, B. I. C.
Nigeria’s Transition From Military To Civilian Rule: An Overview

Abstract: This paper examines the transition programs to civilian governance offered by various military leaders in Nigeria since 1974. A scrutiny of these programs’ implementation reveals a peculiar pattern. Typically, the besieged junta leader proposes a military withdrawal timetable and soon thereafter connives with civilian and military collaborators to abort the very program he initiated. The set up of agencies, commissions, and electoral bodies are usually a subterfuge aimed at retaining power or at least preventing the establishment of a genuine democracy. The attainment of a bona fide democracy has remained elusive because of the culture of corruption various military regimes helped to institute amidst unattended mass poverty. The essentially antidemocratic nature of the military institution has made it ill-prepared to usher in democracy in Nigeria.
26. KENDALL, Nancy
Localizing democracy and good governance

**Abstract:** Focuses on the localization of democracy and good governance. Importance of democracy and good governance in international donor decision-making; Perceived outcomes of democracy and good governance; Effect on the political, social, economic and social fabrics of new democracies; Weaknesses or dangers of international models of democracy and good governance.

**Source:** http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=sih&AN=10955525&site=ehost-live

27. KEW, Darren
"Democrazy: Dem Go Craze, O": Monitoring the 1999 Nigerian Elections

**Source:** http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1167001.pdf

28. KIEH, George Klay; AGBESE, Pita Ogaba
From Politics Back to the Barracks in Nigeria: A Theoretical Exploration

**Abstract:** The article probes the issue of the military's disengagement from Nigerian politics, and the prospects for a third democratic experience as of June 1993. The central thesis is that the military engagement-disengagement nexus is deeply rooted in the crisis of social justice in Nigeria. The military has intervened and disengaged from Nigerian politics in the past because of the inability of Nigeria's peripheral capitalist system to meet the needs and aspirations of the Nigerian masses. The problems which are embedded in the peripheral capitalist system have prompted the military to intervene in the political arena, but its inability to solve these problems has then forced it to withdraw. Specifically, in the context of the current disengagement process, we argue that the process is doomed to fail: the military will re-intervene in Nigeria's politics after a civilian government is elected in 1993. This is explained by the fact that during the current period of disengagement the fundamental issues of socio-economic justice have not been addressed. The problem of political instability in Nigeria remains unsolved. We conclude that to achieve political stability in Nigeria it will be necessary to solve certain problems which are rooted in Nigeria's peripheral capitalist system - poverty, malnourishment, and disparities in income and wealth among others. In short, even if the new civilian government in 1993 is run by people of integrity, the problem of political instability will not be solved until the question of social justice is addressed and resolved.

**Source:** http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/424484.pdf

29. MAHMUD, Sakah
The failed transition to civilian rule in Nigeria: Its implications for democracy and human rights

**Abstract:** Examines the implications for democracy and human rights of continued military rule in Nigeria. President Ibrahim Babangida's annulment of the results of the June 1993 presidential elections; Role of non-governmental organizations in pressing for democratic reforms; Clamor for participatory democracy.

**Source:** http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=sih&AN=9406160049&site=ehost-live

30. MILES, William
Muslim Ethnopolitics and Presidential Elections in Nigeria.
*Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs.* Vol. 20, Issue 2, 2000, p. 229-241
Abstract: Focuses on the nature of the Muslim ethnopolitics in Nigeria. Relationship of Islamic communities with the Nigerian politics; Evaluation of the Nigerian Muslim pluralism; Complexity of Nigerian Islam and politics; Political contributions of Olusegun Obasanjo; Distinction between Muslim ethnopolitics and Islamic theopolitics.


31. A New Constitution for Nigeria

32. OBADARE, Ebenezer
The Press and Democratic Transition in Nigeria: Comparative Notes on the Abacha and Abubakar Transition Programs

33. OGOWEWO, Tunde I.
Why the Judicial Annulment of the Constitution of 1999 Is Imperative for the Survival of Nigeria's Democracy

Abstract: The article calls for the alteration of the present risk-benefit calculus of would-be coup plotters that may wish to subvert Nigeria's democracy, by arguing for the introduction of an ex ante risk of ex post prosecution for successful usurpations. The prosecution of those that subverted Nigeria's democracy on 31 December, 1983, will alter the present risk-benefit calculus, which is skewed in favour of coup plotting. Since such a prosecution will not succeed if the constitution imposed on Nigeria by its last military rulers continues to be accepted as valid, the article furnishes the legal basis for its judicial annulment and the consequent unearthing of the Constitution of 1979. By demonstrating that the Constitution of 1999 is a sham, it becomes evident that the judiciary has a duty under the Constitution of 1979 to pronounce this document as null and void.


