

## Election Administration in Developing Countries: A Comparative Study of Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in Ghana and Nigeria

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### ABSTRACT

This paper examined the evolution of Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in Ghana and Nigeria; evaluated their institutional frameworks; compared their performances; and analyzed the challenges facing them. This was with a view to providing a comparative analysis of the operations of the two Electoral Management Bodies. The study employed primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data were collected through the use of questionnaire and in-depth interviews. The study was conducted in Accra and Abuja with a study population of 508. Data collected were analyzed using descriptive (frequency distribution) and inferential statistics (t-test). The study revealed that the Electoral Management Bodies in Ghana and Nigeria evolved from the desire for genuine democracy (Ghana 91%, Nigeria 83%) and through democratic process (Ghana 90%, Nigeria 63%) even though the military played key roles in its evolution in Nigeria (89.6%) unlike 0% of Ghana. The study also showed that the institutional frameworks of Electoral Management Bodies in the two countries were adequate except for the regulation and monitoring of political parties and their campaign funds in Nigeria (71.8%). The study further showed that Ghana's Electoral Commission (EC) performed significantly better than Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in their statutory functions ( $t(12) = -21.419, p < .05$  (two-tailed)). The study finally revealed that Nigeria's INEC faced greater challenges than Ghana's EC which included inadequate funding (Nigeria 50.7%, Ghana 54.3%), poverty (Nigeria 87%, Ghana 21.1%), use of thuggery (Nigeria 68.5%, Ghana 7.4%), inadequate independence (Nigeria 63.6%, Ghana 15.5%), win by all means syndrome of contestants/political parties (Nigeria 65%, Ghana 23.5%), loss of confidence in the Electoral Commission (Nigeria 43.2%, Ghana 8.4%), corruption (Nigeria 86.3%, Ghana 37.2%), political consideration in the appointment of Electoral Commissions' staff (Nigeria 52.3%, Ghana 2.8%), religious intolerance (Nigeria 44.8%, Ghana 8.1%) and ethnicity (Nigeria 62.7%, Ghana 2.7%). The study concluded that the EMBs in both countries recorded substantial improvements in the discharge of their statutory functions over the study period. However, Ghana's EC performed significantly better than Nigeria's INEC.

**Keywords:** Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs), Democracy, Democratization, Election, Administration, Electoral Governance,

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Electoral competition has progressively come to occupy a central place in the political life of many countries of the world. One of the general traits of the reforms introduced in this area in most of the countries has been efforts to reinforce or initiate mechanisms to separate electoral management from the normal administrative responsibilities of the executive. This is because the general acceptance or otherwise of the outcome of these elections depends, to a very large extent, on how these elections are managed by the Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs).

Winners and losers can accept electoral processes and results provided the election meet some established standards, notably participation, competition and legitimacy. These indicators of democratic quality can only be guaranteed provided the EMBs satisfy some important conditions that strengthen effective electoral administration. These conditions which are important in order for the EMBs to effectively discharge their duties include the autonomy of the electoral management bodies (EMBs), measured basically in terms of their structure, autonomy, motivation, transparency and general capacity.

Other relevant structural agencies like political parties, mass media, civil service, the security agencies, civil society groups (CSOs), also need to effectively play their roles, including the provision of logistic support, which is vital to the operation of the electoral body. The oversight functions of the legislature and judiciary are also very crucial. This has resulted in the need to equip electoral management bodies with competent personnel, whose need for expertise has increased each time the electoral rules and procedures became more complex. The effectiveness of EMBs as linchpins of electoral governance capable of securing for a country free and fair election depends to a very large extent, not solely, on a number of factors put together as international standards for elections. Such standards include political rights and fundamental freedoms as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The standards requires the creation of an autonomous EMBs which are insulated from political control or influence of governments, security of tenure for members of the EMBs, the EMBs guarding against bribery and fraud, upholding the principle of secret ballot, provision of credible voters' register, avoidance of manipulation of election results and intimidation of voters, and ensuring transparency in the entire electoral processes to elicit confidence from participating political parties and general acceptance of elections outcomes. Effective electoral management therefore plays a very crucial role in a country's quest to establish or consolidate its democracy. What then makes electoral governance effective to the extent that it is able to deliver credible election? Three key issues underpinned electoral governance, namely rule making which involves designing the basic rules of the electoral competition; rule application involving the implementation of these rules to organize and regulate the electoral process and rule adjudication which involves resolving disputes arising within the process.

In West Africa, Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) have also become a keystone of the process of democratization (USEAC, 2005). Their composition, mandate and activities have attracted increasing public attention. In some countries, the EMBs and the rules of the electoral game are the focus of passionate interest and debate each time elections come around. In others, the debates around the EMBs are semi-permanent and attract attention even outside the electoral cycle. The lack of a clear understanding of the issues at stake in the design of these bodies has often led to the generation of more heat than light, while leading to proposals that do not address the real challenges at stake.

Looking at the West African sub-region, Ghana and Nigeria are two of the countries that were colonized by the British. Both countries are culturally diverse societies that experienced political and economic crisis from the 1970 through the 1980s. With the global democratization process, particularly in the post cold war era, Ghana and Nigeria successfully made the transition to civil rule in 1992 and 1999 respectively. Both countries went through a succession of constitutional changes between independence in 1957 for Ghana and 1960 for Nigeria as well as the final return to democratic government in 1992 and 1999 respectively, mostly due to the intrusion of the armed forces into the political scene through military coups d'état. The first three decades of their existence were marked by long stretches of military rule interspersed with only two short periods during which democratic governments were installed after more or less free elections.

However, with about twenty four years of uninterrupted civil rule and the successful transfer of power from the ruling party to the opposition party in 2000 and 2008 respectively; Ghana's democracy; unlike in the Nigerian situation, is largely seen to be consolidated. While internal factors; such as corruption, the nature of election administration, lack of political will and even the Rawlings factor have been employed in explaining the differences in democratic consolidation in Ghana and Nigeria, other factors determining democratic consolidation in these two countries is very often taken for granted. It is therefore not surprising that the need for credible elections management has engaged the attention of international as well as local elections monitors over the last decade, with particular attention towards Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs).

Indeed, the view that the history of election administration in Nigeria is a history of electoral fraud and violence is widespread (Norris, 2012). Suffice it to say that given its history of problematic and controversial election administrations; election administration is yet to be consolidated in Nigeria when compared to Ghana despite the acclaimed fairness of the 2015 elections. Yet, both countries share similar historical experience of colonialism, prolonged military rule, economic dislocations and associated vices. Given the convergences and divergences in the political development of Ghana and Nigeria, it is important to look into electoral management bodies in the two countries, with a view to finding answer to the problem of what account for Ghana's ability to consolidate its electoral administration and Nigeria inability to do same. These are the main thrusts of this paper.

