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JOHANNESBURG

**AN EVALUATION OF DEMOCRATIZATION
PROCESSES IN WEST AFRICA: A COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS OF NIGERIA'S AND GHANA'S
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE**

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DECLARATION

I, Aletta Nevobasi, student number 2107785, declare that this research report is my original work. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts (in International Relations) at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I confirm that this report has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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ABSTRACT

Since 2022, the robustness and endurance of democracy in Africa have been subject to debate due to the rise in military coup d'états in sub-Saharan Africa. The rise of military takeover highlights the possible democratic regression on the continent. Therefore, it is imperative to examine the level of consolidation of democracy on the continent. This research study aims to evaluate the strength and quality of democratic governance in Africa by comparing Nigeria and Ghana.

By utilizing the Democracy Index devised by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), this analysis evaluated the internal dynamics of both nations to determine their operationality or non-operationality. The five categories are used to assess the state of democracy in each country. To achieve this, the analysis relied on the five categories utilized by the EIU index to evaluate the state of democracy. The categories are 1. Electoral processes and pluralism 2. Functioning of government 3. Political participation 4. Civil liberties and 5. Political culture. The EIU Index offers a comprehensive evaluation of democracy through the inclusion of objective and subjective indicators. These variables were selected for this research as they best provide a comprehensive framework of the key components of a democratic system.

In the category of electoral processes and pluralism, this report will compare the 2019 presidential elections in Nigeria to the 2020 presidential elections in Ghana. Regarding civil liberties, this report compared the perception of civil liberties in relation to ethnicity. Additionally, the report compared the pervasiveness of corruption in both Nigeria and Ghana, in the years 2019 and 2022 in the category functioning of government. In terms of political participation, the report will assess the involvement of women in parliament and politics since both nations formally restored democracy (Nigeria in 1999 and Ghana in 1992). Lastly, the report examined militarism in Nigeria and neo-patrimonialism in Ghana within the category of political culture.

In conjunction with the presented case studies, this research report incorporated public opinions to further analyze the quality of democracy. It specifically compared social variations in the practice and perception of democracy. The report concludes by emphasizing the significance of leadership in advancing democracy, asserting that leadership challenges in Nigeria and Ghana contribute to hindered consolidation. Consequently, the report advocates for a reimagining of leadership, with a particular focus on the concept of thought leadership, thought liberation, and critical consciousness as three pivotal elements for advancing democracy.

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ABBREVIATIONS

APC	All Progressive Congress
AU	African Union
CODEO	Coalition Domestic Election Observers
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
EC	Electoral Commission
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West Africa
EIU	Economist Intelligence Unit
EMB	Electoral Management Body
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
IPOB	Independent People of Biafra
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NGP	National Gender Policy
NPP	New Patriotic Party
OPC	O’odua People’s Congress
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
WB	World Bank

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Overview of the research report

Democracy is a system of governance that safeguards the liberty of individuals and promotes peace, development, security, and human rights. It has existed for thousands of years and although its practice and application have changed, the inherent principles of democracy remain. There are various types of democracy, from direct to participatory to representative democracy. Theorists, politicians, and scholars have engaged in differing debates regarding democracy. The questions posed in these debates include: What does it mean? Who is allowed to participate? What are the conditions that allow democracy to flourish? And what tools of assessment should be utilized to analyze democracy? Scholars such as David Held, Seymour Lipset, and Robert A. Dahl, Claude Ake, Cyril Obi, Adebayo Olukoshi, Adebayo Adedeji have explored the various dimensions of democracy and found that it is indeed a multidimensional and interdisciplinary system of governance.

In the context of Africa, the debates on democracy are ever more complex and compelling. The configuration of African political landscapes and the conditions under which democracy was established make African democracy worth investigating. This demand for democracy was instilled in the ideas and philosophies that fostered the wave of independence that took place on the African continent from the late 1950s. The independence movement was endorsed by a series of factors which can be categorised as domestic and international. Domestic factors included decolonisation which led to the establishment of democratic systems. Civil society activism consisted of movements and organizations that advocated for democracy. Economic factors such as economic hardship and mismanagement lead to demands for a more transparent and accountable government. International factors constituted Cold War dynamics which in its end reduced support for autocratic leaders and created a space for democratic movements. All these factors, alongside international pressure which emphasized the importance of democracy, good governance and human rights contributed to anti-colonial and independence movements.

Ghana was the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence in 1957 and many countries followed in the 1960s including Nigeria. Both Nigeria and Ghana were at the forefront of political change in Sub-Saharan Africa since gaining independence. These two countries will be compared in this research report.

The sentiments of democratic optimism and democratic pessimism in both countries indicate that the quality of democracy is capricious. Afrobarometer conducted a survey in 2016 on the democratic recession on the continent. Some of these key findings included that on average across the continent, Africans supported democracy as the preferred type of political regime, but large cross-national differences existed in the demand for democracy (Afrobarometer Round 6, 2016: 1). In that political settlements of some countries were more susceptible to the demands of democracy. Whereas other political settlements were far more restricted (autocratic), resulting in the incapacity to comply with such requests.

Independence and democracy were expected to render merits and gains in African countries. There are two fundamental aspects that help evaluate the quality and effectiveness of

democracy. Procedural and substantive dimensions, this research report will focus primarily on the procedural dimensions. These aspects focus on the formal procedures and institutions that are necessary for democracy to function. They include free and fair elections, the rule of law, separation of powers, checks and balances, and civil liberties. The gaining of independence and the establishment of democracy were expected to render these procedural requirements. While some of these requirements were moderately institutionalized, others were not.

According to the Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index of 2022, the African continent only has one full democratic state, Mauritius with an overall score of 8.14 (EIU, 2022: 56). Most African countries fall into the other three categories: flawed democracies, hybrid regimes, and authoritarian regimes. This research report evaluated to what extent Nigeria and Ghana had successfully consolidated democracy in their respective states. It compared the internal dynamics of both countries based on the categories provided by the Economist Intelligence Unit to understand the degree of functionality. This research report aimed to compare the consolidation of democracy. To evaluate the quality of democracy and the extent of democratic deepening in each country.

Statement of problem

The relationship between democracy and Africa is one of inconsistency. The uncertainty of the quality of democracy on the continent is what makes it worth investigating, especially considering the recent rise in military coup d'états in sub-Saharan Africa. Since 2020 there have been nearly a dozen military coups or attempts in West Africa, Central Africa, and the Sahel region. The most recent coup happened in Gabon in August 2023. This has brought into contention the strength and durability of democracy in Africa. As military coups in a region can have significant effects on surrounding countries, although countries such as Gabon, Niger, and Burkina Faso are categorized by the EU as authoritarian regimes. Coups can create a ripple effect inspiring or intimidating neighbouring country's military forces and leading to a regional wave of political instability. Nigeria and Ghana since democratization have not experienced military coups. However, their respective domestic politics and economic situations do not necessarily absolve them from the risk of a military coup.

Nigeria is one of the biggest democracies on the continent. The country has made great progress in its transition from military to civilian rule. Although one can commend the ripening of democracy in the country, the categorization of Nigeria as a hybrid regime in 2020 by the Economist Intelligence Unit indicates that there are existing malpractices that hinder the convergence of democracy. Nigeria however has not maintained this categorization. The first Democracy Index report published in 2006 categorized Nigeria as an authoritarian regime up until 2014. In 2015 Nigeria was categorized as a hybrid regime and has maintained this categorisation ever since. Nigeria had improved across all five categories between 2014 and 2015.

Ghana was one of the first African countries to gain independence. The political changes in Ghana enraptured change across the continent. The commitment to restoring and rebuilding a vibrant democratic state was evident in the state's transition from authoritarian to civilian rule.

However, Ghana today is categorized by the Economist Intelligence Unit as a flawed democracy. This also suggests that the state administration of democracy is adequate, although there are issues with governance and major inadequacies in specific parts of administration. Ghana has not maintained this categorization. The first democracy index report published in 2006 categorized Ghana as a hybrid regime up until 2010. In 2010 Ghana was categorized as a flawed democracy and has maintained this categorization ever since. The country improved between 2008 and 2010 across all categories.

Examining the degree to which these separate regimes either fail to or succeed in promoting political rights and civil liberties, upholding fair and competitive elections, institutionalized mechanisms for holding government officials accountable to the public and protecting minority groups ensuring that all citizens are treated equally under the law essential to this research report. The research question this report answers is, in what areas have Nigeria and Ghana improved on the quality of their democratic governance since restoring democracy in 1999 and 1993? This question is followed up by, what areas are further improvements required and what areas are there evidence of democratic backsliding? This evaluation sheds light on the circumstances that either aid or obstruct democratic consolidation, this extends to the role of state actors and non-state actors in advancing those ideals. It equally illustrates how subjective democracy is and the extent to which it relies on the contextual conditions of a state for its development.

Chapter outline

In line with the research question, this paper will be divided into the following chapters.

Chapter one we'll begin with a review of the literature, on democratic theories explaining the definition, founding approaches, and beacons of democracy. The review then proceeds to examine democracy and Africa and expound on the surrounding debates, including democratization processes. Further, it examines democracy in Africa and political culture.

Chapter Two will begin with a historical background of both Nigeria and Ghana. It considers the role of ideology in the formation of state nationalism, the conditions of each state post-independence, and finally the current political landscape in the 21st century.

Chapter Three undertakes a comparison of democracy in Nigeria and Ghana, utilizing the Economist Intelligence Unit Index and the five categories employed for evaluating the state of democracy. The index is based on five categories, 1. Electoral processes and pluralism 2. Functioning of government 3. Political participation 4. Political culture and 5. Civil liberties. Each category will be compared using case studies from each country.

Chapter Four will consider the implications for the future of democracy in Nigeria and Ghana through the concept of democratic deepening. Subsequently, providing potential strategies for improving leadership in both Nigeria and Ghana.

The concluding chapter will discuss major findings, the extent to which democracy is

consolidated, the role of state and non-state actors, what factors contribute to the functioning and or malfunctioning of these two regimes, and what potential decisions can be adopted going forward.

CHAPTER 2: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE **REVIEW**

Analytical Framework

Democratic governance refers to a system of government where power is held by the people, either directly or through elected representatives. Democratic governance constituents of two words. Democracy and governance. Democracy is a system of government in which citizens have the power to choose their leaders and participate in decisions that affect their lives. Democracy according to Fye has four major elements free and fair elections, active participation of the people, protection of human rights of all citizens, and a rule of law. Governance refers to the way in which a society is managed and regulated. Good governance in practice “involves promoting the rule of law, tolerance of minority and opposition groups, transparent political process...” (Fye, 2015: 31). As a theoretical framework democratic governance encompasses various concepts includes good governance, participatory democracy, liberal democracy, democratic accountability, and social democracy.

There are five dimensions that characterize democratic governance, “efficacious management of public resources; legitimacy of power and good feedback; public responsibility; transparency of information; and political pluralism” (Fye, 2015: 32). These five dimensions reflect the categories used by the Economist Intelligence Unit.

The organization of the state should be grounded in a legitimized government. The importance of credibility is significant in upholding impartiality. In democratic governance, the most reliable method for a government to attain legitimacy is by conducting transparent, open, and equitable elections. According to Fye, “a government that is in no doubt credibly elected wins and receives the confidence, legitimacy and unflinching support of the people” (Fye, 2015: 34).

Beyond understanding the functionality of such a system that aims to normalize democratic processes and norms. Democratic governance must be understood in the context of Africa. This involves recognizing that while a democratic framework can bring about benefits such as peace and prosperity, in Africa, democracy encounters challenge specific to the region. As Fye points out, “recognizing further that new or restored democracies also face the challenge of consolidating their sovereignty.” (Fye, 2015: 33)

These challenges (corruption, political unrest, fragile institutions, and ethnic disparities) necessitate a reorganization. Fye emphasizes that “it becomes imperative for states to create the necessary enabling environment that should breed the foundation for quality living conditions for all” (Fye, 2015: 33).

An interesting argument made by Udombana is to treat democratic governance as a human right. He argues that democratic governance is a fundamental human right and “any African state that denies its citizens the right to any of the elements of democratic entitlement... is violating a fundamental right, which should attract responsibility” (Udombana, 2003: 1212). Drawing on the argument made by Fye that African states need to create an enabling environment to counter challenges to democratic governance, treating such a political system as a human right not only safeguards the benefits of democracy but it requires that there are necessary checks and balances to ensure that the system is running effectively.

The challenges articulated by Udombana are not only domestic but international, he states “there were also the contractions and contradictions of the Cold War... which complicated the process of state-making in Africa” (Udombana, 2015: 1218). The policies of the superpowers “encourage totalitarian tyrannies of both right and left; and secondly, it accentuated insecurities and instabilities in the continent” (Udombana, 2003: 1218). Olukoshi made similar arguments. The austerity measures introduced by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank became part of the unready existing economic crisis. The ushering of structural adjustment plans exacerbated the crisis as well (Olukoshi, 2011: 9). Olokushi also mentions the Cold War, which he considers a dominant issue in the state formation of modern African states, as the Cold War hampered the management of political change on the African continent (Olukoshi, 2011: 10).

Scholars such as Claude Ake argued that the problem with the transition in Africa witnessed in the 1980s and the 1990s was that it was anchored in a liberal understanding of democracy, that unfortunately the transition tried to mimic and import democracy seen in the USA and Europe (Olokushi, 2011: 11). Udombana, equally writes on certain challenges more especially that of colonialism and the “failure to address the postcolonial power structure (which) led to a reverse wave of democratization” (Udombana, 2003: 1215). Postcolonial African states have unfortunately remained colonial.

As mentioned above, Africa had unique challenges and part of the democratic transition required that these challenges were considered and more importantly that the model of democracy being adopted would speak to and amend these challenges.

Continental and regional efforts toward consolidating democratic governance in West Africa include but are not limited to the ‘African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance’ in 2003, along with the development of similar instruments at the regional level such as the ‘ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance’ in 2001, the ‘SADC Protocol on Politics, Defense and Security Cooperation’ in 2008 along with the ‘SADC Principles and Guidelines on Governance and Democratic Elections’ in 2008 (Lamin, 2011: 1).

Viewing this political system as an interactive and collaborative sphere implies the necessity of cooperation not solely from the state, but also from its citizens. African nations must establish and reinforce institutional frameworks to facilitate democratic procedures, requiring

concerted efforts at both regional and continental levels by entities like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU) to promote democracy as an ideal. Moreover, the viability of a democratic governance hinges on the citizens themselves, who act as proponents of democracy. This is crucial to prevent the recurrence of past grievances. Udombana urges Africans to “never forget that the military remains the most formidable threat to democracy in Africa” (Udombana, 2003: 1286)

Hence, it is imperative for both citizens and the government to acknowledge that democracy and democratic reconstruction is an ongoing process and that imperfect democracies do exist, but it is necessary that all agents in the society work towards rejecting any threats to democracy and cultivating a culture that upholds democratic values and advances the common good.