34. OJO, Emmanuel O.

Abstract: The problem of democratization in Nigeria is so daunting that virtually all democratic struggles and transition programs have been futile. It is also a well known fact that Nigeria's march to constitutional democracy has been a chequered one marked by anti-colonial struggles, cites, coups, and a thirty-month agonizing civil war. It is against this background that this paper takes a cursory look at the eight-years transition program of General Babangida. The paper commences with the imperative need of the military in any human collectivity and argues that, rather than being a blessing, the military has become "political gladiators," competing for the control of the state. The transition program of General Babangida which ended in failure is examined in order to analyze why it failed to take the country to the desired destination. The paper, however, infers that the military is indeed incapable of being a catalyst of democratic transition. The paper recommends that the civil society should be reanimated and the military re-oriented so that it accomplishes its primary assignment of protecting the territorial integrity of the nation rather than governing.

35. OKOROJI, Joseph C.
The Nigerian Presidential Elections

36. OLUKOYUN, Ayo
Media Accountability and Democracy in Nigeria, 1999-2003

Abstract: This article discusses the role of the media in Nigeria's Fourth Republic between 1999 and 2003. Employing a case study approach, it highlights as well as analyzes the media's role in insisting on accountability and decency in Nigeria's notoriously corrupt public life. The media's crusade ran against the country's geopolitical divisions and revived the debate on the national question as well as the media's own morality. The article draws on both primary and secondary data to examine the media's role in an emergent democracy.

37. OSAGHAE, Eghosa E.
Explaining the Changing Patterns of Ethnic Politics in Nigeria..

Abstract: Ethnic political mobilization has become more pervasive in Nigeria since the 1990s. Against the backdrop of a conceptual framework that locates ethnicity as historically cumulative and ethnic interests as essentially contested, and with a focus on the recent form and character of ethnicity, this article analyses the changing patterns of ethnic politics in the country in terms of the arenas or levels of mobilization, the objectives of ethnic movements, and the strategies adopted in the ethnic struggles. The pervasiveness of ethnic politics in the country is taken to be symptomatic of the aggravated crisis of legitimacy that has engulfed the state, and is explained in terms of the proven efficacy of the ethnic strategy, the weakness of alternative identities and political units, the prevailing milieu of lawlessness that has enveloped the country's political landscape, and the inability of the state to act as an effective agency of distributive justice.

38. ROTIMI, Ajayi Ola; IHONVBERE, Julius O.
Democratic Impasse: Remilitarisation in Nigeria

Abstract: Provides some explanations as to why the elections failed to usher in a democratic government, why it was easy for the military to re-establish its control of state power with the support of the political class, and what the future holds for the democratic process in Nigeria. The impasse generated by Babangida's politics had one positive repercussion for Nigeria: it facilitated the massive education and mobilization of the people and the strengthening of civil society. For the first time in Nigeria's political history, pro-democracy organizations, non-governmental organizations and individuals, cutting across religious, gender, regional and class lines came out to insist on the need to respect the will of the people. Several pro-democracy movements emerged on the political scene. The number of organizations affiliated with the Campaign for Democracy increased to over 43. People left their jobs and homes and responded to the call of the to demonstrate against Babangida. Despite Babangida's reputation for repression and the notoriety of the security services and the National Guard, Nigerians came out en masse and succeeded in forcing Babangida out of power in August 1993. This is unprecedented in Nigeria's history. Nigerians had decided that the crafty general had pushed his luck too far and had pushed their patience beyond limits…
39. SESAY, Amadu; UKEJE, Charles
The West and Elections in Nigeria