## **2. CONCEPTUAL REVIEW**

### **2.1 Democracy**

Democracy means different things to different people. Yet in spite of the seeming ambiguity in the definition of democracy, most scholars of democracy agreed that central to the idea and practice of democracy are the issues of participation and contestation. (Held, 1996; Ake, 2000; Dunn, 1992; Nwabueze, 1993). Democracy also refers to the rule by people or individuals who exercise the power of ruler-ship by the consent of people (Ake, 2000).

According to Adejumbi (2000), democracy goes beyond one man one vote. The consent of the people is usually given through a free and fair electoral process. The electoral process involves the participation of the people as well as that of different political parties and their candidates (Scarrow, 2005). It also involves the participation of the electoral body or umpire in the electoral process (election administration) in a way that is not prejudiced in favour of or against any particular party, candidate or person is crucial, if not most important in a fledgling democracy like Nigeria.

Election

Generally, elections are what distinguish a military regime from a civilian one. The opportunity and the right by people to choose their leaders without let or hinderance is one of the hallmarks of democracy. It is important to note that elections involve choice. But the choice itself is subject to various influences that could be internal or external. Elections also mean different things to different people. While some see it as the determination of who gets what in a political system, others see it as the determination of who gets what by the mass of the people (Ake, 2000).

It is also important to note that elections occur in everyday life experiences and takes on more significance when it comes to the issue of public space and office. Therefore, elections “serve certain purposes and help to guarantee, *ceteris paribus*, democratic values of equality of individuals and liberty to decide a course of action or who to vote for (Adejumobi, 2000).

Generally, election itself has every element of uncertainty. No one is sure of the outcome of an election irrespective of the amount of money, time and resources committed in getting a favourable response from the people with the hope of securing public office. That is why Mozaffar has argued that “competitive elections are the quintessential manifestation of organized uncertainty in a democracy”. This is because “the legitimacy of competitive elections rests on the institutionalization of procedural certainty to secure substantive uncertainty. Therefore, “political actors will accept the uncertainty of outcomes in electoral competition if they are certain that the rules for organizing the competition will not pre-determine the outcomes” (Mozaffar, 2002:87; Przeworski, 1985; 1988).

Lastly, election could be viewed as an act of selection, that is, election as procedure of selecting people for different offices.

## **2.2. Election Administration / Electoral Management**

Election administration or Electoral Management is concerned with management of elections by an electoral management body (EMB). Election administration has, therefore, been defined as ‘the mechanics of how elections are run, ranging from preparations for the election, to the methods by which people cast their ballots, to how winners are declared’ (United States Election Assistance Commission, USEAC, 2008).

According to the Election Administration Research Centre (EARC) at the University of California, Berkeley, USA, election administration involves the ‘facilitation of voting and the management of elections at all levels’ (EARC, 2005:1). It also includes the organization of election agencies, the behavior and characteristics of election officials, the process of conducting elections, and the implementation of election policies. ((EARC, 2005). For Jinadu (1997), election administration connotes ‘the organization and conduct of elections to elective public (political) offices by an electoral body’.

Iwara (2010) sees election administration as “the organization and conduct of elections to elective / public (political) offices by an electoral body”. For him, subsume in election administration are the structure and process. By structure it “meant the bureaucracy that is set up or established to organize and conduct elections” The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) is a good example. By process is “meant the rules, procedures and activities relating among others, the establishment of electoral bodies, the appointment of their members, the registration of voters, the nomination of candidates, balloting, counting of the ballots, declaration of results, the selection and training of electoral officials, constituency delimitation, voters education and, in some cases, registration of political parties and supervisor of party nomination congresses”.

### 2.3 Review of Empirical Studies on Electoral Management

Previous works in the literature shows that all authors agree that election has become an important component of democracy and democratization debates in Africa. Some of the scholars believe that repetitive elections, the good, the bad, and/or the ugly, has democratic self-reinforcing powers (Lindberg, 2006; 2009), stimulating civic activism and actions often better than free and fair elections (Bratton, 2008). Others contend that only high-quality election can lead to democratization (Levitsky et al (2002), Bratton, 2008). While each of these arguments holds and perhaps clarifies the extent of democratic commitments, none examined the significance of institutional capacity building of electoral management bodies (EMBs) in improving the credibility of election. This is an area for further studies.

Apart from the issues raised in structure and process of election administration mentioned above, Beckett (2011) argues that there are other critical issues in election administration or management including but not limited to problems of funding of the Electoral Management Body (EMB), logistics, the pervasive role of the state, tenure of office and autonomy of the EMB, among others. Whilst laying credence to the submission of other scholars that elections remain cardinal to any assessment of democracy and democratic consolidation, Aloysius-Michaels (2009) is of the opinion that elections are not in themselves a guarantee for sustainable democratic transition and consolidation. Jinadu, Aloysius-Michaels, Chukwu, Iwara, Ibrahim and Garuba appraises the conduct of past elections in Nigeria and posited that deficiencies in capacity and organizational governance directly limit the ability of public institutions (INEC inclusive) in Nigeria to function positively. They believe that the 1999 Constitution is grossly defective and does not safeguard the independence of INEC. They therefore concluded that the 1999 constitution contributed to the dismal performance of the electoral body in all the elections conducted in Nigeria since 1999.

Study by Ayee, Debrah, Gyimah-Boadi, Lavie and Badu examined and outlined the basis for the suspicion and mistrust associated with Electoral Commissions in Ghana. They argued that though early Commissions were part of the Ministry of Interior, subsequent EMBs had all been independent which they described as being good for credible election management. They stressed however that the challenges of doubt by the public and political parties about the integrity, impartiality and independence of EMB was the failure of the government to co-opt the opposition party representatives into elections administration. To them, the credibility of EMBs as independent and impartial is very critical in the acceptance or rejection of elections. Therefore, they canvassed for the composition of good and impartial EMBs whose functions will be independent of all other controls whether governmental or opposition. According to them, once appointed, the members of EMBs must be seen to be impartial and non-partisan and must succumb to only the dictates of the national Constitution.

Many scholarly works on electoral management all agreed that election administration has become central to assessments of election quality. To all of them, the notion of credibility has become intimately associated with the manner in which the designated authority for administration, conduct and supervision of elections, that is, the Electoral Management Body (EMB), executes its functions before, during and after elections. They are all also of the opinion that there exist different types of electoral system practiced by different countries which are determined by both electoral environmental factors and internal peculiarities of each country. Furthermore, looking at all the study of EMBs in Africa and some other parts of the World, it is obvious that problems and issues confronting each country are different from the others despite the fact that some of these countries share similar historical experiences, nationalism, prolonged military rule and attendant economic woes.