The theoretical framework of democratic governance is distinguished by its emphasis not only on the necessity of a nation being democratic, but also on the importance of appropriate institutions and policies. Democratic government stress not just the significance of governance, but also the crucial role of management within a system, particularly in Africa. For a system to achieve success, it is not solely dependent on upholding free and fair elections, fostering civil society, or implementing the rule of law; rather, effective management is equally, if not more, vital to prevent the emergence of pseudo-democracies. By grounding this research report in democratic governance, attention is drawn to these two critical aspects - the democratic system itself and the quality of its management and organization. Thus, it is imperative that these two elements complement each other in a manner that can yield optimal outcomes and establish a system in which delivers, and everyone feels adequately represented and can fully participate.

Research Methods

This qualitative study seeks to compare the development and consolidation of democracy in Nigeria and Ghana. This study will employ a small-N comparative approach, drawing upon qualitative data sources including literature, academic journals, archival materials, and governmental records to offer detailed analyses of the two nations under examination. It has reconstructed causal pathways to trace the areas in which Nigeria and Ghana have experienced advancements or setbacks in terms of democratic governance. It also seeks to evaluate the quality of democracy and the extent of democratic deepening in the respective countries. To facilitate this analysis, this research report makes use of the Democracy Index produced by the Economist Intelligence Unit.

Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU)

The EIU provides a Democracy Index which evaluates the state of democracy in 165 countries. The Index is based on five categories, 1. Electoral processes and pluralism 2. Functioning of government 3. Political Participation 4. Political culture and 5. Civil Liberties. Under each category, there are a series of questions by which each country will be assessed and scored. The countries receive a score and are ranked according to their overall score.

This report will compare Nigeria and Ghana in the five EIU categories mentioned above to assess the respective countries' levels of progress and consolidation. Here are further details on each category

Electoral processes and pluralism:

Electoral processes refer to the procedures by which citizens participate in government. These processes include but are not limited to voting. The accessibility and transparency of electoral processes are crucial to the functioning of a democratic government.

Pluralism is a concept that focuses on diversity and inclusivity of differing opinions and interests. In this context, it refers to the coexistence of multiple social groups and organizations under one political landscape expressing various perspectives. Pluralism is necessary for a healthy democracy because it accommodates diverse perspectives.

Civil liberties:

Civil liberties are natural rights that are inherent to every citizen which protects them from violence and prosecution from the state. The degree through which these liberties are enjoyed varies depending on the state and the quality of democracy in the state. In many countries, civil liberties are guaranteed by the country's constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Functioning of government:

The functioning of government means the activity taken by the government. This includes but is not limited to providing leadership, public services, economic security, welfare, and national security. These provisions are subject to the essentials and the legitimacy of statehood.

Political participation:

Political participation refers to the engagement of individuals in the political processes and activities of a society. The level of participation can be evaluated through voting, political activism, and community involvement

Political culture:

Culture encompasses the behaviours, norms, and attitudes found in societies. Political culture examines how these behaviours, norms, and attitudes inform and impact politics. According to American political scientist Lucian Pye, political culture is a set of sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process, and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system.

Afrobarometer Policy

Afrobarometer policy papers or research reports that provide in-depth analysis and insights into Key issues related to democracy, governance, public opinion, and social economic development in Africa. These policy papers are characterized by empirical research conducted through large scale surveys so that they typically focus on specific thematic areas relevant to African countries for example political participation or citizen engagement. These policy papers involve rigorous thoughts and analysis to examine trends, patterns, and correlations within the survey data. They also provide multi-country surveys often including comparative analysis across different countries or regions in Africa.

The papers aim to contribute to evidence-based policy making and democratic governance in Africa and they play a great role in generating knowledge and fostering dialogue.

In 2019, Afrobarometer released a policy paper in which it assessed the overall quality of democracy in Africa and provided numerical data on the African people's assessment of democracy. The value of public opinion is what makes this document relevant to this report. African public opinion surveys serve a different yet insightful purpose. It provides a contextual understanding of the subject matter, and it takes into consideration social and cultural factors, unlike more objective statistics. It considers personal stories that may not be quantifiable. Afrobarometer conducts face-to-face interviews, this policy paper consists of Round 6 (2014/2015) and Round 7 (2016/2017) surveys with more than 45,000 respondents from 34 countries.

A limitation of this policy paper is that it only conveys the opinions of 45,000 respondents. This limit unfortunately cannot speak for the majority of both these countries. This research report acknowledges that the data analyzed does not present a holistic evaluation of the public's opinion. However, it does provide a sense of understanding about what certain people think.

Corruption Perception Index (CPI)

Transparency International, a global non-governmental organization that monitors and evaluates countries according to perceived levels of corruption in the public sector, utilizes the Corruption Perception Index (CPI), offering valuable insights into corruption levels worldwide. This index functions as a tool for promoting transparency and guiding efforts to combat corruption, providing a quantifiable assessment of public sector corruption within countries. Rankings range from 0 to 100, where 0 indicates high levels of perceived corruption and 100 signifies very low levels of perceived corruption, although in 2008 and 2010, the scale was 0 to 10, with 0 representing highly corrupt and 10 representing highly clean. These rankings enable comparisons between countries, highlighting disparities and trends over time, with specific CPI rankings between 2008 and 2022 provided for each country.

The CPI assesses various forms of public sector corruption, such as bribery, nepotistic appointments in the civil service, misappropriation of public funds, officials exploiting their

positions for personal gain with impunity, and governmental capacity to combat corruption within the public sector. However, the index does not encompass direct perceptions or experiences of corruption among citizens, tax evasion, factors that facilitate corruption, or corruption within the private sector.

The CPI relies on perceptions due to the clandestine and illicit nature of corruption, which often remains undisclosed until exposed through scandals or legal actions, rendering measurement a challenging task.

Outcomes produced by the EIU Democracy Index

Based on where each country scores they are then classified as either a full democracy, flawed democracy, hybrid regime, or authoritarian regime. The EIU releases a report annually and this research report will utilize the 2022 Report, “Democracy Index 2022, Frontline Democracy and the Battle for Ukraine”. Based on the report there was a stagnation of democracy in West Africa. Under the Sub-Saharan Democracy Index Nigeria scored 4.23 and was classified as a hybrid regime. Ghana scored 6.43 and was classified as a flawed democracy.

Flawed democracy- “Have free and fair elections, even if there are problems, basic civil liberties are respected. However, there are significant weaknesses in other aspects of democracy, including problems in governance, an underdeveloped political culture, and low levels of political participation” (EIU, 2022: 67). Flawed democracy “scores greater than 6, and less than or equal to 8” (EIU, 2022: 67).

Hybrid regime- “Elections have substantial irregularities that prevent them from being both free and fair. Serious weaknesses are more prevalent than in flawed democracies- in political culture, functioning of government, and political participation. Corruption tends to be widespread, and the rule of law is weak. Civil society is weak” (EIU, 2022: 67). Hybrid regime “scores greater than 4, and less than or equal to 6” (EIU, 2022: 67).

Why use the EIU index for this study?

This research report acknowledges the existence of other democracy indices such as Freedom House and Polity IV. Each varies in their sample size of countries, periods of measure, scale, dimensions, and indicators. There are various types of indicators used to measure democracy. Primarily, objective indicators and subjective indicators (Hogström, 2013: 38). Additionally, conceptualization is important when measuring democracy. There are minimalist and maximalist conceptions of democracy. The EIU uses a combination of objective and subjective indicators. Electoral processes, civil liberties, and the functioning of government are considered objective indicators, while political culture and political participation are considered subjective indicators. The EIU index also adopted a maximalist conception of democracy proving to provide a multidimensional assessment of democracy.

Four factors make up the Index's strength. Firstly, its transparent methodology and well-defined tools of assessment. The frequency of the report as it is released on an annual basis. Regular updates enable tracking and identification of democratic trends. Finally, the report's acknowledgment of 'hybrid regimes' indicates a recognition of the nuances in the classification of democracies.

This research report accepts that the EIU does not disclose the 'experts' who generate a weighted average to rank each country. Additionally, compared to other indices reaches a different conclusion concerning the classification and rating of democracy. That the EIU could potentially favour certain regions over others in their ratings of democracy. It also accepts that the annual reports are unable to capture change as it is a snapshot of democracy at a specific time and may not accurately reflect sudden changes within a political settlement. The EIU may not be culturally relative in that it does not fully account for regional or cultural variation in understanding the practice of democracy.

Case study selection

This research report will not utilize a variable approach, rather the five categories provided by the EIU Index will serve as tools of analysis. They will serve as guidelines to evaluate the extent of strengthened and enhanced democratic practices in Nigeria and Ghana and inform the conclusion.

The selection of case studies is crucial to any research design as it influences the validity and overall relevance of the study (George and Bennett, 2005: 83). It is important for theory testing, to provide a depth of analysis and representativeness. Case study selection shapes the foundation of research. Cases "should be selected to provide the kind of control and variation required by the research problem" (George and Bennett, 2005: 83). Nigeria and Ghana were selected because of their relevance to the research objective as most-similar cases.

Both Nigeria and Ghana are similar in many ways except they are categorized as a hybrid regime (Nigeria) and a flawed democracy (Ghana). What makes these two countries particularly interesting is how they are categorically similar yet so different. Geographically, Nigeria and Ghana are both in West Africa. Both were colonized by the British and gained independence around the same time, Ghana in 1957 and Nigeria in 1960. They were both subject to political instability and military rule post-independence. Nigeria however experienced civil war (Biafra war of 1967), whereas Ghana did not. They were both subject to political instability post-independence and both have had a spate of military coups. Ghana had five from 1971 to 1981 and Nigeria had six from 1966 to 1993. Both countries had several democratic experiments with the final and most successful experiment taking place in the 1990s ushering respective fourth republics. Ghana in 1993 and Nigeria in 1999. Despite major similarities Nigeria and Ghana produced very different strands of democracy. These cases are most similar in their historical, social, and cultural context but are most different in their classification and categorization, which this research report purports are worth investigating.

The purpose is to challenge and test the robustness of existing democratic and democratization theories. This type of research design is valuable in refining and improving existing theories as it provides an opportunity to enhance research findings.

This research report will only use two cases (Nigeria and Ghana). The use of smaller cases allows for in-depth exploration as more time and resources can be dedicated to each case. Small case studies can equally contribute to theory development (George and Bennett, 2005: 75). By providing detailed insights that may inform the refinement of theoretical frameworks. David Collier and James Mahoney “emphasize that case study researchers have good reasons to narrow the range of cases studied, particularly to capture heterogenous casual relations, even if this increases the risk of selection bias” (George and Bennett, 2005: 84). Conversely, I acknowledge a small number of research cases can run the risk of selection bias, it may also disproportionately influence the overall results as outliers can be sampled. Finally, the limited number of cases may pose a challenge to discerning patterns and trends in the data.

Conclusion

In conclusion this chapter has elucidated the overall theme of this research report by introducing democratic governance in the context of Nigeria and Ghana to understand the progression of democracy in West Africa. The chapter has noted regional occurrences that pose a serious threat to the durability of democracy in both Nigeria and Ghana. The research report will compare both countries to identify the areas where they have improved their quality of democratic governance as well as areas that require further improvement. The objective of this research report is to compare and contrast the factors influencing democratic progression and by doing so identify potential patterns that contribute to the current understanding of democratic development. It also seeks to identify drivers of change to note what factors have contributed to advancements or setbacks in both countries. Such analysis also provides insights into potential future directories of democratic governance not only for Nigeria and Ghana but for other countries in the region and on the continent.

This research report intends to contribute to existing literature on democratic governance by providing contextual understandings of factors that shape democratic progression especially in post-colonial states. It also aims to possibly provide practical recommendations for policymakers and practitioners aiming to strengthen democratic institutions and practices.

Literature Review

The following section provides a brief overview of the literature used in the article. It outlines concise definitions of the topic, the scope, and general findings. Conclusively, it summarizes key findings and notes commonalities between the literature provided. In summation, the literature reviewed below is mostly scholarly publications (journals), book chapters, government documents, and theses or dissertations of individual student research. These sources reflect the quantity of the literature required for the research report.

Democratic theories

Democracy as a system of governance has gained notoriety over the centuries. Its reputation is affiliated with the system's promise of security, peace, justice, and the preservation of human rights. Democracy is treated as a dogma, there is a sanctity about it as the antithesis to despotism, authoritarianism, corruption, and dictatorship. Democracy has become "the religion by which we have all lived and for which we have all been willing to die" (Shepard, 1935, 94). Francis Fukuyama writes in 'The End of History' that Western liberalism is the end point of "mankind's ideological evolution" and the final form of human government. He states that no fundamentalist human contradictions cannot be solved in the context of modern liberalism (Fukuyama, 1989). Liberal democracy as a system of governance is a combination of liberal political philosophy and democracy and has gained esteemed recognition. Thus, Fukuyama propagates that liberal democracy is not only the solution but the natural progression and eventual end goal of all states.

The field of democracy is heavily Eurocentric in its conceptualization and has served as a benchmark for assessing and studying democracies across the globe. Scholars such as Schumpeter, Tilly, Fukuyama, and Dahl are in support of democracy and liberal democracy as the most viable political system. However, scholars such as Reginald Oduor point to the inadequacy of liberal democracy in an African context (Oduor, 2019: 108). With specific reference to the principles of Western liberalism misaligning with the values of African cultures. These African cultural values prioritize communal well-being, community service, family and kinship, and the preservation of cultural traditions, customs, and historical legacies. These values are not exhaustive, but they capture the essence of African cultural concepts on a broader basis.

What is particularly interesting about this argument is its focus on context. This is best understood through the concept of cultural relativism. Culture relativism is a concept and approach that states there is no universal standard to measure cultures by, it involves not judging a culture to your standards of what is morally right or wrong but rather understanding cultural practices, customs, and beliefs in its cultural setting and context.

Cultural relativism has become a tool for challenging euro-centrality and ethnocentrism. Oduor focuses on the principle of individuality and argues that "Western liberalism gives preeminence to the right of the individual above his or her social responsibilities, while African communalism puts a significantly higher premium on the individual responsibilities to society"

(Oduor, 2019: 110). In response to Fukuyama's argument, Oduor opens the possibility that liberal democracy may not be the end goal for all states. I argue that Oduor calls for scholars to expand their understanding of state formation. To acknowledge that liberal democracy cannot be replicated to the same standard in all states. This report lends credence to the notion that democracy can be most effectively understood in terms of cultural relativity.

Democracy does not exist in isolation it is connected to other aspects of a political system; the nature and viability of democracy are vast. Different scholars have written on the interconnectedness of democracy. Claude Ake has written on the relationship between democracy and development arguing that the “political conditions in Africa are the greatest impediment to development” (Ake, 1996: 1). Osita Agbu discusses the relationship between democracy and ethnicity, using the ethnicity-democracy nexus (Agbu, 2011: 22). It analyzes the issues of ethnicity, national identity, and citizenship as conditions to democratic formation in Africa. Nationalism, economics, and other factors are also connected to democracy. Thus, this research report must provide a clear definition of democracy.

The meaning of democracy has taken various formats over the centuries. This research report will utilize Joseph Schumpeter's definition of democracy as “the democratic method that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions which realizes the common good by making the people itself decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will” (Schumpeter, 2003: 5).

To expand more on this definition of democracy, let us turn to the four approaches to democracy that were illustrated by Charles Tilly, the constitutional, substantive, procedural, and process-oriented approach (Tilly, 2007: 7). The definition employed in this report is founded in the process-oriented approach to democracy which is defined by Tilly as “some minimum set of processes that must be continuously in motion for a situation to qualify as democratic” (Tilly, 2007: 9). What is important to note are the terms ‘set of processes’ and ‘continuously’. Democracy in itself regardless of the definition employed is not static, it is dynamic and flexible, although there are set processes and categories that constitute a state as democratic. Each state's adoption of democracy is unique and contextual.