40. SESAY, Amadu; UKEJE, Charles Ugochukwu
The Military, the West, and Nigerian Politics in the 1990s.

Abstract: The paper traces the changing fortunes in Nigeria's domestic and external relations in the last two decades. It argues that more than anything else, the continued stay of the military in power at a time when the global mood favors the enthronement of popularly elected governments, account for the bad publicity that Nigeria currently experiences. Apart from the socio-economic crises inherited from the Second Republic, the events since the abortive Presidential elections of June 1993 including its annulment; the subsequent incarceration of the acclaimed winner, Chief M.K.O. Abiola; hanging of environmental activist, Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other minority and environmental activists etc., are the most important factors in Nigeria's credibility crisis. In addition, it examines the specific reactions of other countries, particularly North American and Western European nations, and such international institutions as the British Commonwealth, to the crisis of confidence generated by the events. It offers explanations for the apparent discrepancies in their prodemocracy, human rights and good governance agendas and critically appraise their actual responses to the subversion of those ideals by successive military regimes in Nigeria. It argued that though sometimes spontaneous, their reactions were also often inadequate, ineffective, ill-informed and ill-timed, and that they lacked proper coordination.

41. SMOUTS, Marie-claude
The proper use of governance in international relations

Abstract: The article focuses on the proper use of governance in international relations. Economist James Rosenau defined governance as a set of regulation mechanisms in a sphere of activity, which function effectively even though they are not endowed with formal authority. The choice of considering international relations in terms of governance is a research position that represents an intellectual and ideological choice. The underlying criterion of global governance is effectiveness: that an issue be managed, a problem resolved; that there be an accommodation of mutual interests. It would be to everyone's benefit. And since the market is today's sole regulator acting at the global level and cutting across all interacting social subsystems, in the absence of a central organization and a global system of reference, the "global governance" approach could well conceal, under its idealist and consensual attire, the most devious type of economic liberalism. approach could be the most devious type of economic liberalism

42. UKIWO, Ukoha
Politics, Ethno-Religious Conflicts and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria

Abstract: This article examines the explosion of violent ethno-religious and communal conflicts in Nigeria, contrary to the widespread expectation that the inauguration of the civilian administration would usher in democratic stability. The nature of the politics of the transition programme and the reluctance of the post-military regime to address the national question have led to the resurgence of social groups that make demands for incorporation and empowerment. The central argument is that unbridled competition for power, and the failure of government to deliver democratic dividends, have resulted in violent conflicts, especially between ethnic and religious groups, endangering the country's nascent democracy. Good
governance, especially accountability, transparency and equity, would restore govern-mental legitimacy,
inter-ethnic and religious harmony and promote democratic consolidation.

43. UTOMI, Patrick
Legitimacy and Governance: One More Year of Military Rule in Nigeria

44. WALKER, Judith-Ann
Civil Society, the Challenge to the Authoritarian State, and the Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria

45. WEISS, Thomas G.
Governance, good governance and global governance: conceptual and actual challenges..
Abstract: This article takes seriously the proposition that ideas and concepts, both good and bad, have an impact on international public policy. It situates the emergence of governance, good governance and global governance, as well as the UN's role in the conceptual process. Although 'governance' is as old as human history, this essay concentrates on the intellectual debates of the 1980s and 1990s but explores such earlier UN-related ideas as decolonisation, localisation and human rights, against which more recent thinking has been played out. A central analytical perspective is the tension between many academics and international practitioners who employ 'governance' to connote a complex set of structures and processes, both public and private, while more popular writers tend to use it synonymously with 'government'. [ABSTRACT Source: http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=sih&AN=3971431&site=ehost-live

46. WELCH Jr., Claude E.
Civil-Military Agonies in Nigeria: Pains of an Unaccomplished Transition
Abstract: The armed forces of Nigeria, in power for nearly three-quarters of the country's independent history, show little willingness to return to the barracks. Even if civilian rule were restored, deep-rooted beliefs and practices will ensure that officers continue to play major political roles. The aborted 1993 presidential elections (generally regarded as fair and decisive, but won by a candidate disliked by senior army leaders) manifested serious lingering obstacles to military disengagement from politics. Successful establishment of a "Third Republic" along paths attempted earlier appears unlikely to succeed, due in particular to limited military professionalism, ethnic tensions, and uncertainty about the nature of democratization.