## 2.4 Theoretical Framework for the Study

Electoral governance involves the design of institutions that define the basic framework of democratic elections. Rules of electoral competition and rules of electoral organization configure this framework. Electoral Governance looks at the political origins and covers a wider basket of electoral rules, traditional as well as formal rules that govern the processes, laws establishing the structures and operational framework of the EMBs and dispute settlement authorities. According to Mozaffar and Schedler, its activities involve rule making, rule adjudication, and rule application. This theory is only important in classifying the different aspects and roles in the management of elections.

On its own, Comparative Public Administration places emphasis on the study of cross – cultural and cross national administration system. It has a commitment to compassion as a method of study to better describe and ordinate the different administration system of various nations with diverse natural and ecological settings. According to Riggs, administration does not function in isolation from its environment (social, cultural, political and economic), and there is a continuous interaction between the two with both influencing each other. The scenario of input-output variables in David Easton's System Theory aptly fits into the research topic. David Easton (1971) asserts that a political system is constantly subjected to challenges from its environments with which it is expected to cope. According to Easton, its life processes may constantly be subjected to "stress from the environment"

As for the Structural Functionalism Theory, the analysis of a political system (Ghana and Nigeria) with a structure or institution (EMBs) charged with the role of organizing elections for the leadership of the nation to emerge with the political parties and the people, called the electorates, the political elites, security agencies, civil society organizations, etc, who also have different roles to play in the political system. How each of these structures performed their different functions for the political leadership to emerge between 1999 and 2015 was studied using structural functionalism.

Looking at the eclectic nature of the theoretical framework resulting from the inter relatedness and interconnectedness that this study reflects and as demonstrated above, both the theories of Electoral Governance, Comparative Public Administration, the System Theory and the Structural Functionalism Theory look suitable for this study. But for analytical convenience, the Systems Theory and the Structural Functionalism Theory appear more suitable for this study due to their ability to assist in comparing the performance of the Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in the two countries as well as examining the challenges facing these institutions in the two countries vis-a-vis their different environments.

## 3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

### Research Questions

The study shall attempt to provide answers to the following research questions among others:

- i. How did the electoral management bodies evolve in Ghana and Nigeria?
- ii. What are the institutional frameworks put in place by the Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in the two countries?
- iii. To what extent has each of the two Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) relatively fared in their performance?
- iv. What are the challenges facing Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in Ghana and Nigeria?

## Research Hypotheses

In order to answer the research questions and achieve the purpose of this study, the research was guided by the following null and alternative hypotheses as stated below:

H0: There was no significant difference between the performance of the Electoral Commission in Ghana and the Electoral Commission in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015

H1: There was a significant difference between the performance of the Electoral Commission in Ghana and the Electoral Commission in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015

## Methodology

The study adopted quantitative research design with the use of data collected from key players in the administration of elections in Ghana and Nigeria to provide a clearer picture of the Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in the two countries. The study was conducted in Accra and Abuja with a study population of 508 which consisted of senior staff members of the Accra office of Ghana Electoral Commission, executives of three purposively selected leading political parties and executives of four purposively selected Civil Society Organizations in Ghana accredited as election observers. Others were: senior staff members of the Abuja office of Nigeria Independent National Electoral Commission; executives of three purposively selected leading political parties and executives of four purposively selected Civil Society Organizations in Nigeria accredited as election observers. Questionnaire were administered on two hundred and fifty four (254) respondents (covering 50% of the population), who were selected using proportional random technique.

In Ghana, questionnaire was administered on eighty two (82) respondents using proportional random technique. The distribution of the questionnaire was as follows: senior staff members of the Accra office of Ghana Electoral Commission (31); Political party executives (27), 9 executives of each of the 3 purposively selected political parties from their Headquarters in Accra; and Civil Society Organizations accredited by EC as election observers, (24), 6 in each of the 4 purposively selected groups;

The officials of EC were selected based on the fact that it is the institution established by law to conduct elections in Ghana. The political parties whose executives were used are: National Democratic Congress (NDC), New Patriotic Party (NPP) and Convention People's Party (CPP). These political parties were selected based on the fact that they are the leading political parties in Ghana. Also, the 24 respondents from Civil Society Organizations accredited by EC as election observers Network of Domestic Election Observers (NDEO) – 6; 31st December Women's Movement –6; Campaign for Democracy (CD) – 6; and Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) – 6) were selected based on their observatory experience during the conduct of elections in Ghana.

In Nigeria, one hundred and seventy two (172) copies of questionnaire were administered on respondents using proportional random technique. The distribution of the questionnaire was as follows: senior staff members of the Abuja office of Nigeria Independent National Electoral Commission (73); Political party officials (63), 21 executives of each of the 3 purposively selected leading political parties in Nigeria; and the executives of four purposively selected Civil Society Organizations accredited by INEC as election observers, (36), 9 in each of the 4 selected groups. The officials of EMBs were selected based on the fact that it is the institution established by law to conduct elections in Nigeria. The political parties whose executives were used are: All Progressive Congress (APC), Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA). These political parties were selected based on the fact that they are the leading political parties in Nigeria.

Also, 36 respondents from Civil Society Organizations accredited by INEC as election observers (Campaign for Democracy (CD) – 9; Center for Democracy and Development (CDD) – 9; Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) – 9; and Centre for Nigeria Election Study (CNES) – 9) were selected based on their observatory experience during the conduct of elections in Nigeria. In-depth interviews were also conducted with the representatives of the Chairmen of the Ghana’s EC and Nigeria’s INEC. The respondents selected for the in-depth interview was based on the objectives of the study which require knowledge of experts and practitioners in elections and election management in Ghana and Nigeria.

The EC and INEC officials chosen for the study are stakeholders in electoral process who are directly and actively involved in implementing and supervising elections across the two countries. This justifies their inclusion. Secondary data were sourced from the Constitutions of Ghana and Nigeria, Electoral Laws, Gazettes, official publications from the Electoral bodies, relevant books, journals/articles, newspapers, magazines, seminar papers, government publications, documentary records, public lecture series, internet, reports of international and local observers, and other archival materials.

Data collected were analyzed using descriptive (frequency distribution) and inferential statistics (t-test). Deductive interpretations were made to bear on the validity or otherwise of the research questions as well as the hypothesis.

#### 4. RESULTS

Research Question 1: How did the electoral management bodies evolve in Ghana and Nigeria?