These set processes can be understood through Robert A. Dahl's conception of democracy, where power is invested in multiple people. Under this form of democracy there are six characteristics “elected officials, free, fair and frequent elections, freedom of expression, alternative sources of information, associational autonomy, and inclusive citizenship” (Tilly, 2007: 10). Additionally, there are five standards according to Dahl that constitute a state as democratic. 1. Effective participation 2. Voting equality 3. Enlightened understanding 4. Control of the agenda and 5. Inclusion of adults (Dahl, 1998: 37). These characteristics and standards are merely rudiments of democracy.

Alongside the four approaches to conceptualizing democracy are the different types of democracy. There are direct, representative, monitory, and constitutional democracies. The case studies in this paper are examples of representative democracies. This form of government is created by the people and for the people. The people elect representatives who will vote on policies and make decisions of governance. Stuart Hall, a Marxist sociologist and cultural theorist summarized three approaches to understanding the representation process. He states it must be reflective, intentional, and constructivist.

The process of representation mentioned by Hall, I argue, when employed, can strengthen representative democracies and the institutionalization of it. Reflectivity, in that democracy, must reflect the interests and needs of the people. The system should reflect the spectrum of values and interests. In that way, the people are reflected within the institutions. Intentional, if the state is intentional about deepening democracy, it will commit itself through a course of actions that will continuously uphold democratic values. This includes implementing necessary policies and institutions that foster democracy. Constructivism is using the lived experiences of citizens to build a personalized form of representation. Constructivism is more focused on agency of individuals. It sheds light on the relationship between the state and citizens and it demonstrates whether there is an active channel of communication between the two.

Democracy and Africa

The triumph of democracy was evangelized by the West, and it was assumed that African states would follow the necessary steps toward democratizing post-independence. These necessary steps include liberalization, deepening, cultural shift, and internal integration.

Geoffrey Pridham defines democratization as a multilevel, multidimensional process through which a political regime becomes democratic (Pridham, 2000: 17). The wave of democratization began in the late 1980s and early 1990s across the continent. During this time, however, African countries, more especially Ghana and Nigeria were experiencing conditions that increased skepticism about the viability and durability of democracy on the continent. Discourse on these conditions included the politicization of ethnic identities, military coups, and the rise of a political class. Ethnicity can both complement and contend with democracy, in some cases the “stereotypes and divisions sown by colonialists have survived” (Agbu, 2011: 23). Thus, becoming a source of conflict.

Stratocracy (government by military forces), repressive policies, and state violence are considered other conditions. Authors such as Biko Agozino write on a more severe consequence of imperialism, the institutionalization of violence in governance. He links militarized resistance and struggles for decolonization to a retention of aspects of militarism in the period of liberation and independence (Agozino, 2009: 568).

This argument does have explanatory power for insecurity in the years preceding independence in Nigeria and Ghana however it is not sufficient in explaining repressive policies that exist today. The type of leaders and leadership is considered another condition. One could ask, do these states have politicians or revolutionaries ruling them? Larry Diamond writes on political class, a “term that reflects the dominance of politicians among the emergent dominant class” (Diamond, 1988: 75). Although a political class can provide expertise on effective governance and policymaking. They can also lead to an entrenchment of power where a selective group of individuals controls all decision-making. In doing so they disconnect from the public and do not adopt policies that address the needs of the general public.

The argument that democratization was not supposed to happen in Africa has been pronounced by authors such as Richard Joseph, “democratization was not supposed to happen in Africa” (Joseph, 1997: 363). This argument is subjective. It is a rather definitive statement and the conditions aforementioned do not reflect the ultimate end for these African states. I argue that the intricate steps of the democratic transition determine the success or failure of democracy in each state. Africa, having experienced colonialism, found itself in a compromising position. African countries (Nigeria and Ghana included) were plagued with corruption, internal violence, conflict, tribalism, ethnic conflict, neopatrimonialism, underdevelopment, and poor economic conditions.

In the two case studies of this research report, the history of military rule and oppression has been observed. Some were successful, and others were unsuccessful. It is important to note that these coups were interspersed with civilian rule. Nigeria experienced a series of military coups between 1966 and 1993, with a total of nine military coups. Nigeria has maintained a stable democracy ever since. Ghana experienced a series of military coups between 1966 and 1982, with a total of seven military coups most of which were successful. Ghana has since maintained a stable democratic system with periodic elections.

The importance of citizenship, national interest, and common good was mentioned in the first section. The strength of these individual components is necessary for the formation of a democratic political culture. Richard Joseph writes on the significance of establishing a common institutional core that will establish a democratic identity (Joseph, 1997: 365). This coincides with the procedural dimensions of democracy that guide EIU assessments of democracy. Establishing a national democratic identity will not only strengthen the span of democracy but more importantly the quality of it. All members of a society (the citizens and the government) should strive to support and encourage democratic principles, values, and institutions to preserve the political system. This will include shying away from any behaviours or attitudes that are considered undemocratic, it extends to holding those in leadership accountable and trusting those in leadership to satisfy the needs of the public. As a nation, all need to be committed to upholding democratic ideals. These core components are elusory or not fully developed in African countries.

Ghanaian political scientist Gyimah-Boadi analyzes the quality of political reform in Africa in the early 2000s (Gyimah-Boadi, 2004). Boadi writes on the positive political reforms that have taken place on the continent, these included new political participation, voting having a greater impact as well as the state's new respect for property rights. These positive political reforms do not conceal the challenges that remain unaddressed. These include the immaturity of the democratic system as well as the lack of governance throughout the continent. Boadi continues to say that the idea that the possibility of a reversal of democratic advances cannot be ruled out in Africa (Gyimah-Boadi, 2004: 10).

This is because in some African countries like Libya, Morocco or the Democratic Republic of Congo, democratic transitions have been protracted and stalemated. Prospects of consolidation remain weak in a handful of countries and the standards of democratic performance tend to be low (Gyimah-Boadi, 2004: 10). Even in countries like Nigeria where democratic advances have been secured, the possibility of reversal cannot be ruled out. Based on weak democratic institutions, security challenges, and historical legacies which will be further explained in this research report. In Ghana however the prospects of democratic consolidation may be considered better and fair (Gyimah-Boadi, 2004: 10). The statement reflects Boadi's thoughts on the capacity of democracy to survive in Africa and reinforces the argument by Joseph that democratization was not supposed to take place in Africa.

In Gyimah-Boadi's 'Africa: The Quality of Political Reforms', he evaluates the quality of political progress on the continent (Gyimah-Boadi, 2004). What this research report wants to emphasize is the term 'quality' and its link to democratic deepening. Democratic deepening refers to the process of enhancing and strengthening democratic governance. It involves efforts aimed at improving the quality, inclusivity, and effectiveness of democratic institutions and practices. To evaluate conditions in Africa one must focus on the quality of change, reform, and the degree to which it is developing and proceeding.

Richard Joseph, George Pridham, and Biko Agozino call for the adjustment in the study of democratization on the African continent. Pridham argues that the analysis should be palpable to the historical dimensions of the state embracing the democratization process from pre-transition to transition, to the consolidation process (Pridham, 2000: 13). When assessing democracy in Africa, it is essential to consider the values and culture of the society in question. The emphasis on community is vital in understanding how opinions and interests are shaped. Individuals do not exist in isolation. Therefore, to truly comprehend the level of societal support for democracy, one must examine the opinions and influences that shape this support.

Focusing solely on individual attitudes towards democracy oversimplifies the complex dynamics at play. In Africa, community and cultural ties are strong, and democratic values must be understood within this context. By examining the interplay between community, culture, and democracy, we can gain a more nuanced understanding of the challenges and opportunities for democratic consolidation on the continent. Thus, a more inclusive and context-specific approach to evaluating democracy in Africa is essential, one that acknowledges the intricate relationships between individuals, communities, and democratic values.

Democratic political culture

Functionalism is based on the premise that all aspects of society serve a purpose for the long-term survival of society. That each aspect of society, from norms to institutions is interdependent and contributes to the stability and furthering of society as a whole. The readiness of democracy differs across countries, but it is influenced by an interplay of historical, cultural, economic, and social factors. For example, some countries may have a history of a prolonged undemocratic system such as colonial rule. Culturally, some countries may lack the necessary traditions to foster democracy (such as civic traditions). Economic factors include a history of underdevelopment and economic inequality. Social factors are expressed through ethnic, religious, and regional tensions.

Additionally, functionalists have emphasized the importance of prerequisites. “Almond and Verba’s pioneering work on the link between political culture and democracy developed the theme of civic culture which included a high level of trust among the public as well as a general or diffuse support for democratic institutions and practices” (Pridham, 2000: 6). Political culture examines how the behaviours, norms, and attitudes of society inform and impact society. Lucian Pye conceptualizes political culture as a set of sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process. (Pye, 1991: 494). I argue that for the progress of democracy, it is a necessary condition that all members of society actively participate in preserving the democratic political culture of the state, including state and non-state actors. This argument is supported by the need to establish a democratic national identity.

This first section of this chapter argued for fitting the EIU model. It introduced ideas of difference and mentioned state adoption of democracy based on historical, social, and political context. This process of adoption and implementation is crucial to the strengthening of a democratic state. The focus of Claude Ake on the socio-cultural realities of African countries is essential for examining the link between democracy and political culture. "African democracy is unique in that it reflects the socio-cultural realities of Africa" (Ake, 1993: 242). African democracy Does not have a specific definition but is a combination of principles put forth by African leaders such as Julius Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah, it is based “on their argument that traditional African societies rested on a politics of consensus, not competition a principle they perceived to be promoted by proponents of multi-party democracy” (Fye, 2015: 30). The socio-cultural realities that developed the contemporary political settlement reflect the reality faced by the African state and are shaped by the legacy of colonialism.

Summary of the literature

The transition into democracy should not be viewed as a self-contained incident, but rather as an ongoing process, and “as the transition process became more prolonged, opposition forces fragmented into ethnic and personalist groupings (become more apparent)” (Joseph, 1997: 376). Alongside these opposition forces, as the transition process becomes more prolonged other issues may arise that attempt to destabilize democracy. It is therefore necessary as the literature suggests to first strengthen national democratic identity, to be reflective, intentional, and constructive in representation. It is also imperative to be aware of the socio-cultural realities of the state and to adopt a form of democracy that complements those realities.

The literature explored the distinction between democracy and democratization. It explains the debate on democracy and why it has been evangelized based on its benefits. It has demonstrated how multifaceted democracy is, with its various definitions and interpretations. The first section provided the basic prerequisites to consider a state democratic but did take note of the westernization of these requisites. The chapter then continued to contextualize the democracy debate in Africa by illustrating contested ideas about the propensity of democracy on the continent. By highlighting skepticism about the relationship between African States and democracy and how existing conditions make the democratic transition arduous. These conditions included issues of ethnicity, corruption, and state incapacity.

Particular attention was paid to citizenship, national interest, and the role of the common good and how these individual components are necessary for the formation of a democratic political culture. Conclusively, democracy is a relation between the state and citizens, and democratization is the changes in the sort of relation. It has illustrated contesting debates about the value of democracy in Africa and highlighted how internal dynamics and existing ideology and philosophy have direct consequences on democratic dispensation.

This research report aims to contribute to the existing literature by demonstrating cross-cultural differences in the quality of democracy in Ghana and Nigeria. Equally, exploring the relationship between leadership and quality of democracy. That the political culture of a state is crucial. The existing literature exposes the pitfalls and successes of democracy, but this research report aims to focus on decoloniality as an important variable in the debates on African democracy. Similarly, the significance of cultural relativity lies not only in understanding and accommodating existing and enduring ethnic cultural practices of Africa but also in accommodating emergent post-colonial cultural practices. Which is an amalgamation of past, present, and future African experiences. All of which is intended to advance the development of an African theory of democracy

CHAPTER THREE: NIGERIA'S AND GHANA'S DEMOCRATIC TURNOVER

The unique conditions in the formation of African states suggest that any research looking to understand democratic governance in contemporary African states must first understand the history of the state. Anomalous to European states, the construction of the modern African state is an amalgamation of several conditions, which include its history of colonialism. The ability of these conditions to pervade and become determinants in the formation of these states makes them worth mentioning. This chapter will not elucidate the facts of colonialism but will mention its impact and more especially its consequences in Nigeria and Ghana.

This chapter will focus on the history of Nigeria and Ghana, to provide an in-depth understanding of each country's democratic turnover. Nigeria and Ghana are two countries situated on the western coast of Africa. They have the largest economies in the region, share common cultures, and have had considerable influence on the political, economic, and social formations of the African continent. Despite their shared history of British colonialism, these two countries have come to represent distinct types of political settlements. Each with varying degrees of electoral processes and pluralism, political participation, political culture, civil liberties, and functioning of government. To understand how these political settlements came to be, this chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section will expand on the history of Nigeria and the second section will expand on the history of Ghana. Each section will focus primarily on the history of the country, the role of nationalism and ideology in the independence movement, the path to democratic transition, and the political and social conditions post-independence.

Nigeria: Return to Democracy and Contemporary Issues 1999 to present

Road to Democracy

Nigeria is known for its multiethnic background (Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, Igbo, Ijaw, Edo are a few of the 250 distinct ethnic groups) The country was ruled by the British Empire through colonialism from around 1882 to 1960. The impact of the British Empire on the country affected state-formation. British influence was responsible for forming the colony and protectorate of Nigeria. Through a combination of the Lagos colony, Southern Nigeria, and Northern Nigeria.

The presence of the British resulted in structures that would surpass the time of colonial rule and seep into post-independent democratic Nigeria. The “centralized ethnic structure” (Diamond, 1988, 21), is of interest because it divided the country and heightened ethnicity as an identity of superiority. In addition to ethnicity “religion further divided the people of Nigeria” (Diamond, 1988: 24). These divisions indicated that the people of Nigeria did not see themselves as a whole but were affiliated to their ethnic and religious background.

This division was instilled by the decision of the British to rule Nigeria as two different countries. The northern Protectorate was guided under Islamic law and a dominant Islamic culture. The region is characterized by a more decentralized and indirect rule where economic development was slower. The southern protectorate was more diverse. The region was characterized by a more direct rule, with western education and Christianity having greater impact. Islam in the Northern region produced a distinct kind of leadership that was different from the extremely Westernized leadership found in the Southern region.

The North and South divide resulted in different historical experiences and governance structures. The north sought to maintain its Islamic heritage while the South pushed for a more modern secular state.

In 1967, three states in the East broke away to form the Republic of Biafra, sparking a civil war. It left a significant legacy one where “the national question would continue to plague rhetoric” (Falola and Heaton, 2008: 180). Would Nigerians see themselves beyond a geographical expression? Additionally, the military would become a driving force in Nigerian politics. This was subsequently followed by a series of military coups. Beyond ethnicity and religion. The military coups between 1966 and 1993 were accredited to corruption, economic mismanagement, and ethnic tensions.