47. WILLIAMS, Adebayo
Intellectuals and the crisis of democratization in Nigeria: Towards a theory of postcolonial anomie
Abstract: The article explores the role played by intellectual formation in Africa in the democratic struggle of Nigeria. As a result of colonialism, Africa entered world history on unequal terms. The heroes of African independence and the avatars of the final struggle against colonialism were all intellectual figures and
cultural producers in their own right. Independence had brought not the solace and succour it had promised but deepening misery and misfortune. Thus by the end of the decade of independence, a literature of disillusionment had overtaken the entire continent. Since Nigeria's independence from Great Britain in 1960, it has been mired in one self-inflicted crisis or another, its political development paralyzed and its resources pillaged beyond redemption. For twenty-six of its thirty-seven years of existence, Nigeria has been ruled by soldiers. Intellectual affiliations were formed on the basis of regional and ethnic loyalties rather than identification with the state. General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida was the first post-independence Nigerian leader who came to office fully prepared and well-briefed, and who sought to create an organic intellectual faction to facilitate and rationalize his project.

Part III: Research Proposal

Elections and Governance in Nigeria: A Critical Examination

Research Focus

Our interest in deciding to research on this topic arose from our observation over the years that elections and the conduct of elections could *ab initio* determine the stability or instability of a particular government or polity with implications for good governance. We say this, not just as academics or social scientists with a passing interest in the subject matter, but as participant observers desirous of peace and good governance in Nigeria.

Our observation was buttressed by the pre- and post-conflict crises that have been associated with general elections in Nigeria, instances include the 1999, 2003 and 2007 elections. In as much as the country was desirous of putting military rule and dictatorship behind it, the way and manner these elections were conducted left much to be desired, with many wondering if the country could survive the backlash arising from these elections. Mercifully, it did, but for how long will it play host to electoral brinkmanship!

The Nigerian elections could be considered transitional elections because they marked watersheds in the country’s march to democracy, which had been truncated severally. Transitional, in the sense of movements away from military to civil rule, autocratic to popular rule and from democratic acquisition to democratic consolidation.

We are of the view that the processes leading up to the elections, the elections proper and the post-election controversies had and still have serious implications for Nigeria’s democracy, peacebuilding and national stability. With respect to governance, the poor conduct of elections has directly and indirectly thrown up individuals who ordinarily should not be in positions of trust and governance. The quality of governance
has therefore suffered as a result of this. It is against this backdrop that we opine that the
nature of the electoral system in practice in Nigeria ultimately determines the quality of
service delivery in the society. It is against this background that we raise the following
questions with a view to addressing pertinent issues affecting the conduct of elections and
governance in Nigeria.

II. Research Questions

1) What has been the nature and character of elections held in Nigeria since 1999?

2) To what extent could the elections have contributed to stability and good
governance in the country?

3) What are the challenges to the conduct of elections and good governance in
Nigeria?

4) Is there any link between the character of elections and the quality of governance?

5) What should be done by stakeholders to ensure that future elections serve to
contribute to good governance in the country?

These are indeed, pertinent questions that we intend to critically address in the course
of this research if given the opportunity. Areas of research concentration will therefore
include the Concept of Elections, the Concept of Good Governance, Party Formation, the
Local Government elections (1999, 2003, 2007), Gubernatorial and State Houses of
Assembly Elections (1999, 2003, 2007), National Assembly Elections, the Presidential
Elections, The Role of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and
recommendations for addressing identified problems.
III. Objective of Research

1) The main objective of this research is to have documented, a critical analysis of Nigeria’s elections of 1999, 2003 and 2007, with all their strengths and shortcomings as a way of determining an appropriate response to the country’s electoral and political problems.

2) To explore the link between elections and good governance.

3) To proffer suggestions for better conduct of elections and improved governance in Nigeria.

IV. Overview of Literature

The literature indicates that significant studies have been undertaken that explored the various dimensions of elections and governance in Africa, and Nigeria. For example, Bratton and Daniel (1999) focused on the matter of second elections and the nexus between the state, conflict and democracy in society. Others focused on the issue of human rights abuses and its link to the conduct of free and fair elections, and the defence of people’s mandate (Human Rights Watch, 2007, Ajala and Mbagwu, 2007, Ibrahim and Egwu, 2005).