This section examines the evolution of Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in Ghana and Nigeria in the two (2) countries.

As presented in Table 1, it was revealed that respondents in both countries mainly disagreed with the assertion that Electoral Commissions are product of imposition on the country. For instance, in Nigeria, 131 (80.4%) disagreed and 32 (19.6%) strongly disagreed with the statement. In Ghana, the disagreement level appears more intense than that of Nigeria as just 13 (17.1%) ordinarily disagreed and 66 (82.9%) strongly disagreed with the statement. This indicates, though at variance level, that electoral commissions in the two (2) countries were not seen as a product of imposition. Positive trend was obtained on the second item which states that the Electoral Commissions evolve from the desire for genuine democracy. On aggregate, 148 (68.8%) and 94 (32.2%) strongly agreed and ordinarily agreed respectively on the assertion from the two (2) countries. This is an empirical verification to the assumption that the establishment of electoral commission evolve from the desire for genuine democracy.

Also, it was asserted that the military has been playing key roles in the establishment of Electoral Commissions in Nigeria, 86 (52.8%) strongly agreed, 60 (36.8%) ordinarily agreed, and just 17 (10.4%) merely disagreed. On the other hand, the totality of respondents in Ghana fell in the disagreement category with over 80% strongly disagreed. There appears conspicuously the reflection of the political history of the two (2) countries in the different observations. In Ghana, there was an outright disagreement with the fact that establishment of Electoral Commission is a military creation. While, the position of the Nigeria respondents is in concurrent with the assertion. There was equally a convergent observation on the assertion that EC are products of negotiation between the political class and colonial masters. There was an agreement level in both countries as 100% of the Nigerian and about 98.8% of the Ghanaian respondents stood to discredit the statement that the EMBs are products of negotiation between the political class and colonial masters. It could therefore be



implied that Britain's interests do not manifest on the intricacies involved in electoral management bodies in Ghana and Nigeria.

It was however stated for respondents from the two (2) countries to either agree or disagree on the statement that EC are products of negotiation between the political class and the military. In their reactions, there seems to be two sides to this assertion, the totality of the Nigerian respondents fell in agreement category, while their Ghana counterparts pitched their tents in the disagreement arena. However, an aggregate of 32 representing 21.3% of the Nigerian respondents joined their Ghanaian respondents to dislodge the statement. This is an indication that Military input could not be isolated from the Nigerian democratic process, as seemingly opposed in Ghana.

It was equally stated for respondents from the two (2) countries to either agree or disagree on the statement that their EMBs emerged through democratic process. In their reactions, there seems to be unity of purpose in the two sides to this assertion, the totality of the Ghana respondents fell in agreement category, while 63% of their Nigerian counterparts agreed, 27% pitched their tents in the disagreement arena. This indicates, though at variance level, that electoral commissions in the two (2) countries emerged through democratic process.

**Table 1: Evolution of Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in Ghana and Nigeria**

VARIABLES	COUNTRY	STRONGLY DISAGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	TOTAL
		%	%	%	%	%
Electoral Commissions are product of imposition on the country.	Nigeria	-	-	80.4	19.6	100.0
	Ghana	-	-	17.1	82.9	100.0
The Electoral Commissions evolve from the desire for genuine democracy.	Nigeria	47.9	52.1	-	-	100.0
	Ghana	87.8	12.2	-	-	100.0
The military has been playing key roles in the establishment of our Electoral Commissions.	Nigeria	52.8	36.8	10.4	-	100.0
	Ghana	-	-	18.3	81.7	100.0
EC are products of negotiation between the political class and colonial masters	Nigeria	-	-	78.6	21.4	100.0
	Ghana	-	1.2	13.4	85.4	100.0
EC are products of negotiation between the political class and the military	Nigeria	38.0	40.7	16.0	5.3	100.0
	Ghana	-	-	24.4	75.6	100.0
EC emerged through democratic process	Nigeria	27	36	12.5	24.5	100.0
	Ghana	93.9	6.1	-	-	100.0

Research Question 2: What are the institutional frameworks put in place by the Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in Ghana and Nigeria?

The institutional frameworks put in place by the electoral management bodies in the two (2) countries was investigated with the objective of ascertaining the adequacy and effectiveness of infrastructures before, during and after elections in Nigeria and Ghana since 1999. Table 2 revealed that respondents in both countries mainly agreed with the assertion that Electoral laws/constitution is adequate and up-to-date. This indicates that electoral laws and acts in the two (2) countries were confidently claimed to be up-to-date and proficient.

A relative trend was obtained on the second item which states that the electoral system adopted is the best for the country. The result is still an indication that the adopted electoral system in the two (2) countries seems to be mostly applauded by key stakeholders selected for this study.

Besides, it was asserted that the EC have power to make its own regulations in the form of Constitutional Instruments (C.I). In Nigeria, just 51 (71.8%) agreed, while 20 (28.2%) disagreed. On the other hand, all the 31 (100%) respondents in Ghana fell in the strongly agreement category. From the data distribution in the two countries, almost similar opinions were generated from Ghana and Nigeria, thus implying that there are residual powers with the EC to regulate the organization of electoral affairs with more absolute power in Ghana than Nigeria.

Also, constituency delineation is one of the institutional frameworks expected to be put in place within democratic space. Against this backdrop, respondents were asked to either credit or discredit the statement on whether delineations of constituencies are adequately done. In their response, about 51 (71.8%) of the respondents in Nigeria merely agreed with this assertion, while 20 (28.2) % of them disagreed. 17 (54.8%) of the respondents in Ghana strongly agreed while 14 (45.2%) of the respondents just agreed to this statement in Ghana. This indicates a total convincing remark on the extent to which the EC has facilitated adequate constituency delineations across the two (2) political landscapes under study with higher degree of agreement in Ghana.

More expected role of the EC in the two (2) countries is the monitoring of campaign funds of political parties. Respondents were therefore asked whether parties and campaign funds were being monitored and regulated by their respective ECs. Reacting to this, just about 30 (28.2%) of the respondents in Nigeria merely agreed with this assertion, while 51 (71.8%) of the respondents disagreed with this statement. However, 7 (22.6%) of the respondents in Ghana strongly agreed, 15 (46.4%) of the respondents agreed while 9 (29.0%) of the respondents disagreed. This data distribution implies that while the EC of Ghana can be said to be creditably performing its constitutional of monitoring and regulating the activities of political parties and their campaign funds, the same cannot be said of their Nigerian counterpart.