Post-independent Nigeria experienced an interesting change in its political settlement. At independence, it had the structure of a parliamentary democracy but in the state’s ability to perform and manage “Nigeria fell much wider off the mark” (Diamond, 1988: 85). The cultural, political, and economic conditions in Nigeria at independence signified a weak commitment to democracy as there were dissimilar political values (Diamond, 1988: 66).

Ethnic identity at the time of independence was not seen as an impediment to the formation of the state. Rather, it was embraced as a source of strength because “ethnic differences offer a foundation for healthy rivalry in social development and progress” (Diamond, 1988: 75). Therefore, coining ethnic diversity as a deterrent in fostering a democratic political culture may not necessarily depict the reality of Nigeria at independence.

Democratic Transition in Nigeria

In the year 1999, Nigeria transitioned to democratic rule under a civilian government. This marked the beginning of the Fourth Republic, in which the country would be unified under democratic political values. This necessitated a widespread belief in the legitimacy of the democratic system, along with mutual societal support for the system. But the path to democratic governance and the circumstances surrounding the transition were dubious and, in multiple ways, undemocratic. Falola and Heaton noted that these elections “were marred by accusations of electoral malpractices, by all parties. Since all parties were involved in the vote-rigging” (Falola & Heaton, 2008: 235).

The conditions under which Nigeria was undemocratic read as follows, there were several date changes as presidential nominees were not certified. Political decrees were frequently

amended, which slowed down the transfer process. There was the use of coercion, manipulation, and violence. “The fact that procedures for transition were set in place as early as 1987 did not make the transition process transparent or smooth” (Falola and Heaton, 2008: 224). There were cracks in the process as democracy was only restored 12 years after procedures were set in place.

The support of the people for democracy was not based on ideals or principles but on what the system could produce, the physical manifestations that democracy was expected to render. “The support of the people was not for democracy in the abstract... but for what the system could produce for them” (Diamond, 1988: 77). There was a strong desire for elections, however the prevailing social ills remained.

It is crucial to note that democracy requires popular belief in its legitimacy “especially where the democratic system is not infused with the deep historical or traditional legitimacy” (Diamond, 1988: 322). Since the transfer to democratic rule in 1999 a few ills have seen minimal amelioration, but major contradictions and issues have not. At independence, I argue that the political culture in Nigeria can be categorized as a nascent democracy that constituted weak constitutions as well as ethnic and religious institutions.

The start of the Fourth Republic did not symbolize the end of undemocratic practices and expanding on the point of Larry Diamond “stable democracies require not only that people care about politics, but they are able not to care as well, and that they do not care too much” (Diamond, 1988: 328). I argue that in Nigeria the nature of politics is personalist. That the individual has taken a central role in politics and their ideas and values directly impact the choices they make. The political class does not reflect society's needs, indicating a disjointed relationship between state and society.

After the restoration of democracy in Nigeria, there have been occurrences of democratic advancement and/or stagnation. For Nigeria, the restoration of democratic governance materialized in 1999 through parliamentary and presidential elections that saw Olusegun Obasanjo sworn in as president. This constituted a pivotal moment in the nation's political trajectory, fostering institutional progress, the end of intermittent military rule post-independence, and the enactment of a constitution establishing a federal democratic system. In 2002, reports emerged of ethnic violence resulting in the deaths of 100 individuals in Lagos during clashes between Hausas and Yorubas (BBC, 2019). The first legislative elections in 2003 since 1999 witnessed the People's Democratic Party clinching a parliamentary majority, and Olusegun Obasanjo securing a second term despite EU observers highlighting significant irregularities (BBC, 2019).

The 2007 presidential election of Umaru Yar'Adua encountered immediate hurdles, including allegations of electoral malpractices and doubts surrounding the legitimacy of the election outcomes. From 2009 to 2015, the uprisings by Boko Haram posed a grave security challenge. Terrorism poses significant obstacles to democratic governance by threatening security, stability, economic prosperity, and societal cohesion. In March 2015, Muhammadu Buhari emerged victorious in the presidential elections, becoming the first opposition candidate to achieve this in Nigeria (BBC, 2019). The president was reelected in 2019.

This section has demonstrated that colonial legacies remain dominant in Nigerian politics as the political class has manipulated ethnicity and the clamor for power and the nature of the political game has ensured that they remain dominant. Additionally, the actions of the political class do not advocate for integration but worsen existing tensions between different ethnic groups.

Ghana: Return to Democracy and Contemporary Issues 1992 to Present

Road to democracy

Ghana was one of the first African countries in sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence from British colonial rule. It is one of the most successful stories of Africa's recent democratic transition as it has overcome adversities that attempted to wane societal consensus and integration. Its multi-ethnic background and diverse environment (Akan, Ga-Dangme, Mole-Dagbani, and Ewe are examples of the 100 distinct ethnic groups) have proved beyond criticism that it can overcome the challenges of its recent history.

The fight for independence did not come as a mass movement until the late 1940s. The end of World War Two was the turning point for liberation movements all around the world, more especially on the African continent. In Ghana, the rise in societal dissatisfaction over economic recession and the treatment of World War Two veterans fueled the independence movement. By 1945 demands for more autonomy by the Gold Coast population continued to rise and in March 1957 the Gold Coast gained independence from British colonialism and the state of Ghana was formed with Kwame Nkrumah as Prime Minister. Ghana's victory was a source of inspiration as it jumpstarted liberation movements across the continent.

Several factors played an important role during independence. The character of the people of Ghana, the fact that ethnic groups coexisted peacefully together, the cooperative attitudes of Ghanaian people, and the presence of a large middle class. "The success of social movements is determined largely by the commitment of the masses to the cause" (Howard, 1999). The people of Ghana were willing to put aside their differences to defeat the bigger enemy.

That is not to say that ethnic divisions and ethnic tensions did not exist in Ghana. "Ghana society is plural, broad ethnic groupings marked differences in religious and cultural values" (Brown, 1982, 40). There were perceptions of dominance and superiority, especially in the expectations of benefits from the government (Brown, 1982: 60).

Communal identity in Ghana at independence managed to foster a national identity. “At the level of ideology, the governments have been committed, it is argued, to the imperative of the culturally neutral state” (Brown, 1982: 38). Despite its pluralistic broad ethnic groupings, the apparent ethnic neutrality of the incoming regime promoted integration and saved the society from plunging into ethnic war or civil war.

In 1964 Ghana became a one-party state under the leadership of Nkrumah and in 1966 he was overthrown in a military coup. It is important to mention the role of Nkrumah in Ghanaian independence as he played a considerable role in advocating for change and promoting socialism and Pan-Africanism. Under Nkrumah’s guidance, the first nationalist movement aimed at self-governance succeeded in establishing an independent state. Although Nkrumah ascended to the presidency through his campaign of self-governance, socialism, and Pan-Africanism the eventual trajectory of his ruling became one of authoritarian rule.

The changes that took place in government before the coup and subsequently after the coup led to problems of national unity, economic performance, and a series of military takeovers. Successive leaders were facing the challenge of “forging desperate personal ethnic and sectional interests into a real Ghanaian nation” (Miller, Vandome, & McBrewster, 2009: 14). Between 1966 and 1991 the country experienced a series of military coups. Until 1992 Ghana’s post-independent history was played by political instability due to military intervention (Fobih, 2008: 76). There were accusations of corruption, violation of human rights and civil liberties, and poor economic performance. Ethnicity was not the sole factor from military coups in Ghana full stop’s abusive and corrupt administrations, austerity measures, and protests equally contributed.

In 1992 a referendum approved a new constitution that introduced a multi-party system and Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings was elected president. The country's transition into democracy was successful in that there was a growing sense of constitutionalism and popular consensus. Ghanaians agreed on their national identity. One can argue that “the Ghanaian state under the framework of the current democratic governance, is more stable today than at any time in the country's history” (Oduro et al., 2014:6).

Democratic Transition in Ghana.

Democratic transition does not solely include the existence of formal structures but extends to the quality of the system. Even after gaining independence, the sturdiness of democracy was questioned as, "the availability of good governance, ingrained democratic practices, and sustainable growth is limited" (Oduro et al., 2014: 4). However, the current circumstances of Ghana’s politics indicate improved democratic practices.

This is evident in the enduring nature of constitutional rule, the absence of succession issues in Ghana, the acceptance of election outcomes, and the role of civil society organizations in facilitating political behaviour and responses. "Ghana's democracy faced significant challenges in highly charged situations and demonstrated notable resilience" (Abdulai & Crawford, 2010: 27). These charged situations include the history of military rule in the country, which could have influenced current governing styles, as well as the ability to overcome ethnic divisions

and reinforce national unity.

An important aspect to consider in understanding Ghana's success is the role of political parties. Political parties in Ghana are rooted in ideological and practical beliefs that preserve traditions. The three main traditions are the Busia, Nkrumah, and Rawlings political traditions, which fostered nationalist sentiments. Political traditions refer to the shared values and beliefs that shape a country's political culture. They are often guided by political behavior and include ideology, political values, and even cultural influences.

To further illustrate this, Ghanaian politician Kwame Safo Adu states, "Politics is history, and past leaders cannot be easily dismissed due to their contributions. It is about maintaining traditions" (Fobih, 2008: 99). In Ghana, we witness the preservation and continuation of political traditions within political parties. The Danquah-Busia tradition originated in the Progress Party and continues in the present New Patriotic Party. The Nkrumah tradition originated in the Convention People's Party and continues in the present People's National Party. The Rawlings tradition originated and continues under the National Democratic Congress. Though it can be argued that "political parties are a result of colonial circumstances" (Fobih, 97), the efforts to adapt the ideologies of political parties to suit Ghana's conditions and draw from the philosophies of socialism and Pan-Africanism are praiseworthy.

After the restoration of democracy in Ghana, there have been occurrences of democratic advancement and/or stagnation. For Ghana, the restoration of democracy occurred in 1992, following a referendum that introduced a new constitution ushering in a multi-party system. This constituted a pivotal juncture in the nation's political history, signifying the end of military rule and the embracement of a democratic constitution. A state of emergency was declared in the northern region in April 2002 after a tribal chief and over 30 individuals were killed in inter-clan violence. This state of emergency was lifted in August 2004 (BBC, 2018). The year 2008 witnessed the election of John Atta Mills as president, marking the 5th presidential and parliamentary elections which marked another phase in Ghana's democratic progression and the peaceful transfer of power through electoral mechanisms. In 2014, numerous citizens took to the streets to demonstrate against the government's mismanagement of the economy (BBC, 2018). These protests took place throughout the streets of Accra and mirrored widespread discontent with economic circumstances, utility price hikes, and governance issues. The year 2020 denoted the eighth round of presidential and parliamentary elections. President Nana Akufo-Addo of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) secured reelection. Despite encountering obstacles and controversies, the 2020 election reaffirmed the nation's democratic credentials.

Conclusion

This chapter explicated the history of Nigeria and Ghana to comprehend the interplay between colonial history, post-independent history, and the history of democratic transition.

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within political parties. The Danquah-Busia tradition originated in the Progress Party and continues in the present New Patriotic Party. The Nkrumah tradition originated in the Convention People's Party and continues in the present People's National Party. The Rawlings tradition originated and continues under the National Democratic Congress. Though it can be argued that "political parties are a result of colonial circumstances" (Fobih, 97), the efforts to adapt the ideologies of political parties to suit Ghana's conditions and draw from the philosophies of socialism and Pan-Africanism are praiseworthy.

Despite their shared colonial history under British rule, the nationalist movements in Nigeria are considerably more focused on ethnic groupings compared to those in Ghana. Ghana managed to foster national unity and maintain ethnic neutrality, which hastened the process of transition. In Nigeria, however, the weaponization of ethnicity further exacerbated the divisions among the people. Both countries underwent military administrations that violated civil liberties and human rights. Nevertheless, in Nigeria, stratocracy continued to prevail, hindering the possibility of a smooth transition to democracy. The democratic transition in Ghana, conversely, was more seamless and widely accepted as it was accompanied by an effective social consensus.

The apparent disparity between the two countries, I contend, lies in the fact that the Nigerian state and its leaders remained entrapped in the shackles of colonialism and perpetuated certain colonial practices that were designed to divide and conquer the state. Moreover, instead of making concerted efforts to rectify these grievances, the state and its leaders exacerbated them by perpetuating the divide. In Ghana, there is a discernible effort to prevent further division within the state. Political decisions in Ghana did not prioritize one ethnic group over another but rather aimed to foster unity among the people.

Both countries are making commendable progress in their political and social systems, but issues of corruption, violence, and overall mismanagement continue to persist. This chapter has provided a brief overview of the history of Nigeria and Ghana, and the subsequent chapter will delve into contemporary development

CHAPTER 3: MEASURING DEMOCRACY

The EIU provides a Democracy Index which evaluates the state of democracy in 165 countries. The EIU Focuses on countries that are widely recognized and relevant in global economic and political discussions, it also selects countries with reliable and consistent data availability across various economic, political, and social indicators. For the EIU analyzing a smaller set of countries allows an allocation of resources effectively as well as ensuring in-depth research for each country. This election of 165 countries is strategic because it aims to provide a comprehensive and reliable analysis for each country.

The Index is based on five categories, 1. Electoral processes and pluralism 2. Functioning of government 3. Political Participation 4. Political culture and 5. Civil Liberties. Each category has a rating score of 0 to 10 and the overall index is the simple average of the five categories. Using an average as a measure of quality depends heavily on the context of what is being assessed. For the EIU the data being averaged is distributed and represented on a continuous scale with ratings from zero to ten, the use of an average provides a reasonable summary. It provides a single number that is simpler to interpret and compare and smooths out variations to help provide a more stable measure from large datasets.

Under each category, there are a series of questions by which each country will be assessed and scored. The scoring system consists of a combination of a dichotomous 1-0 scoring system (1 for yes and 0 for no) and a three-point scoring system (some countries can score 2 while others can score 3). The countries receive a score and are ranked according to their overall score. Based on where each country scores they are then classified as either a full democracy, flawed democracy, hybrid regime, or authoritarian regime. For a country to be classified as a full democracy, its overall score must be greater than eight. Flawed democracies score greater than six and less than or equal to eight. Hybrid regimes score greater than four and less than or equal to six. Finally, authoritarian regimes score less than or equal to four.

The EIU releases a report annually and this research report will utilize the 2022 Report, “Democracy Index 2022, Frontline Democracy and the Battle for Ukraine”. Under the Sub-Saharan Democracy Index Nigeria scored 4.23 and was classified as a hybrid regime. Ghana scored 6.43 and was classified as a flawed democracy. These results inform the areas for evaluating democratic dispensation. The guidelines for scoring each country consist of 60 indicators. Due to writing constraints, this section will select three indicators per category to inform the case study. The three questions selected will be mentioned at the start of each subsection to guide the case study utilized.

This chapter will compare the two countries in all five categories. Using the points scored per category and specific questions, this chapter will provide cases to further understand the rationale behind the scores awarded. The index of electoral processes and pluralism will evaluate the presidential elections in Nigeria and Ghana between 2008 and 2022. The index of civil liberties will compare the role of self-determination groups in Nigeria and Ghana. The index of functioning of government will compare corruption in Nigeria and corruption in Ghana. The index of political participation will compare the role of women in Nigeria and Ghana. Finally, the index of political

culture will compare militarism in Nigeria and neopatrimonialism in Ghana.