Further, Sha (2005, 2006) was more concerned about the quality of elections conducted in Nigeria as he assessed the Nigerian democratic transition project. He concluded that there had been too much politics and too little democracy in the elections. Furthermore, Olawale and Adetula in trying to draw lessons from the 2003 elections in Nigeria were concerned about the implications of the flawed processes for the conduct of future elections and for good governance in the country.
The literature also indicates that elections and post-conflict elections have become important instruments or processes of peacebuilding favoured by the international community in countries emerging from social violence and civil conflicts (Shain and Linz, 1995; Kumar, 1998; Sisk, 1998; Ibrahim, 2003; IOM, 2005; Lopez-Pintor, 2005; Wai, 2006). As studies have also shown, elections conducted in post-conflict environments are complicated and complex affairs that usually task the whole repertoire of peacebuilding measures. Usually, post-conflict elections occur in the framework of a negotiated political end. Just as societies differ, electoral processes also differ depending on the political realities; therefore flaws need to be interpreted and addressed on a case-by-case basis (IOM, 2005). While Kumar et.al (2002:6) for instance, see elections as primary vehicles for transforming conflict-ridden polities to peaceful ones, Ottaway (2003) consider elections a necessary part of the process of building new democratic institutions.

V. Conceptual Framework

The problematique in this study should be understood within the ambit of the democratic theory. At the heart of the democratic theory is the concern of political inclusiveness and popular participation by majority of the adult population within a state. One undeniable political fact however, is that political participation has always been discriminative and highly constitutionally specific. Even in the context of the Greek City states where democracy had its historical roots, certain categories of people were excluded from participation in the decision making process. Demographic imperatives and the increasing complexity of modern industrial societies have made it impossible to
practice the Greek form of ‘direct democracy’. What has come to replace this archetypal democratic model is representative democracy.

Opinions are however, divided amongst scholars as to the adequacy or otherwise of the status of representative democracy as a desideratum for democratic politics (Odukoya, 2006:4). For Ake (2000:7), there is nothing operationally complex and confusing about the concept of democracy ‘…it means popular power, or in the famous American version, government of the people, for the people, by the people’. The essence of course, is to devise a system that allows the people to select who should govern them.

The pluralism which democracy valorises finds expression in elections as an instrument of popular choice. However, if elections are to be respectable and perform its role in political life, peace building and conflict transformation; it is incumbent that it must be free and fair. In order words, the defining character of good elections is the degree of transparency and popular choices associated with the electoral processes. The people, who are qualified to vote, must be allowed to freely decide the choice of parties and candidates in an unencumbered manner. This to a very large extent is a function of the structure and process of the electoral system and its practice.

Since expectations have not always been met in the process of seeking representative democracy through elections as vehicles, peacebuilding became a mechanism for anticipating and fixing the fault lines in the process. It became an essential aspect of the whole process of transitional democracy. Modern elections are therefore taken as peacebuilding instruments, and an important ingredient of democratisation that should be taken seriously; with ways sought for rectifying, adjusting
and institutionalizing the process in conflict prone societies in order to avoid deeper conflicts and wars.

On the other hand, good governance implies that any government in power upholds the rule of law and is able to provide the basic necessities of life to its citizens like food, security, shelter and health care. The expectation being that any government that is truly elected into office by the people will have the people as its main constituency and address their needs.

VI. Methodology

This study will be domiciled at the Research and Studies Department of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos.

We are going to approach this study from the standpoint of participant observers familiar with the Nigerian political environment, armed with the necessary information for meaningful intervention. Apart from library research and personal interviews, which we are currently involved with in Nigeria, our intention is to come out with a documented volume of informed study on the nature, character and impact of elections on governance in Nigeria.

VII. Duration of Research

We intend to conclude this study within eighteen (18) months.

VIII. Research Outcome

Our target is to produce a textbook at the expiration of the study.
National Working Group of Nigeria, 2008
Elections and Governance in Nigeria: A Critical Examination

References

Ake Claude (2000), The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa, Dakar, CODESRIA.


Ibrahim Jibrin (2003), Democratic Transition in Anglophone West Africa, Dakar, CODESRIA.

Ibrahim J. and Egwu S (2005), Defending the People’s Mandate, Abuja, Global Rights.