Registration of political parties and voters are cardinal functions of the ECs in the two (2) countries. However, respondents were also asked to evaluate if there are adequate guidelines for the registration of political parties and voters both in Nigeria and Ghana. Remarkably, the totality of the respondents in the two (2) countries fell within the agreement category. Furthermore, the agreement level was more intense with 64 (64.3%) respondents in the countries, while the remaining 38 (35.7%) respondents did complement and acknowledged the statement. This is a laudable verification to the fact that ECs in Nigeria and Ghana have existing guidelines for the registration of political parties and voters.

However, respondents were asked to either reflect on their agreement levels with the Logistics and transportation of election materials and personnel were in order. In their response in Nigeria, 49 (69.0%) of the respondents fell in the ordinary agreement category, while 22 (31.0%) of the respondents ordinarily disagreed. Thus, implying that logistics and transportation of election materials and personnel could not be excellently rated in Nigeria. On the other hand, remarkable reactions could be noted in Ghana where 24 (78.4%) of the respondents were in strong agreement with the assertion, 5 (15.4%) of the respondents ordinarily agreed, and just 2 (6.2%) of the respondents chose to be in disagreement with the assertion, as against the aggregate of 93.8% in the country. This interpretation of this finding revealed that the level of logistics and transportation of election materials and personnel in Ghana seems satisfactory than that of Nigeria.

In addition, respondents were asked to either agree or disagree on the statement that registration and voting machines were adequate and effective. In Nigeria, 43 (60.6%) of the respondents strongly agreed and 28 (39.4%) ordinarily agreed to the assertion; while in Ghana, all the respondents 31 (100%) strongly agreed to this assertion. The implication of this data distribution of the 100% agreement in the two (2) countries on the assertion is that registration of voters and the voting machines were adequate and effective with greater level of adequacy and effectiveness in Ghana.

Similar observations were also noted on the assertion that personnel are always effectively trained with adequate training facilities. Respondents fell in agreement category with the assertion in Ghana and Nigeria, though 31 (100%) of the Ghanaian respondents strongly agreed with the statement, and 9 (13%) of the Nigerian respondents also stood firmly with the assertion while 49 (69%) agreed with 3 (18%) level of disagreement. The intensity of the agreement level in the two (2) countries could be said to have confirmed the excellent level of the effective training of personnel with adequate training facilities although with a higher level of agreement in Ghana.

Furthermore, respondents were asked to agree or disagree to the statement as to whether Power supply to EC offices and voting centres was regular in the two (2) countries remain steadfast. On this important facility, there was a strong agreement level of 20 representing 64.5% of the respondents in Ghana with 11 (35.5%) mere agreement. However, it is not all that positive in Nigeria where 49 (66.2%) agreement, 23 (32.4%) strong disagreement while the remaining 1 (1.4%) of the respondents fell in discomfort with the statement. This interprets varied perspectives which are highly positive from Ghanaian viewpoint but just positive in Nigeria.

Furthermore, respondents were asked to reflect on the statement that there are sufficient Independent Election Tribunals to hear electoral cases. In Nigeria, 49 (69.0%) of the respondents in ordinary agreed, while the remaining 22 (31.0%) of the respondents disagreed. On the other hand, remarkable reactions could be noted in Ghana where 24 (77.4%) of the respondents were in strong agreement category with the assertion and 7 (22.6%) of the respondents ordinarily agreeing with the assertion, as against the aggregate of 69% agreement in Nigeria. This indicates that there are sufficient established Independent Election Tribunals in the two (2) countries to hear and adjudicate on electoral cases with a comfortable agreement in Ghana.

It was also asserted that adequate provision are made for full participation of the public, mass media and political parties in decision making by EC..In Nigeria, 49 (69.0%) agreed, while 22 (31.0%) disagreed. On the other hand, all the 31 (100%) respondents in Ghana strongly agreed to this assertion. This interpretation of this finding revealed that the level of participation of the public, mass media and political parties in electoral decision making in the two (2) countries seems to be very satisfactory.

However, the level of their full participation in Ghana seems to be higher satisfactory than that of Nigeria; since about 31% of the respondents in Nigeria chose not to be comfortable with the provisions made for full participation of the public, mass media and political parties in decision making by EC in Nigeria.

**Table 2: Electioneering and Electoral Issues**

The electoral system adopted is the best for the country	<b>Nigeria</b>	64.8	33.8	1.4	-	100.0
	<b>Ghana</b>	83.9	16.1	-	-	100.0
The EC have power to make its own regulations in the form of Constitutional Instruments (C.I).	<b>Nigeria</b>	-	78.2	21.8	-	100.0
	<b>Ghana</b>	100.0	-	-	-	100.0
Delimitations of Constituencies are adequately done.	<b>Nigeria</b>	-	71.8	28.2	-	100.0
	<b>Ghana</b>	54.8	45.2	-	-	100.0
Parties and their campaign funds are being monitored and regulated by EC	<b>Nigeria</b>	-	28.2	71.8	-	100.0
	<b>Ghana</b>	22.6	46.4	25.8	3.2	100.0
There are adequate guidelines for registration of political parties and voters	<b>Nigeria</b>	60.6	39.4	-	-	100.0
	<b>Ghana</b>	67.7	32.3	-	-	100.0
Logistics and transportation of election materials and personnel were in order	<b>Nigeria</b>	-	69.0	31.0	-	100.0
	<b>Ghana</b>	78.4	15.4	6.2	-	100.0
Registration and voting machines were adequate and effective	<b>Nigeria</b>	60.6	39.4	-	-	100.0
	<b>Ghana</b>	100.0	-	-	-	100.0
Personnel are always effectively trained with adequate training facilities	<b>Nigeria</b>	13.0	69.0	18.0	-	100.0
	<b>Ghana</b>	100.0	-	-	-	100.0
Power supply to EC offices and voting centres was regular	<b>Nigeria</b>	-	66.2	32.4	1.4	100.0
	<b>Ghana</b>	64.5	35.5	-	-	100.0

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2018

Research Question 3: To what extent has each of the two Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) relatively fared in their performance?

The performances of the Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in Ghana and Nigeria were compared analyzing the aspects of electoral administration in Ghana for the last four (4) General elections, and for the last five (5) General Elections in Nigeria. To achieve this objective, eight (8) essential aspects of electoral administration were set out for either agree or disagree with the electoral years interval in Ghana and Nigeria and its values/responses were organized using likert scale of measurements, such as: Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

The Table 3. and 4 presented the frequency and percentage distribution of respondents on each of the assertions set out to achieve this objective. More importantly, the central focus of this study was to compare the performances of the EMBs in Nigeria and Ghana. In lieu of this, t-test statistic was employed to compare the performance of EMBs in the two countries, as presented in Table 5.