EIU Category 1 - Electoral Processes and Pluralism

YEAR	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022
SCORE	2.92	3.83	5.67	5.67	6.08	6.08	5.17	5.17

*Figure 1. Nigeria’s electoral processes and pluralism scores between 2008 and 2022
EIU Index*

This table suggests an overall positive trend as Nigeria continues to improve in electoral processes and pluralism through a constant incline between 2008 and 2018. At its peak, Nigeria scored 6.08 in 2016, which falls into the medium percentile, and based on the most recent figure there has been a decline in the score to 5.17 in 2022.

YEAR	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022
SCORE	7.42	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33	8.33

*Figure 2. Ghana electoral processes and pluralism score between 2008 and 2022
EIU Index*

The table suggests an overall positive trend. Based on the scores in the above table, Ghana plateaued in 2010, with a score of 8.33, which falls into the high percentile. This has remained a consistent score throughout the years, this suggests consistency with no significant fluctuations in Ghana’s electoral processes and pluralism.

The varying trends from Nigeria and Ghana will further be analyzed through the case studies presented in the next section. The EIU Index uses a set of questions under each category. Each country is evaluated and given a score based on the questions. I’ve included three samples of the questions below.

- i. Are elections from the national legislature and head of government free?
- ii. Do opposition parties have a realistic prospect of achieving government?
- iii. Following elections, are the constitutional mechanisms for the orderly transfer of power from one government to another clear, established, and accepted.

CASE STUDY- Nigeria

Acts of violence, intimidation corruption, and manipulation are not new to electoral processes in Nigeria. Chapter 2 spoke briefly to the 1999 presidential elections which symbolized the restoration of democracy in the country. It noted the delays between establishing transition procedures and the commencement of the transition to democracy. There have also been reports of undemocratic procedures, but Nigeria has since made significant advances in the way its general elections are conducted.

We now turn to some major takeaways from the 2011, 2015, and 2019 elections to understand the nature of electoral processes and pluralism in Nigeria. In simple terms, pluralism speaks to the coexistence of people of different social classes, religions, and ethnicities. It incorporates the coexistence of a diversity of people who should be respected, recognized, and not subject to discrimination within their society.

2011 elections

In April 2011, Nigeria conducted its seventh democratic election, which was considered transparent, free, and fair by both local and international observers. The electoral competition was intense, with Goodluck Jonathan from the People's Democratic Party (PDP) seeking re-election, ultimately emerging victorious.

Following the flawed 2007 elections, the 13th president of Nigeria, Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, established a committee to reform the country's electoral laws. However, shortcomings arose as the then INEC president requested 89 billion naira for a credible election. Subsequently, an additional 6 billion naira was demanded due to initial registration setbacks, prompting doubts among Nigerians regarding his capability to deliver (Okolo & Onunkwo, 2011: 61). This revealed inadequacies in the electoral processes leading up to elections

Major takeaways from the 2011 elections included registration issues, “there were doubts whether the number of registered voters was correct” (Okolo & Onunkwo, 2011: 65). Issues of security and conduct were notable characteristics of the elections “as a result of the violence that dogged campaigns in previous elections many eligible voters shied away from participating in the electoral process” (Okolo & Onunkwo, 2011: 68

Despite this, the 2011 elections saw a higher turnout of eligible voters due to increased sophistication. INEC also implemented a modified open ballot system to prevent rigging. Nonetheless, inconsistencies in staff training and approaches, along with insufficient DDC machines, posed challenges. Much of the INEC’s staff “was not adequately trained and had different approaches to same issues, thereby lacking uniformity of approach” (Okolo & Onunkwo, 2011: 69). Reports of post-election violence underscored the lack of a smooth transition of power from one government to the next.

Despite advancements, the 2011 elections faced challenges, particularly unexpected violence in certain regions, notably in Northern Nigeria, exposing flaws in the national democratic culture. Reports indicated, that "at least 300 people lost their lives in northern Nigeria in the violence that followed the announcement on 16th April of the results” (Okolo & Onunkwo, 2011: 55).

Okolo and Onunkwo recommended INEC to "consider the use of electronic voting, as this would reduce the incidence of multiple voting, which is still the bane of Nigeria's electoral democracy” (Okolo & Onunkwo, 2011: 70). Overall, Nigeria received recognition for successfully conducting the 2011 election, signaling efforts towards fostering a culture of democratic governance despite instances of violence, electoral inefficiencies, and credibility concerns.

2015 elections

In 2015, Nigeria conducted its eighth democratic elections, marked by a highly competitive electoral process where Muhammadu Buhari, a candidate representing the opposition party All Progressive Congress (APC), emerged victorious. The peaceful and positive outcome of the elections came as a shock because of the security threat posed by Boko Haram (Orji, 2015: 74). Observers of the election widely agreed that despite various irregularities observed, the overall integrity of the electoral process remained intact.

During the 2015 elections, INEC adopted a series of internal measures aimed to restore public confidence in electoral processes. In 2011 INEC inaugurated the Registration and Election Review Committee “to evaluate the 2011 voter registration and general elections in order to recommend ways of strengthening the commission's operations” (Orji, 2015: 76). The Committee was successful in that it comprehensively restructured the Commission’s bureaucracy and developed a comprehensive election project plan as well as appropriate gender policies.

Additionally, INEC introduced a “two-step voter accreditation process involving the use of card reading machines to verify INEC issued voter cards” (Orji, 2015: 79). However, challenges arose during the presidential elections when the card readers malfunctioned, leading INEC to modify the guidelines midway through the process to allow manual voter accreditation (Orji, 2015: 79).

Major takeaways from the elections include security threats, the 2015 elections experienced security threats that resulted in a six-week postponement from the initially scheduled dates of February 14 and 28 to March 28 (Orji, 2015: 79). Reports also highlighted logistical challenges such as delayed arrival of officials and materials, leading to delayed poll openings.

The aftermath of the elections exposed operational and logistical deficiencies within INEC and reignited underlying ethno-regional tensions in Nigeria. For instance, “PDP activists urging voters in the southeast not to support the APC, describing the party as a reincarnation of the northern Europa alliance that defeated Biafra in the civil war” (Orji, 2015: 82).

The 2015 elections proved that the government needed to engage in reconciliation efforts to strengthen national unity. Alongside addressing institutional shortcomings that revealed electoral irregularities is crucial to prevent vote manipulation and malpractices. Despite the challenges, “the 2015 elections can be viewed as a positive step towards democratic consolidation in Nigeria...(it) enabled the country to achieve interparty alternation of the presidency for the first time in its electoral history” (Orji, 2015: 74). This marked a pivotal moment in Nigeria's democratic journey, showcasing a peaceful transfer of power to an opposition party and reaffirming the nation's dedication to democratic values and institutional stability.

2019 elections

In the country, the zero-sum game of politics is heavily influenced by ethnicity. Ethnicity plays a heightened role in securing votes and winning. However, the 2019 general elections reached another milestone. The fact that Nigeria successfully carried out and completed the election was a major achievement. The successful completion of the 2019 elections has positively impacted Nigeria's international image. The success of the elections bolstered Nigeria's reputation and proved its government continues to advocate for democracy not only at a national level but a continental one.

Though we recognize Nigeria for completing the 2019 general elections, there remain managerial and bureaucratic issues. The importance of a positive connection between the state and society was emphasized. This included a social agreement regarding the legitimacy of democracy. During the elections, "Nigerians were dissatisfied with the management of the elections by the Electoral Management Body (EMB) and the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)" (Onapajo & Babalola, 2020: 363). The EMB and INEC were accused of canceling and nullifying poll results.

Other discrepancies include the weakness of the state in delivering credible elections (Onapajo & Babalola, 2020: 365). Ethnic and religious groupings can impact the credibility of elections. The role of ethnicity, "ethnicity and religion provide strong instruments a population in the leads quest for political power" (Onapajo & Babalola, 2020: 366). Weaponizing ethnicity is the deliberate use of ethnic identity for political gain. Politicians participate in ethnic mobilization by using ethnic identity to garner support. Furthermore, politicians may use ethnic identity for electoral gains by appealing to the interests of specific ethnic communities. Finally, the role of the military, "militarization (of) the 2019 elections, suggesting the heavy deployment of security personnel during elections and its challenge to free and fair elections" (Onapajo & Babalola, 2020: 366). The militarization of elections implies the military plays an intrusive role in general elections, ranging from direct military supervision over voting procedures to intimidation tactics and violence aimed at influencing electoral outcomes.

Major takeaways from the 2019 general election included a low, voter turnout "with a 35% voter turnout" (Onapajo & Babalola, 2020: 364). The weakness of democratic culture is due to the inability of the political elite to fully commit to the values of liberal democracy. The weakness and non-neutrality in state institutions, as they are vulnerable to manipulation by the political elite. Low public trust, rising levels of public dissatisfaction with the state due to bad governance, and failure to deliver social services. The prevalence of cleavage-based voting also presents another challenge. Nigerian voters' choices "are still driven by primordial sentiments, particularly ethnicity, and religion, and attest to social divisions that have enveloped politics in the country since its independence" (Onapajo & Babalola, 2020: 365). Finally, the massive deployment of security personnel speaks to the violence that has become a notorious hallmark of elections.

CASE STUDY- GHANA

Ghana is considered one of Africa's most successful stories in the recent democratic transition. The country's ability to foster acceptable social cohesion has aided in its electoral processes. The first multi-party elections that were held in Ghana in the early 1990s signified a breaking point and a new republic that would be founded on democratic principles. The commitment from the state alongside the society is what contributed to making this a success story. From the 1990s Ghana has managed to hold presidential and parliamentary elections democratically. We will now look at major takeaways from the 2008, 2012, 2016, and 2020 elections.

2008 elections

The 2008 Ghanaian presidential elections were a closely contested affair, with no candidate initially securing the required majority in the initial round of voting. Subsequently, a run-off election took place on December 28, 2008, between the two frontrunners, Nana Akufo-Addo and John Atta Mills. John Atta Mills emerged as the victor by a slim margin, signifying the resurgence of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) following eight years of governance by the New Patriotic Party (NPP).

An important observation made by some analysts regarding the 2008 elections was the “growing ethnicism of Ghanaian politics, considered to be a heavy burden on the country's ongoing democratization process” (Jockers, Kohnert, & Nugent, 2010: 96). The influence of ethnicity during the 2008 elections was predominantly demonstrated through bloc voting. In the Ashanti (NPP) and Volta (NDC) Regions, voters never voted against the political traditions associated with their regions. The Ashanti region followed the Busia-Danquah tradition, while the Volta region upheld the Nkrumahist tradition (Jockers, Kohnert, & Nugent, 2010: 96).

Despite the impression of transparent and equitable elections, instances of serious electoral irregularities and fraud were reported. The Electoral Commission (EC) failed to thoroughly investigate allegations of rigging, “the fact that the EC has not honored an earlier promise to release detailed polling station results suggests a preference for sweeping embarrassing anomalies under the carpet” (Jockers, Kohnert, & Nugent, 2010: 99). Both the NDC and the NDP believe that the other side has perpetuated fraud, heightening the risk of electoral violence.

High voter turnout figures were recorded in numerous constituencies of the Ashanti, Volta, and Northern Regions during the run-off election. Regrettably, the EC and other responsible authorities did not investigate or address these implausibly high turnout rates, thereby encouraging large scale electoral fraud in future elections.

The peaceful outcome of the 2008 elections, “was to a large extent due to the strong commitment and active engagement of Ghana's media and civil society” (Jockers, Kohnert, & Nugent, 2010: 100). Overall, the EC has been able to uphold its reputation for impartiality, fairness, and reliability. The aftermath of the presidential elections in December 2008 was commended as a significant stride towards solidifying multi-party democracy in Ghana and serving as a blueprint for the entire African continent (Jockers, Kohnert, & Nugent, 2010: 96).

2012 elections

The 2012 Ghanaian presidential election took place in a context of growing political maturity and stability in Ghana. John Dramani Mahama emerged as the victor in the presidential race. International bodies monitoring the 2012 elections genuinely described them as peaceful, transparent, and credible, notwithstanding some logistical hurdles. These elections “showed the role of the judiciary and promoting electoral integrity and securing political stability” (Brierley & Oforu, 2014: 1).

Campaign corruption represented a significant concern for presidential candidates. A survey by Afrobarometer carried out in Ghana at the onset of 2012 revealed that “29% of the citizens believed that Atta-Mills and officials in his office were corrupt, an increase of 12% increase from the previous round” (Brierley & Oforu, 2014: 3). The topic of access to secondary education prominently featured in the campaign discourse of the 2012 elections. The NPP contended that increased government spending on education was imperative to bolster the nation's future economic progress (Brierley & Oforu, 2014: 3). Conversely, the NDC held a different view and opposed the idea of free Senior High School education, citing financial constraints and accusing the opposition of impracticality, a stance that resonated with the voters.

Some major takeaways from the 2012 elections. Despite the international reputation for well-organized and credible polls, “many of the challenges resulted from the breakdown of biometric verification machines at polling stations” (Brierley & Oforu, 2014: 4). This highlighted the pitfalls of introducing technological devices into the electoral process without thorough testing. Additionally, there were also reports of election officials not complying with regulations requiring mandatory biometric verification. The losing party argued “that electoral protocols had not been followed at over 11,000 polling stations (about 1/3 of the total stations), affecting over 4.5 million votes” (Brierley & Oforu, 2014: 4).

All these issues were subject to court hearings lasting over eight months, the court “declared that the NDC’s candidate, John Mahama had been validly elected” (Brierley & Oforu, 2014: 4). Subsequently, the opposition publicly acknowledged the court's ruling. This episode underscored the judiciary's crucial function as an impartial mediator (Brierley & Oforu, 2014: 4).

The 2012 elections in Ghana encountered obstacles like logistical challenges and allegations of electoral fraud in specific regions. Notwithstanding these hurdles, the electoral process largely adhered to democratic norms and institutions. It represented another pivotal moment in Ghana's democratic evolution, marked by competitive electoral contests, peaceful transfers of power, and ongoing efforts to consolidate democratic governance and institutional resilience.

2016 elections

The 2016 presidential elections in Ghana were of great significance in the nation's democratic history, signifying yet another transfer of power and reaffirming the country's dedication to democratic governance. The election was closely contested between Nana Akufo-Addo of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and John Dramani Mahama of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), resulting in Nana Akufo-Addo emerging as the victor and bringing about a leadership change. Observers from the international community generally described the elections as peaceful, transparent, and credible, noting improvements compared to previous electoral processes.

Numerous academics expressed concerns regarding democratic regression leading up to the elections, despite Ghana's reputation as having one of the most resilient democracies. The stakes were notably high, “because an incumbent head of state had never lost power in Ghana’s Fourth Republic” (Milliar, M, & Paller, 2018: 8).

Major takeaways from the elections included the Electoral Commission's efforts to ensure the credibility of the electoral process. Following reports of electoral irregularities in the 2012 elections, a new EC chair, Charlotte Kesson-Smith Osei, was appointed in 2015. Osei was dedicated to revamping the EC's reputation. The Commission established a Special Reform Committee “to synthesize the various reforms proposed by the Supreme Court and the political parties” (Milliar, M, & Paller, 2018: 16). Of the 27 reforms proposed by the Committee, 24 were accepted and implemented by the EC. One crucial reform stipulated that “the work of election officers be legally binding for all officials taking part in the election” (Milliar, M, & Paller, 2018: 17). To enhance transparency, the EC provided political parties with a final certified register list 21 days before the election and published a list of all polling stations, along with their codes and locations, three weeks before the elections.