#### **4.1 The Administration of 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012 General Elections by EC in Ghana**

This section provides an analysis on the performances of the EMBs in Ghana. Seven (7) major items were set out to measure the performances of the electoral umpire in four (4) consecutive elections in Ghana. In addition, this analysis would showcase the trends in key components of the electoral management in Ghana. The Table 3.1 revealed the frequency and percentage distribution of respondents on each of the items set out to achieve this objective and its values/responses were organized using likert scale of measurements, such as: Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree and Strongly Disagree.

3.2 The Administration of 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 General Elections by INEC in Nigeria In examining the administration of electoral system in Nigeria in the fourth republic (1999 - 2015), seven parameters are used and each of the general elections is examined against each parameter. The parameters/indices are: effectiveness of voters', registration before the elections, sufficiency of awareness education of voters before elections, early arrival of officials and elections materials on election days, sufficiency of election materials, adequacy of deployment of election officials, adequacy of security personnel and apparatus during elections, and free and fair conduct of the elections. Details of the assessment by respondents are shown in Tables 3.

**Table 3: The Performance of the Electoral Management Bodies in Ghana**

DESCRIPTIONS	2000 Elections				2004 Elections				2008 Elections				2012 Elections			
	%				%				%				%			
	SA	A	D	SD	SA	A	D	SD	SA	A	D	SD	SA	A	D	SD
Voters' Registration (before elections) was effective	51.2	48.8	-	-	81.7	18.3	-	-	81.5	13.4	-	5.5	67.1	26.8	6.1	-
Education of Voters (before elections) was sufficient	7.3	84.1	8.5	-	82.9	17.1	-	-	83.4	12.3	4.3	-	63.4	29.3	7.3	-
Officials and election materials (ballot papers, boxes, ink, various forms etc) arrived early during elections	18.3	64.6	17.1	-	86.6	13.4	-	-	80.7	9.3	5.9	4.1	67.1	29.3	3.7	-
Election materials were sufficient	11.0	72.0	17.1	-	76.6	12.4	10.0	1.0	79.6	13.4	7.0	-	64.6	31.7	3.7	-
Deployment of Election officials was adequate	1.2	81.7	17.1	-	84.1	15.9	-	-	86.6	13.4	-	-	61.6	32.9	5.4	-
Security personnel and apparatus during elections were adequate	82.9	17.1	-	-	82.9	17.1	-	-	85.5	10.3	1.1	3.1	62.9	27.3	7.3	2.4
The elections were freely and fairly conducted	56.1	43.9	-	-	80.5	19.5	-	-	84.0	11.3	2.1	2.6	59.8	29.3	11.0	-

Source: Author's Field Survey, 2018

**Table 4: The Performance of the Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in Nigeria**

DESCRIPTIONS	1999 Elections				2003 Elections				2007 Elections				2011 Elections				2015 Elections			
	%				%				%				%				%			
	SA	A	D	SD	SA	A	D	SD	SA	A	D	SD	SA	A	D	SD	SA	A	D	SD
Voters' Registration (before elections) was effective	-	68.3	31.7	-	-	56.4	40.5	3.1	6.2	48.4	41.1	3.3	-	54.6	45.4	-	55.7	22.1	22.2	-
Education of Voters (before elections) was sufficient	-	72.2	27.8	-	-	54.6	42.3	3.1	20.0	34.6	40.1	4.3	-	56.4	43.6	-	68.1	9.8	10.1	12.0
Officials and election materials (ballot papers, boxes, ink, various forms etc) arrived early during elections	-	74.1	25.9	-	-	52.8	44.2	3.1	-	20.9	79.1	-	3.1	51.5	40.4	5.0	66.3	6.7	17.0	10.0
Election materials were sufficient	1.8	70.0	28.2	-	4.5	50.1	42.1	3.3	8.5	46.1	40.0	5.4	5.4	49.2	42.1	3.3	66.7	12.1	10.0	11.2
Deployment of Election officials was adequate	-	71.8	22.2	6.0	5.0	49.6	39.2	6.2	6.7	47.9	39.2	6.2	-	55.2	44.8	-	71.1	9.8	16.5	2.6
Security personnel and apparatus during elections were adequate	-	73.6	26.4	-	6.2	48.4	41.1	4.3	3.1	52.5	34.1	11.3	-	52.8	47.2	-	81.2	6.7	12.1	-
The elections were freely and fairly conducted	-	71.8	28.2	-	5.1	49.5	40.0	5.2	1.2	53.4	42.1	3.3	-	53.4	46.6	-	21.5	49.0	20.5	9.0

SOURCE: Author's Field Survey, 2018

### Test of Hypothesis

Sequel to the foregoing analysis, this study further subjected this claim to Independent samples t-test so as to compare the performance of EMBs on their main electoral aspects, using stated null hypothesis of this study as the inferential test guide. The average ratings obtained from four and five elections conducted by the Electoral Commissions respectively in Ghana and Nigeria between 1999 and 2015 in the seven indices of assessments are shown in table 5 below.

**Table 5: Average Performance of ECs in Ghana and Nigeria (1999 – 2015)**

DESCRIPTIONS	Ghana				Nigeria					
	%				%				Ghana	Nigeria
	SA	A	D	SD	SA	A	D	SD	SA/A	SA/A
Voters' Registration (before elections) was effective	70.4	26.8	1.5	1.3	12.4	50.0	36.1	1.5	97.2	62.4
Education of Voters (before elections) was sufficient	39.3	35.7	5.0	-	17.6	45.5	32.8	4.1	95.0	63.1
Officials and election materials (ballot papers, boxes, ink, various forms etc) arrived early during elections	63.2	29.1	6.7	1.0	13.9	41.2	41.3	3.6	92.3	55.1
Election materials were sufficient	57.9	32.4	9.5	0.2	17.4	45.5	32.5	4.6	90.3	62.9
Deployment of Election officials was adequate	58.4	36.0	5.6	-	16.6	46.9	32.4	4.2	94.4	63.5
Security personnel and apparatus during elections were adequate	78.5	18.0	2.1	1.4	17.9	46.8	32.2	3.1	96.5	64.7
The elections were freely and fairly conducted	70.1	26.0	3.3	0.6	7.6	55.4	33.5	3.5	96.1	63.0

The average ratings are used to test a hypothesis on the significance of the difference in the performance of the ECs in the two countries at 95% confidence level. The null and alternative hypotheses are stated below.

**H<sub>0</sub>:** There was no significant difference between the performance of the Electoral Commission in Ghana and the Electoral Commission in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015.

**H<sub>1</sub>:** There was a significant difference between the performance of the Electoral Commission in Ghana and the Electoral Commission in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015.