The EC successfully conducted a credible poll, solidifying Ghana's status as a democratic role model on the African continent. By organizing competitive elections, civil liberties are enhanced, “holding competitive elections improves civil liberties by strengthening civil society, creating democratic citizens, and providing new roles for state institutions” (Milliar, M, & Paller, 2018: 11). In essence, the 2016 Ghanaian elections represented another significant juncture in Ghana's democratic voyage, characterized by competitive electoral contests and continual efforts to strengthen democratic governance and institutional stability.

2020 elections

In the Fourth Republic, electoral rules promoted pluralism within the states and fostered consensus-building and political inclusiveness. This was the result of the “outright prohibitions against the formation of ethno-regional based parties” (Asante & Gyimah-Boadi, 2004: 128). The state was able to contain ethno-regional rivalries and was sensitive to the complex challenges that were presented by a heterogeneous society. The sensitivity to these challenges was not only apparent to ruling parties but successive governments as well.

Some major takeaways from the 2022 election are the employed series of processes that ensured transparency and fairness. An increase in voter turnout with 17 million people in comparison to the 15 million people in the 2016 election. The role of Ghana's parliament as a strong pillar of democracy and the fact that Jane Naana Opku-Agyemang was the first woman in a presidential campaign, campaigning as the vice president of the National Democratic Congress (Oduor, 2020).

Although ethnicity and regionalism did not jeopardize electoral processes in Ghana. There are some major takeaways from the 2020 election that obstruct free and fair elections. One of "the central premise of the election criticism claim is that elections can coexist with systematic, political abuses, and other undemocratic practices, such as human rights, abuses, and violation of other democratic practices" (Kumane-Abiwu & Darkwa, 2020: 2). There was evidence of irregularities and election-related violence.

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is a non-partisan organization that released a preliminary statement highlighting election observations. The summary of their observation went as follows "There were some challenges, these challenges were isolated, and did not undermine the process's overall credibility" (CODEO, 2020). A total of 254 cases of incidences were reported during the opening, voting, and counting stages of the polling process throughout the country. Of these cases, 45 were intimidation or harassment. 26 were violent. An isolated incident of gunshots in the Greater Accra region, leaving three people dead was reported. 17 were incidences of voting or counting being suspended. There were other irregularities reported as well. The statement did clarify that most of the cases that were reported were quickly resolved, and did not affect the polling process (CODEO, 2020: 6).

EIU Category 1 - Concluding analytical comments.

Electoral processes and pluralism are necessary concepts associated with democracy. Free and fair electoral processes provide a means for citizens to have a say in their government and hold their leaders accountable. Based on Figure 1, Nigeria scored in the medium percentile with a score of 5.17, and based on the case study presented Nigeria made some noteworthy improvements in INEC competency through the successful completion of its general elections. Nevertheless, managerial discrepancies spoke directly to little improvement in

The case studies of the 2008, 2011, and 2019 general elections signaled an appreciation for differing opinions and interests but equally, it exposed significant challenges with voting in the country. Based on Figure 2, Ghana currently scores in the higher percentile with a score of 8.33. The country has maintained the score since 2010. The case studies of the 2008, 2012, 2016, and 2020 elections demonstrate a strong commitment from the state to strengthen electoral institutions and polls. It equally demonstrates an effort to improve national integration through consensus-building and political inclusiveness. Despite these commitments, there were reports of violence, over-voting, and rigging which were addressed. Ghana managed to improve institutional malfeasance and address previous electoral errors.

EIU Category 2 - Civil Liberties

YEAR	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022
SCORE	3.21	3.21	3.21	2.86	4.29	4.64	3.57	3.93

Figure 3. Nigeria's civil liberties score between 2008 and 2022

EIU Index

The table suggests noticeable fluctuations in the scores indicating inconsistencies with the protection of civil liberties. Between 2008 and 2012 there was a constant score of 3.21, which falls into the low percentile. At its peak Nigeria scored 4.64 and based on the recent figures there has been a decline in the score with 3.93 in 2022.

YEAR	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022
SCORE	4.67	5.00	5.00	5.36	5.71	5.71	5.36	5.00

Figure 4. Ghana's civil liberties score between 2008 and 2022

EIU Index

The table suggests an overall positive trend between 2008 and 2018 with an increase from 4.67 in 2008 to 5.00 in 2022. However, considering its peak in 2016 with a score of 5.71, the most recent score illustrates a negative trend with a decline from 5.71 in 2016 to 5.00 in 2022, falling into the medium percentile.

The varying trends from Nigeria and Ghana will further be analyzed through the case studies presented in the next section. The EIU Index uses a set of questions under each category. Each country is evaluated and given a score based on the questions. I've included three samples of the questions below.

- i. Is there freedom of expression and protest?
- ii. The degree to which citizens are treated equally under the law?
- iii. Popular perceptions of protection of human rights; proportion of the population that thinks that basic human rights are well protected.

Civil liberties refer to the basic rights and freedoms that are guaranteed to all individuals. It entails “free media, freedom of expression and organization, censorship, tortured by the state, judicial independence, religious freedom, equal treatment under the law, basic security, property rights, racial discrimination and perceptions on human rights abuses” (Elff & Ziaja, 2018: 12). The law safeguards these freedoms and rights. Civil liberties “touches issues of political rights (association), civil rights (torture) and horizontal accountability (judicial independence)” (Elff & Ziaja, 2018: 12).

The African Peer Review Mechanism reveals there are three core freedoms associated with civil liberties. 1. Freedom of expression 2. Freedom of association and 3. Freedom of religion. (Corrigan, 2016: 28). Due to writing constraints this section will focus on freedom of association. Freedom of association is the ability for people to come together to promote their interests, “having the right to do so, and exercising this right, is essential for a free society” (Corrigan, 2016: 36)

A free society is likely to have a wide diversity of such associations which are freely formed by interested people existing independently of the state (Corrigan, 2016: 37). These associations may promote democratic practices such as cultural expression and civic participation, but it can also lead to violence and intimidation more especially when members or activists engage in practices that may weaken the stability of the state. Such instances will be investigated in the case studies below, alongside the state’s capacity to limit instances of violence and intimidation.

The assessment of civil liberties by the EIU Index is based on the extent to which individuals are treated equally under the law, perceptions regarding the protection of human rights, and the percentage of the population that believes basic human rights are adequately safeguarded (EIU, 2022: 77). Ethnicity often complicates the degree to which people perceive their rights and freedoms to be protected. It is essential to comprehend civil liberties from the standpoint of ethnicity.

CASE STUDY- NIGERIA

To examine societal sentiments toward state legitimacy and democracy this section will utilize David Easton’s framework of diffuse support. The framework is predicated on the sensibilities of the political community. It examines ethnic identity and national identity and exposes how they are deferring individual attachments to either one of them or both. In Nigeria, at the individual level “dissatisfaction with democracy has risen to an all-time high since 2005” (Brigevich & Oritsejafor, 2022:1). Based on the survey conducted by Anna Brigevich and Emmanuel Oritsejafor “results show that a predominantly ethnic identity at the individual level does depress democratic satisfaction to some degree, while individuals with dual ethnic and national identity are more satisfied with democracy” (Brigevich & Oritsejafor, 2022: 3). Members of society who have a stronger adherence to their ethnic identity frequently perceive themselves and their community as marginalized due to their lack of affiliation with the nation-state. This statement will be justified by looking at the role of self-determination groups in Nigeria.

Nigeria has three main ethnic groups. The Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani, and the Igbo. Each of these groups has formed self-determination groups over the years as they felt marginalized and underrepresented in Nigerian politics. Since the nation's transition to democracy each of those groups has been responsible for conflict and violence across the country, each with personal motivations that echo feelings of exclusion.

The Yoruba self-determination group, O’odua People’s Congress (OPC) was formed in 1994. It “professed to protect the integrity of the Yoruba people, and promote Yoruba culture and heritage, including the Yoruba language” (Human Rights Watch, 2003). The group advocates for the autonomy of the Yoruba people. “The OPC has claimed to represent majority public opinion within the Yoruba community” (Human Rights Watch, 2003). From around 1999, the group began to get involved in criminal activities, killings, and abuses. According to the 2003 Human Rights Watch report ‘The O’odua People’s Congress: fighting violence with violence’, the group was responsible for various ethnic clashes with Igbo traders and Muslims from the Hausa ethnic group.

The Igbo self-determination group Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) was a separatist group that wanted to restore the Republic of Biafra. It was founded in 2012 and advocated for a Biafran independence movement. According to the group “the Nigeria federal government is discriminating and marginalizing them, the Igbo people” (Igboke, 2020: 4). In 2017, the group was deemed a terrorist organization by the Nigerian government, as they were responsible for attacking and killing people in the southeast region.

Hausa-Fulani self-determination groups are mostly jihadist groups in the north such as Boko Haram. Although the group is active in several countries outside of Nigeria it was founded in 2002 in Nigeria. According to the Annual Report of the United Nations High Commissioner 2015. The violations and attacks committed by Boko Haram have impacted human rights in the country. They are responsible for killing civilians, abduction, torture, and destruction of property.

It is important to know that the self-determination groups do not speak for the entire ethnic group, but only represent selective individual ideas toward the federal government. However, the extent of these determination groups reflects diffused support for the nation and the preservation of democracy. Brigeovich & Oritsejafor argue that nationalism succeeds when all members are fully integrated into the political ideology of a state. They conclude the article by encouraging individuals to combine their ethnic and national identities. However, the role of ethnicism in Nigeria disrupts the formation of a collective national identity. If certain ethnic groups continue to feel misrepresented or marginalized these groups will continue to persevere and support ethnic alignments over national alignments

CASE STUDY- GHANA

Ghana is a multi-ethnic and multicultural society. The diversity of the country can often feed into inequality in the public sector. This section will explore the dynamics between the major groups of Ghana, including the Akan, the Ewe, the Mole Dagbani, and the Ga Adangbe. So far, this report has alluded to the efforts made by the government to reduce ethnic rivalry and conflict in the country. This, however, still exists despite their efforts.

Ethnic rivalry in Ghana was cultivated during the colonial era and has contributed to the uneven distribution of social resources, as well as inequality in the post-independent state. The polarization of ethnicity is best understood, geographically through the north-south divide “the dominance of the southern half of Ghana in general, and in particular by the Akan group” (Asante & Gyimah-Boadi, 2004: 2). Ghana has not experienced any major ethnic-regional conflicts. Yet the problems of inequality are apparent in institutional structures and the distribution of bureaucratic resources, where certain ethnic groups (Akan) have dominated the political system. The state has made efforts to address these issues through “representation, and the symbolism of appointments of individuals from a variety of ethnic-regional and religious backgrounds to promote position in the government” (Asante & Gyimah-Boadi, 2004: 3). The success of the Ghanaian government in promoting integration has deterred major ethnic rivalries and violent conflict.

Let us explore how inequalities persist in Ghana. Ethnicism and regionalization have “allowed the political and cultural entrepreneurs to exploit divisions and sub-classifications to suit their purposes” (Asante & Gyimah-Boadi, 2004: 15). Inequalities are determined by factors such as geography, “inequality of opportunities among the peoples of Ghana is often the result of the combined effect of objective factors such as differential resource endowment, history and public policy” (Asante & Gyimah-Boadi, 2004: 16). For example, the Northern regions are relatively underdeveloped in comparison to the Southern regions. Ranking them according to their level of development, the Greater Accra, Ashanti, and Eastern regions are far more developed than the Brong-Ahafo, Northern, and Upper East and West regions. The dominance of the Southern region over the Northern region is accredited to the fact that the South was greatly exposed to Western-era commerce, education, and other social influences.

Despite Akan domination as the largest ethnic group in the country, “the Akan group hardly behaves as a coherent political unit” (Asante & Gyimah-Boadi, 2004: 125). High levels of fragmentation within the group imply that “Akan-based parties can only be electorally competitive if they can broaden their support base by bringing on board non-Akan’s” (Asante & Gyimah-Boadi, 2004: 126). Akan-based political parties embrace different ethnic groups to broaden their support base, limiting the potential for Akan dominance.

However, voting patterns among the Asante’s and Ewes indicate polarized ethnic political party lines, with votes significantly affected by primal ethnic sentiments. But their voting patterns do not threaten the Ghanaian political scene. Together with the 1992 Constitution which sought to redress the cultural and historical stereotypes and ameliorate ethnic inequalities over the years (Asante & Gyimah-Boadi, 2004). ‘‘Ethnicity is not used to segregate or exclude members of the population.

Nationalist movements and political parties are occasionally primarily built on ethno-religious groups. The National Liberation Movement (NLM) was a political party formed in 1954. It was formed by disaffected Ashanti members of the Convention People’s Party. The party has remained an Ashanti nationalist movement with its leadership concentrated in the hands of the Ashanti people (Asante & Gyimah-Boadi, 2004). Antagonistic attitudes developed in various regions due to sectional interests during pre- and post-colonial times. Fortunately, during

Nkrumah's years, the “CPP government introduced a number of harsh and radical political measures, in an attempt to deal with the mounting ethnic tensions, which threatened to disintegrate the country” (Asante & Gyimah-Boadi, 2004: 29).

Ghana has managed to contain ethno-regional inequalities and rivalries as the ruling government and successive governments are sensitive to the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious landscape of the state. Their efforts to forge alliances across ethno-regional lines and build consensus and political inclusiveness throughout the state have aided democratic deepening. Prohibitions against ethno-regional-based political parties have forced parties to “repackage their programs and transform themselves into national parties” (Asante & Gyimah-Boadi, 2004: 128). The objective to limit ethnic dominance and imbalances and improve representation has helped make governance institutions more inclusive.

EIU Category 2 - Concluding analytical comments.

Civil liberties are essential components of democracies, and the government is expected to uphold and protect these rights. Based on Figure 3, Nigeria scored in the low percentile with a current score of 3.93 and based on the case study presented self-determination groups and diffused support continue to weaken civil liberties in Nigeria. Ethnic affiliations alongside active and inactive self-determination groups wither prospects for a greater national sense of belonging. The negative trend illustrated in Figure 3 is indicative of the inability of the government to harness national commonality. Based on Figure 4, Ghana scored in the medium percentile with a score of 5.00. The case study suggests that ethnic rivalry is prevalent, but the Ghanaian government has been successful in promoting integration and deterring major ethnic rivalries and violent conflict. However, the country scores in the medium percentile due to the persistence of inequalities that have allowed certain ethnic groups to dominate, the Akan. The 1992 constitution, conversely, is sensitive to the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic landscape of the state and succeeds in accommodating and improving representation.

EIU Category 3 - The Functioning of Government

YEAR	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022
SCORE	3.33	3.33	3.33	3.33	3.33	3.33	3.89	3.89

Figure 5. Nigeria’s functioning of government score between 2008 and 2022

EIU Index

There is an overall positive trend between 2008 and 2018 with an increase from 3.33 in 2008 to 3.89 in 2022. Between 2008 and 2018 the scores plateau with a score of 3.33 which falls into the low percentile. In 2020 it increased to 3.89 remaining in the low percentile.