The group statistics table 3.4 shows that EC in Nigeria obtained an average performance rating of 62.0771 against Ghana's EC average performance of 94.5371. The independent samples test table 4.7 shows the significance level of levene's test for equality of variances as .913, which is greater than .05, meaning that it can be assumed that group variances are equal and therefore the first row of the *t*-test results is adopted. We have a *t*-obtained of -21.419 with 12 degrees of freedom, which is far away from *t* critical value of 0.695 (table value). Thus we can conclude that the Electoral Commission in Ghana performed significantly different than the Electoral Commission in Nigeria. More specifically, the Electoral Commission in Nigeria performed 32.46 points below Ghana Electoral commission. We can therefore reject the null hypothesis that there was no significant difference between the performance of the Electoral Commission in Ghana and the Electoral Commission in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015; and accept the alternative hypothesis that there was a significant difference between the performance of the Electoral Commission in Ghana and the Electoral Commission in Nigeria between 1999 and 2015 ( $t(12) = -21.419, p < .05$  (two-tailed)). The result is significant at .000 level (2-tailed), meaning that there was 0% chance that the difference obtained in the performances of the two Electoral commissions was by error.

**Table 6: Group Statistics**

	Country Name	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
EC Performance	Nigeria	7	62.0771	3.17020	1.19822
	Ghana	7	94.5371	2.45503	.92792

**Table 7: Independent Samples Test**

		Levene's Test For Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Upper	Lower
EC Performance	Equal variances Assumed	.012	.913	-21.419	12	.000	-32.46000	1.51551	-35.76201	-29.15799
	Equal variances not assumed			-21.419	11.293	.000	-32.46000	1.51551	-35.78509	-29.13491

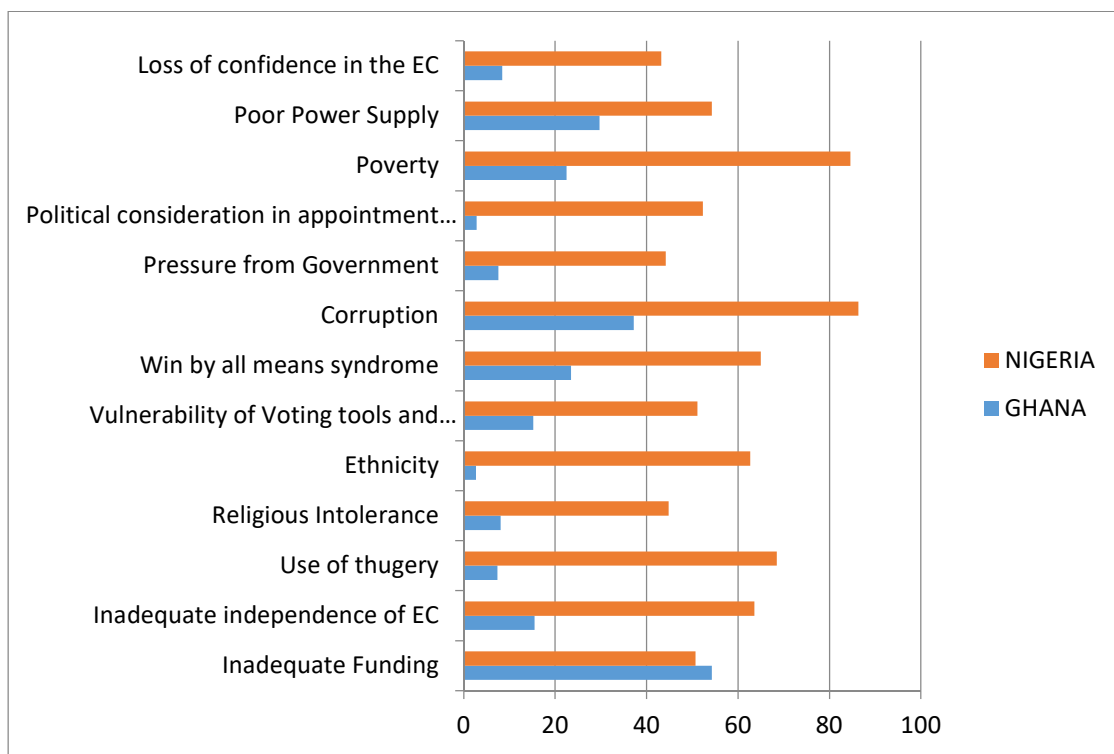
**Research Question 3:** What are the challenges facing Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) in Ghana and Nigeria?

This section analyzed challenges confronting the EMBs in the study area. Respondents were asked to identify among the 25 listed possible challenges facing the electoral administration in Nigeria and Ghana. The Figure 3.3 revealed the rating scale of respondents on each of the statement in the two (2) countries. The following challenges were identified in each of the EMBs: inadequate funding (Nigeria 50.7%, Ghana 54.3%), poverty (Nigeria 87%, Ghana 21.1%), use of thuggery (Nigeria 68.5%, Ghana 7.4%), inadequate independent of the



ECs (Nigeria 63.6%, Ghana 15.5%), win by all means syndrome of contestants/political parties (Nigeria 65%, Ghana 23.5%), loss of confidence in the Electoral Commission (Nigeria 43.2%, Ghana 8.4%), corruption (Nigeria 86.3%, Ghana 37.2%), political consideration in the appointment of Electoral Commissions' staff (Nigeria 52.3%, Ghana 2.8%), religious intolerance (Nigeria 44.8%, Ghana 8.1%), vulnerability of voting tools and devices (Nigeria 51.1%, Ghana 15.21%), ethnicity (Nigeria 62.7%, Ghana 2.7%), poor power supply (Nigeria 54.3%, Ghana 29.7%) and undue pressure from government (Nigeria 44.2%, Ghana 7.6%).

The inability of the EMBs to prosecute electoral offenders was also considered as a big challenge during the in-depth interview in the two countries.



**Figure 4. Challenges facing the EMBs in Ghana and Nigeria**  
 Source: Author's Field Survey, 2018

## 5. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This section provided further discussion on the study findings above. It synchronized the findings with related empirical findings of other research works on the subject matter of this study. It equally attested to the point of divergence between the findings of this study and other empirical outcomes. From the information presented in the analysis, it is very clear that even though both countries were colonized by Great Britain, their EMBs were not imposed on the countries by either their colonial masters or the military. This finding contradicts the position of Apter (1955), Austin (1964), Jinadu (1995) and Debrah (1998) who all argued that like other Commonwealth countries, Ghana and Nigeria Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) evolved as part of the institutional transfer of the superstructure of British colonial rule. According to Apter (1955) and Austin (1964), Post-World War two

political developments triggered constitutional reforms leading to multiparty politics in the Gold Coast and Nigeria. And to Jinadu (1995), the relatively congenial electoral environment provided by the colonial government fostered effective competition among the African political parties. On his own, Debrah (1998) posits that electoral regime was characterized by a relative fairness and agreements on the rules of the game – that were defined and implemented by the colonial government, Even though some Ghanaians disagreed that the military has been playing key roles in the establishment of their ECs, it was gathered from the study that EMBS were created by the military administrations in the two countries out of the desires of the people for genuine democracy through democratic process.