YEAR	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022
SCORE	4.44	5.00	5.00	5.56	6.11	6.67	6.67	6.67

Figure 6. Ghana's functioning of government score between 2008 and 2022

EIU Index

There is an overall positive trend as identified by the table, which illustrates a steady increase in the scores under this category. With an improvement from 4.44 in 2008 to 6.67 in 2022. Ghana peaked in 2018 with a score of 6.67 falling into the medium percentile, this has been a consistent score from 2018 to its most recent score in 2022

The varying trends from Nigeria and Ghana will further be analyzed through the case studies presented in the next section. The EIU Index uses a set of questions under each category. Each country is evaluated and given a score based on the questions. I've included three samples of the questions below.

- i. How pervasive is corruption?
- ii. Public confidence in the government
- iii. Public confidence in political parties

This subsection will use the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) publication on corruption to examine corruption in Nigeria and Ghana. It will use the 2019 publication 'Corruption in Nigeria: Patterns and Trends' and the 2022 publication 'Corruption in Ghana: People's Experiences and Views'. Alongside the corruption perception index (CPI) school to observe perceived levels of corruption in both Nigeria and Ghana. Corruption is dishonest or fraudulent conduct that is undertaken by a person or an organization. There are various forms of corruption, but it typically involves bribery. Corruption can often affect the functioning of the government by limiting economic growth, disrupting the composition of the state, and destabilizing society.

CASE STUDY- NIGERIA

In 2019, 63% of Nigerian citizens had contact with at least one public official. Of that percentage, 30.2% (UNODC, 2019: 5) had at least one contact with a public official who asked them to pay a bribe.

The prevalence of bribery varies across regions, age groups, levels of educational attainment, and employment status. With a higher prevalence and frequency of bribery in the South-South, North-Central, and North-East zones (Gombe, Kogi, Taraba, and Zamfara state) (UNODC, 2019: 17). A higher prevalence of bribery among younger people aged 25-34 (UNODC, 2019: 54). People with the highest level of education were almost twice as likely to pay bribes than those with no formal education (UNODC, 2019: 56). Finally, 39% of citizens with salaried positions had the highest prevalence of bribery (UNODC, 2019: 56).

Public perception of corruption is significantly higher than actual experiences, meaning “perception-based indicators do not necessarily correlate well with the experience-based indicators” (UNODC, 2019: 24). 52% of Nigerians perceive corruption to have increased in 2019. In contrast, corruption was 32% in 2016 and decreased to 30% in 2019. In 2019 roughly 117 million bribes were paid (UNODC, 2019: 33). According to the statistics, police officers were responsible for 33% of bribes. Land registry officers were responsible for 26% of bribes, and tax revenue officers were responsible for 25% of bribes. Whereas embassy and consulate officers, doctors, nurses, midwives, and other health workers collectively accounted for 20% of bribes. Most of the bribes were in the form of cash payments.

Other forms of corruption in Nigeria include vote-buying. According to the survey data collected “21 percent of the adult population of Nigeria reported they were personally offered money or a favour in exchange for their vote in the last national or state election” (UNODC, 2019: 61). A second form of corruption is nepotism. When asked in a 2019 survey how commonly Nigerians think public officials help friends or relatives to land a job, 84% of them consider the practice to happen very or fairly frequently (UNODC, 2019: 64)

The table below depicts relatively low scores for Nigeria between 2008 and 2022. When a country scores relatively low, it suggests weak institutions, corruption entrenched politics and bureaucracy. It may also suggest a limited political will to combat corruption

Year	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022
CPI Score	2.7	2.4	27	27	28	27	25	24

Figure 7. Nigeria’s CPI score between 2008 and 2022. CPI Archive: 2008-2022

CASE STUDY- GHANA

In 2021 83.8% of the adult population had at least one contact with a public official (UNODC, 2021, 13). Of that percentage 26.7% of them have been asked to pay a bribe by a public official (UNODC, 2021, 13).

The prevalence of bribery varies across regions, age groups, level of educational attainment, and employment status. With a higher prevalence of bribery in the Southwest region (Western North, Western, Ahafo, and Brong Ahafo) (UNODC, 2021, 14). A higher prevalence of bribery among younger people aged 25 to 34 (UNODC, 2021, 15). People with the highest level of education are 1.7 times more likely to pay bribes than those with no formal education (UNODC, 2021, 16). Finally, salaried employment in the private and public sectors is higher for bribe-payers than for students, housewives, or unemployed people (UNODC, 2021, 16).

The prevalence of corrupt practices can serve as an indication of the level of vulnerability within the community to participate in such illicit activities. In 2021 more than 17.4 million bribes were paid. According to the statistics, police officers were responsible for 53.2% of bribes, Ghana immigration service officers were responsible for 37.4% of bribes, and GRA customs officers were responsible for 33.6% of bribes. Conversely, social security officials, other health workers in public hospitals, and elected government representatives collectively accounted for 10% of bribes taken that year (UNODC, 2021, 28). Most of the bribes are in the form of cash payments.

Other forms of corruption in Ghana include nepotism, with 57.3% (UNODC, 2021, 82) of the public stating that public officials ‘very frequently’ influence the hiring of friends or relatives in the public sector. A second form of corruption is vote-buying, “according to the survey 10,3 percent of the adult population of Ghana reported that they were personally offered money or a favour in exchange for their vote during the 2020 general election” (UNODC, 2021, 90).

The table below depicts relatively low scores for Ghana between 2008 and 2022, which equally suggests corruption entrenched politics. In comparison to Nigeria, Ghana scores relatively higher suggesting stronger institutions, an active civil society as well as substantive transparency and accountability in government.

Year	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022
CPI Score	3.9	4.1	45	48	43	41	43	43

Figure 8. Ghana’s CPI score between 2008 and 2022. CPI Archive: 2008-2022

EIU Category 3 - Concluding analytical comments.

The functioning of government involves a set of processes aimed at the improvement and management of a country. The processes include public services, executive administration, and election administration. The functioning of government is contextual as one process or system can work for one country and not for the other. It is equally dynamic as those managing the country must be susceptible to change in the country. This sub-section has been chosen to focus primarily on corruption. Corruption can have significant detrimental impacts on the functioning of a government. For example, the success of which a country is managed is highly dependent on the pervasiveness of corruption. If the management is dishonest and fraudulent it will erode public trust and political stability, as well as undermine democracy. Governments who prioritize anti-corruption measures are better positioned to function effectively. Based on Figure 5, Nigeria scored in the low percentile with a current score of 3.89. Nigeria reported roughly 117 million bribes in 2019 but an overall decrease in corruption from 32% in 2016 to 30% in 2019. Based on Figure 6, Ghana scored in the medium percentile with a current score of 6.67. Ghana demonstrates a positive trend with gradual improvements in the functioning of government. Ghana reported roughly 17.4 million bribes in 2021. A significantly lower bribe pay-out than Nigeria. There is also evidence of low CPI scores from Nigeria and Ghana, with a decrease in scores from 2012 to -2022. The case studies highlight that both countries still face challenges in addressing corruption. Including other forms of corruption such as nepotism and vote-buying

EIU Category 4 - Political Participation

YEAR	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022
SCORE	4.38	3.13	3.13	3.13	4.38	3.75	3.75	3.75

Figure 9. Nigeria's political participation score between 2008 and 2022

EIU Index

The table suggests an overall negative trend, with a decrease in scores from 4.38 in 2008 to 3.75 in 2022. However, Nigeria scored its lowest between 2010 and 2014 with a consistent score of 3.13. It improved considerably in 2016 with its highest score of 4.38. The country's most recent score of 3.75 in 2022 falls into the low percentile.

YEAR	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022
SCORE	4.38	5.00	5.00	5.63	6.25	6.25	6.25	6.25

Figure 10. Ghana's political participation score between 2008 and 2022

EIU Index

The table suggests a positive trend with an increase from 4.38 in 2008 to 6.25 in 2022. The score of 6.25 plateaued in 2016. 6.25 has remained a constant score, falling into the medium percentile.

The varying trends from Nigeria and Ghana will further be analyzed through the case studies presented in the next section. The EIU Index uses a set of questions under each category. Each country is evaluated and given a score based on the questions. I've included three samples of the questions below.

- i. Women in parliament
- ii. Citizens' engagement with politics.
- iii. The authorities make a serious effort to promote political participation

This research report will adopt a gendered perspective when analyzing political participation. It will investigate the involvement of women in the field of politics. This research report acknowledges the importance of including gendered perspectives in the discipline of International Relations. As a result, it became imperative to explore the role of women in Nigeria and Ghana, particularly due to the gendered inequalities experienced by women in Africa.

A democratic form of governance seeks to facilitate the active engagement of individuals in matters affecting their livelihoods, while also advocating for the safeguarding of the rights of all individuals. Gender disparities frequently result in disparities in access to resources, unfair allocation of resources, and underrepresentation in decision-making bodies. It is crucial for the government to tackle these challenges to advance the concept of inclusive democratic governance. Women comprise at least fifty percent of the Nigerian and Ghanaian populations, yet their representation in politics remains incomplete, with a scarcity of female politicians, policy-makers, and influential figures

CASE STUDY- NIGERIA

Women should have equal rights and opportunities to participate fully in all aspects of political processes. Although women play key roles, such as mothers, producers, and house managers. Their presence in the political sphere is relatively low. About 51% of women were involved in voting during the 2016 presidential elections in Nigeria, and despite their involvement “available, statistics revealed that overall political representation in the government of Nigeria is less than 7%” (Oluyemi, 2016). This section will examine the level of integration of women in politics, by reviewing the history of women in Nigeria, the challenges that affect their participation, and the efforts made by the government to improve their level of integration and participation.

The return to democracy in 1999 signified a new dawn for women's empowerment as “democracy is about fair representation of all interest groups in the society, and the low representation of women is a violation of the principle of democracy” (Oluyemi,2016).

Based on the 2013, Nigeria Centenary Country Report on Women, the following statistics indicate the integration of women in the House of Representatives. In 1999 the number of women was 12 out of 360 members and by 2011 it was 26. However, in 2015, the number of women in the House of Representatives decreased to 19 out of 360 members. Overall, the data illustrates a notable underrepresentation of women in the parliamentary body. Even in 2011, when the score increased to 26, the level of female representation remained comparatively low. Furthermore, the reduction in the number of women in parliament highlights the state's inability to address the obstacles that hinder women's active involvement in the political sphere. Now, we shall delve into a few of the challenges affecting women. Examining the 8th and 9th National Assemblies. Between 2015 and 2019, 21 of the 360 representatives were women (Eke, 2022: 47). Between 2019 and 2023. 11 of the 360 representatives were women (Eke, 2022: 48). There was a 50% drop between the 8th and 9th National Assemblies.

According to the paper presented by the National Bureau of Statistics ‘Monitoring participation of women in politics in Nigeria’. Some of the challenges affecting women include the patriarchal society which has relegated women to a more domestic role instead of promoting more political participation. Secondly, the low levels of education among women explain how they are least qualified for political offices. Finally, the religious and cultural barriers do not necessarily accord women a public role. Islam in the Northern and Christianity in the Southern region make it challenging for women to participate. Religious traditions impose restrictions on women’s mobility outside the house as well as limit access to education.

The Nigerian government has made several efforts to address the low representation of women. This includes establishing the Women’s Political Empowerment Office, the Nigerian Women Trust fund, and the Women Lobby Group. There has also been the institutionalization of gender policies and programs to involve women in decision-making processes. The fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 marked a significant turning point for the global agenda for gender equality. It enhanced the effective participation of women in politics in Nigeria.

However, the mandated 30% affirmative action and National Gender Policy (NGP) is yet to be achieved. Nigerian women are still being marginalized, and the social and cultural barriers have not facilitated an inclusive environment that empowers women and promotes their political participation.

CASE STUDY- GHANA

About 49.1% of the Ghanaian population are women and the greater recognition of the key role that women play in the economic and social development of a country has motivated the government to empower women and ensure their political participation. Ghana was one of the first countries to introduce a quota system in the election of parliamentarians in 1960 and has ratified, all international conventions for women. Empowering women and promoting their political engagement necessitates collaborative efforts that encompass various stakeholders, including the governing party, customary leaders, leaders of other political parties, and a comprehensive commitment within society to strive for the empowerment of women.

In Ghana, there exist deep-rooted stereotypes and traditional beliefs that function as impediments to the advancement of women. To illustrate this point, it is observed that gender discrimination perpetuates inequalities in education. The inclination towards prioritizing the education of boys over that of girls has resulted in diminished levels of education among girls and women. As of 2020, the percentage of adult literacy between men and women was 84.5% for men and 76.2% for women (World Bank-Gender Data Portal, 2023). This circumstance consequently hinders the progress of women. One could argue that women were seen as second-class citizens, “women’s inability to go to school often makes them second-class citizens in Ghana, in particular, and Africa in general” (Alhassan, 2022: 116).

Other barriers to women’s political participation included their financial position, “Women are often impeded by their inability to obtain funds to enable them to take part in political activities” (Alhassan, 2022:117). The barrier of marriage often meant that woman had no time to engage in political activities as their unpaid labor consumed most of their time. As of 2022 the labour force participation rate stood at 65.4% for women and 72.6% for men (World Bank-Gender Data Portal, 2023). Finally, the traditional view of politics being reserved for men often indicated that culturally women were not encouraged to take part in political activities. This is mostly seen in the Northern regions of Ghana which are predominantly Muslim.

The government of Ghana did make proactive decisions to involve women in politics. This was supported by non-governmental organizations, the World Bank, the European Union, the International Monetary Fund, and Ghana’s development partners who played considerable roles in implementing projects and programs (Alhassan, 2022). One of these initiatives was the Domestic Violence Act of 2007, which punished those who were abusing their partners. In the promotion of girls' education, in 2017, the government introduced “free, senior high school education in Ghana (therefore increasing) female access to education significantly” (Alhassan, 2022: 120). They also boosted women’s access to funds by enabling “commercial banks and microfinance companies to extend credit at low-interest rates to (women)” (Alhassan, 2022: 121). Finally, Ghana introduced policies, and programs aimed at increasing women’s

participation in political affairs at the local, district, and national levels” (Alhassan, 2022: 121).

These programs were successful as there were significant increases in the number of seats held by female parliamentarians by 2020. In 1997 9% of the seats were held by women. In 2011 8.3% of seats were held by women. By 2015 it had increased to 10.9% and by 2020 13.1% In 2022 it reached it highest with 14.5% of seats held by female parliamentarians. Additionally, these programs and policies increased awareness about women’s empowerment and promoted their involvement.

Conversely, there is significant work to be done in securing and safeguarding women's rights. Based on the projects and programs- *i n i t i a t e d* Ghana is taking proactive measures in improving access and representation.

EIU Category 4 - Concluding analytical comments.

Political participation is essential for the health of any democracy. Participation should extend to all members of society as underrepresentation of women in politics, lack of encouragement, and involvement of women remain common. A crucial factor in guaranteeing equal and unrestricted participation of all individuals in society is the incorporation of a gendered perspective on political participation. This approach enables a comprehensive understanding of the distinct issues faced by women and facilitates their inclusion in decision-making processes. Nigeria scores in the low percentile and based on the case study presented, the government’s efforts in addressing representation and enhancing effective participation are yet to realize their full potential.