The findings established the fact that the effectiveness of an election authority is largely conditioned by its autonomy. This is in general agreement with the submission of all scholars whose works were reviewed that the ability of any Electoral Management Body to make decisions, enforce electoral laws and regulations depends on the amount of autonomy it has. This study agrees that there are constitutional provisions, legal and legislative instruments to guarantee the autonomy of the EMBs in the two countries. Even though the available literature and the empirical field data in this study perceived the Electoral Management Bodies in Ghana and Nigeria to be independent and impartial based on the elections that it has organized over the years, they believed that perception exist among some Ghanaians and Nigerians that incumbent governments connive with the EMBs to alter figures that will consolidate ruling party in power. The study also agreed with other scholars whose works have earlier been reviewed that there is evidence of electoral fraud in some of the elections that the two EMBs have superintended over since 1999. The Electoral fraud in the elections that the EMBs have conducted over the years is the result of the failure to adhere to the tenets of these explicit rules and regulations by political parties’ leaders and their supporters.

That notwithstanding, the findings of this study showed that in all the general elections conducted by Ghana EC since 2000 and the 2015 general elections conducted by the Nigeria Independent National Electoral Commission, both have demonstrated sufficient impartiality in handling the electoral process. It is a credible election authority that can be depended upon for all future elections. It has shown tenacity in the management of the electoral process. The finding also revealed that although the EMBs in Ghana and Nigeria employed the services of temporary election staff during general elections, the administrative and technical competence of the EMBs is commendable and that their staff has demonstrated considerable competence in election management. Also the adjudicatory system, with particular reference to high profile cases relating to challenges to the eligibility of candidates or the credibility of the results of candidates sent to the existing law courts for speedy resolution have proved not to be effective.

These cases suffered unnecessary delays calling into serious questions the capacity of the courts to deal with electoral disputes. Although the EMBs independence in Ghana and Nigeria is constitutionally guaranteed, the current financial arrangement where the EMBs depends on when funds should be made available to them from the consolidated funds to carry out its administrative and election related activities impedes their planning. The findings of this study regarding the performance of the Electoral Management Bodies in Ghana and Nigeria showed that that the Electoral Commission in Ghana performed significantly different than the Electoral Commission in Nigeria. This is in tandem with the submission of (Afolabi 2015) that ‘with about twenty four years of uninterrupted civil rule and the successful transfer of power from the ruling party to the opposition party in 2000 and 2008 respectively; Ghana’s democracy; unlike in the Nigerian situation, is largely seen to be consolidated’. This study also distilled from the empirical data that while Ghana deserves to be applauded for successfully managing elections under the Fourth Republic, Nigeria also deserves commendation with the way the 2015 elections were conducted.

Even though this electoral administrative success of the country is not sufficient to deduce that Nigeria cannot go back to join the club of electorally induced armed conflicts countries in the West African sub-region if the success is not consolidated. The findings of this study further revealed the challenges faced by EMBs in each of the two countries as : lack of full financial independent, prosecution of electoral offenders, poverty, political thuggery, inadequate independent of the EMBs, win by all means syndrome of contestants/political parties, corruption, low literacy level of voters, poor power supply and undue pressure from government. These challenges corroborate the ones presented in literature by (Elklit and Reynolds, 2002; GoodwinLyons, 2004; Pastor, 1999a; Mozaffar, 2002; Mozaffar and Schedler, 2002; Schedler, 2002a; 2002b, Debrah, Asante, and Gyimah-Boadi, 2010, Jega 2011, Elklit 2012, and Jega 2015)

## 6. CONCLUSION

It has been distilled that both Ghana and Nigeria has very clear and potent electoral rules and that from a shaky foundation in the beginning of the fourth republic in both Ghana and Nigeria elections, the EMBs in the two countries have learnt a lot of lessons from elections conducted and put in place necessary measures that dealt with electoral „demons” such as bloated voters’ register, electoral fraud, and intimidation of voters on the polling day which have all contributed to the current political stability. It is also worthy to note that EMBs in both countries recorded substantial improvements in the discharge of their statutory functions over the study period. However, Ghana’s EC performed significantly better than Nigeria’s INEC.

## 7. RECOMMENDATIONS

Firstly, serious attention must be paid to irregularities such as uneven playing field, bloated voters” register, votes buying and violence by the EMBs and other stakeholders. Addressing these problems require that the political parties’ code of conduct must be passed into law to make it mandatory for the parties to comply with the dictates of the code. From the empirical data, it is evidently clear that the current funding arrangement where funds were only voted into the EMBs account as and when there is money in the consolidated fund must be replaced with a better system that will make the EMBs not so dependent on either the executive or the legislature. A special fund must be established and a percentage of government’s revenue compulsorily paid into the fund for the use of the EMBs and the spending of such funds must be regulated by parliament.

The EMBs must examine recruitment and training of its temporal staff who manage the polls at the polling stations. The complicity of the temporal staff in some of the elections conducted in the country if unchecked has the propensity of derailing the peace that the country is enjoying. All EMBs staff should undergo technological training to acquire the skills not only in information communication technology (ICT) but also in other specialized fields that may enhance their competencies in the application of new scientific ideas in election management.

The issue of public suspicion over the independence of the EMBs must be addressed through reviewing the current appointment arrangement. It is therefore suggested that the appointing authority of the Chairmen and members of the Commissions should be vested in the parliamentary vetting committee. Citizens interested in these positions must apply to the Public Service Commission and shortlisted candidates must be vetted by the Parliamentary Vetting Committee and approved by a two-thirds majority of Members of Parliament. Just like the Electoral Institute established by the Nigeria Independent National Electoral Commission for research and training of its personnel, there is the urgent need for Ghana Electoral Commission to also set up a similar institute in Ghana for the same purpose

Last but not the least, there is the need to set aside some specific courts to handle election related disputes. Some specific courts should be given special responsibility to adjudicate. The judges who are given such additional responsibility of handling such cases must be given training in election related disputes and offences to enable them dispense justice without fear or favor.

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