Based on Figure 7, Nigeria scored in the low percentile with a score of 3.75, and the case study suggests that in Nigeria women’s involvement can be understood through the following avenues, political representation, economic participation, educational access, and activism. However, the social and cultural barriers have not facilitated in fostering of an inclusive environment. Based on Figure 8 Ghana scored in the medium percentile with a score of 6.25 and the case study suggests that Ghana has seen notable progress in improving political participation. The case study suggests that the government has made proactive decisions to involve women in politics, and these programs and initiatives have met with a degree of success. More especially in increasing awareness about women’s empowerment and involvement. The notable progress in promoting women’s political participation is evident through these significant strides in promoting girls’ education and the efforts made to enhance women’s access to credit and financial resources to support their economic empowerment. However, as illustrated in Figure 8, it is evident that Ghana experienced a period of stagnation in 2016, as indicated by a score of 6.25. This is a cause for concern, particularly due to the absence of any noteworthy progress in subsequent years. It is therefore important to note that both Nigeria and Ghana need to make comprehensive efforts in policy changes, community engagement, and cultural transformation to further enhance women’s involvement.

EIU Category 5 - Political culture

YEAR	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022
SCORE	3.82	3.82	3.53	3.82	4.41	4.41	4.12	4.41

Figure 11. Nigeria's political culture score between 2008 and 2022

EIU Index

The table suggests an overall positive trend with an increase from 3.82 in 2008 to 4.41 in 2022. Despite slight fluctuations such as a decline in the scores in 2012 and 2020. Nigeria peaked with a score of 4.41 in 2016. The most recent score of 4.41 in 2022 falls into the medium percentile.

YEAR	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020	2022
SCORE	5.88	6.76	6.76	6.76	7.35	6.18	5.88	5.88

Figure 12. Ghana's political culture score between 2008 and 2022

EIU Index

The table suggests there are fluctuations in the scores throughout the years. Between 2008 and 2016 there was a positive trend with an increase from 5.88 in 2008 to 7.35 in 2016. Ghana peaked with a score of 7.35. However, between 2018 and 2022, there is a noticeable decline in scores with the most recent figure of 5.88 in 2022 falling into the medium percentile. Comparing 2008 and 2022 there is a constant score of 5.88.

The varying trends from Nigeria and Ghana will further be analyzed through the case studies presented in the next section. The EIU Index uses a set of questions under each category. Each country is evaluated and given a score based on the questions. I've included three samples of the questions below.

- i. Is there a sufficient degree of societal consensus and cohesion to underpin a stable, functioning democracy?
- ii. Perceptions of leadership
- iii. Degree of popular support for democracy

Culture encompasses the behaviours, norms, and attitudes found in societies. Culture informs laws, knowledge, and habits. Political culture examines how these behaviours, norms, and attitudes inform and impact politics. According to American political scientist Lucian Pye, political culture is a set of sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process, and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system.

Political culture includes formal processes as well as customs, traditions, and political behaviours. In several ways, political culture is a unifying concept, a cooperation that includes a set of expectations between those governed and those governing. To understand political culture is to understand the rationale and operational dynamics of diverse political systems across societies.

The necessity of understanding militarism within the Nigerian context was paramount for this research report because of the nation's extensive military past, which holds significance in the contemporary comprehension of democracy. The historical prevalence of military rule and the existence of military-turned-civilian presidents speaks to the epochal nature of such behaviors, thus warranting detailed examination. The influence of militarism greatly shapes the perception and execution of political affairs and governance within Nigeria today.

Ghana has successfully managed to contain the proliferation of militarism despite a history marked by military coups. The nation has notably distinguished itself in the promotion and sustenance of democratic frameworks, prioritizing this over a political milieu dominated by militarism. A focal point of this discussion will be neo-patrimonialism in Ghana, a deeply entrenched phenomenon in Ghanaian society that continues to wield influence over political decisions, interactions, and institutions.

This subsection will compare militarism in Nigeria and neopatrimonialism in Ghana. This section will look at how the respective cultures affect perceptions of leadership and the stability of democracy.

CASE STUDY-NIGERIA

Chapter 2 delved into the historical context of Nigeria, with a particular focus on military rule. This subsequent section will examine the implications of said history on the present-day political climate. In summary, the period following Nigeria's independence gave rise to a power struggle, as the nation became embroiled in a multitude of issues related to ethnicity, religion, and politics. This provided an opportunity for individuals to attain political dominance. Instability in the country provided an excuse for military intervention (Ajayi, 2013: 138). Initially, the military was embraced as a savior, tasked with rectifying the injustices of the past and addressing the nation's problems. However, it swiftly became apparent that the military itself was tainted by corruption, "permeated by secret societies and protection rackets" (Ajayi, 2013: 140).

Before the year 1999, the military had governed Nigeria for 34 out of the 49 years since independence, thereby making the impact of military rule impossible to overlook. Frank and Ukpere contend that Nigerian democracy has an overt display of militarized political culture, evidenced by the extensive influence exerted by the Nigerian military on all facets of the state (Frank & Ukpere, 2012: 285). The duration and pervasiveness of military rule have significantly influenced the prevailing political behavior within Nigeria's democratic sphere. Resulting in a perpetual interplay of militarism. Militarism "refers to the phenomenon in which the military elements have displaced the erstwhile civilian authority in governance, and thereby conducted the affairs of the state in military fashion" (Frank & Ukpere, 2012: 286).

The transmission of military values was not limited to the administrative level but extended to civilian society as well, because of extensive years of military rule. During the 34 years of military rule, the style of governing was a continuation of the military culture of command and control. "These military values are transmitted to the rest of society in a way that regulates societal behavior and consequently changes such societies" (Frank and Ukpere, 2012: 287).

Alongside the regulation of societal behavior. “The Nigerian military eroded nascent pillars of democracy and attempted to subject governance institutions to the rigors, rigidity, and autocratic chains of command and control” (Onwutuebe, 2022: 2). We shall now examine the occurrences that serve as evidence of the robust military culture of administration.

Since 1999, two former military heads of state, namely ex-president Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007) and Muhammadu Buhari (2015-2023), have served as heads of state. They have both “carried over relatively similar military culture of administration” (Onwutuebe, 2022: 2). In both cases, the presidency was likened to a general's position in the army, characterized by a centralized command structure that lacked the necessary political communication for effective political leadership.

Obasanjo's civilian government encountered challenges of “military culture of administration, human rights abuses and democratic infractions” (Onwutuebe, 2022: 8). Opposition was not tolerated, and Obasanjo even attempted to secure a Third-Term presidency while undermining legislative efforts to promote press freedom. Other militarized practices included a disregard for the rule of law and political infractions. According to Onwutuebe, “There are several instances of abuse of the rule of law...ranging from violation of the provisions of the constitution (to) abuse of human rights” (Onwutuebe, 2022: 10).

Buhari, on the other hand, had “intuitively demonstrated a strong disposition for the military culture of political leadership” (Onwutuebe, 2022: 12). However, the civilian government under Buhari showed intolerance towards the press, civil society organizations, and peaceful protestors. Constitutional processes were violated in the handling of civil matters, and human rights activists were subjected to arrests. The heightened levels of police brutality during Buhari's administration are seen as “simply another semblance of the same image of militarism, bellicosity and the military culture of the current administration depicting insensitivity to rule of law and constitutionalism” (Onwutuebe, 2022: 12).

The implications of having a former military head as head of state can be beneficial, in the form of prioritizing national security or having strong crisis management skills, given their experience in dealing with emergencies. However, in Nigeria, leaders exhibited authoritarian tendencies which sacrificed democratic values in the process. “The Nigerian political arena is porous and vulnerable to the whims and vagaries of military elites due to low political culture” (Onwutuebe, 2022: 5). In general, both Obasanjo and Buhari's administrations barely demonstrated any reasonable respect for democratic institutions such as legislative, judiciary, and civil society groups.

The political environment in Nigeria is fragile, lacking a strong foundation for enduring unity. As a pluralistic society, Nigeria must actively promote political integration. The current political settlement and prevailing political culture fosters violence, intolerance, and a heavily militarized social polity. There is therefore a “need to demilitarize entirely the polity and enthrone genuine democracy in which people's voice will count” (Ajayi, 2013: 142). The prolonged period of military rule blurred the boundaries, and the military's ethos permeated society, leading politicians to adapt to the command-oriented system as well.

CASE STUDY-GHANA

After gaining independence, Ghana underwent a period of search for an effective political system, during which it experienced various forms of political organization, ranging from militarism under Jerry Rawlings to civil authoritarianism under Kwame Nkrumah. This led to a heavily contested political scene (Nyarko,2019), characterized by tensions, conflicts, and enmity that perpetuated exclusory sentiments. As Brobbey aptly stated, the post-colonial period in Ghana was marked by political exclusivity, exacerbating a legitimacy crisis that had persisted for decades (Brobbey, 2015). This crisis manifested in the form of structural problems, election manipulation, corruption, and violence.

These manifestations highlight the weaknesses present in both formal and informal institutions in Ghana, which in turn reflect the challenges faced in leadership. To comprehensively analyze Ghana's highly contested political system, the concept of neopatrimonialism will be employed, as it offers valuable insights into the dynamics of leadership. According to Brobbey, “Neo-patrimonial logic is seen as a framework for analyzing regimes type and to help us explain the nature of the political system, culture and political attitude of particular African states” (Brobbey, 2015: 65). Ghana has been grappling with the struggle to break away from neopatrimonialism, which refers to a form of governance characterized by personalized and informal networks of power. Neo-patrimonial logic is “the practice of basing authority primarily on the person, or the ruler or officeholder rather than the formal office he or she holds” (Brobbey, 2015: 65). One particular type of patrimonial logic is big men neo-patrimonial logic, where “the political elite or leader establishes a patron-client network to facilitate the exchange of social benefits and/or provision of favours for political support” (Brobbey, 2014), intending to expand their social sphere.

Another form of neo-patrimonial logic can be observed in populist politics, which is “the attempt to gain political support using paternalistic policies, in the form of income redistribution” (Brobbey, 2014: 68). Numerous Ghanaian politicians have become accustomed to employing populist strategies to garner votes. The presence of neo-patrimonial political practices, such as “monopolizing state resources for personalized redistribution” (Nyarko, 2019), further cripples’ democracy.

Neopatrimonialism is perpetuated through informal and formal channels. Both channels exist and operate in conjunction. This research report focuses primarily on the informal channels. Let us now delve into the functioning of these informal channels. In urban Ghana, political leaders acquire power by expanding their social networks. Jeffrey Paller offers institutional explanations for how leaders accumulate power in their daily lives, all of which contribute to the development of political clientelism in Ghana. Paller's main argument is that “informal institutions of leadership that rely on relationships of reciprocity and direct exchange enable leaders to gain power and amass followers in daily life” (Paller 2014: 124).

The informal channel encompasses various institutions, including but not limited to friendship, entrepreneurship, parenting, and preaching. Due to space limitations, this discussion will focus on friendship and entrepreneurship. Friendship serves as a form of personal security and is crucial for expanding socioeconomic opportunities. Friendship determines access, “the more friends that leaders have across ethnic groups, class divisions, regional membership, and political affiliation- the more power they have” (Paller, 2014: 126) Friendship expands a leader's network and ensures loyalty and obedience. Entrepreneurship not only secures financial resources but also provides leaders with the potential to transform their society or community through job creation, “in urban centres, big men are an important source of job creation” (Paller, 2014: 127). Entrepreneurship leads to wealth accumulation and the provision of jobs, which in turn guarantee loyalty and obedience. The influence of friendship and entrepreneurship is evident in the pursuit of political power at the local level in urban Ghana. Political clientelism reflects the neo-patrimonial logic that plagues the Ghanaian political landscape. Not only does it contradict liberal values and undermine political legitimacy, but it also fosters a culture where obedience is rewarded, while disobedience or disloyalty is penalized (Brobbe, 2015: 74).

Paller argues that personal rule poses a significant threat to democracy and prevails in the political sphere. However, Ghana presents an intriguing case where democratic politics and personal rule can coexist, albeit in unconventional manners (Paller, 2014: 126). Nevertheless, this coexistence does not come without risks, as neo-patrimonialism and personalist political cultures can give rise to corruption and the abuse of power.

What is observable in Ghana is a political culture that exhibits characteristics of personalism and neo-patrimonialism. The concentration of power in the hands of a select few individuals leads to a centralized and limited style of leadership. The persistence of neo-patrimonial logic by politicians is seen to enhance political legitimacy, although this form of leadership is often susceptible to political instability.

The endurance and defining feature of Ghana's democracy is the continuation of personal rule (Paller, 2014: 139). The concept of big-man politics has been adapted to suit the framework of multiparty democracy. For instance, “access to political power allocates the president a patrimony upon which patronage wealth is directed towards party loyalists” (Nyarko, 2019). This further undermines the support and legitimacy of democracy in Ghana.

EIU Category 5 - Concluding analytical comments.

A strong political culture is considered essential for the long-term success of democracy. Based on Figure 9 Nigeria scored in the low percentile with a score of 4.41. The case study presented suggested Nigeria may not necessarily prioritize military values, institutions, or solutions. Yet ex-military turned presidents continue militarized practices. This significantly weakens democratic values, curtails civil liberties, and instills long-term stability concerns. Based on

Figure 10 scores in the medium percentile with a score of 5.88. The case study suggests that the political culture of neo-patrimonialism indicates that the political settlement of Ghana is associated with high levels of corruption. Neo-patrimonialism tends to weaken formal institutions and can exacerbate social and economic inequalities. Power struggles and competition for resources among different patronage networks can lead to conflict. Both countries scored in the medium percentile. Therefore, it is important that both countries actively work toward addressing disarticulations and weak linkages between political culture and democracy and improving the overall negative type of relationship that perpetuates corruption, electoral malfeasance, ethnic bigotry, and elitism. For both countries, the decadent political culture of greed has disproportionately affected the duties and responsibilities of the government.

CONCLUDING ANALYSIS

The case studies were individually and collectively used to analyze the development and consolidation of democracy in each country, serving as benchmarks. Overall Ghana's democracy proved to be more advanced and evolved compared to Nigeria. Ghana scored higher than Nigeria across all five categories, showing a conscientious effort to strengthen democracy. Nigeria equally made definitive efforts to improve and strengthen democracy, but the case studies revealed that Nigeria's political settlement is far more convoluted. Despite the government's efforts, Nigeria faces specific challenges that undermine the sustainability of democracy.

In the category of electoral processes and pluralism, both Nigeria and Ghana were able to complete their national elections. However, both countries reported incidents of violence, indicating existing political tensions and inadequate security measures. Election-related violence can hinder citizens' ability to exercise their right to vote freely and therefore undermine democratic processes. It is important to make more concerted efforts to prevent such violence. One notable difference between Nigeria and Ghana in this category is the strength of Ghana's democratic institutions, which are more transparent and credible. In contrast, Nigeria faces managerial and bureaucratic discrepancies.

In the category of civil liberties, it was observed in Nigeria and Ghana that individuals are more inclined to associate with their ethnic identity over their national identity. This inclination towards ethnicity has an impact on the general perception of human rights protection. The presence of self-determination organizations in Nigeria indicates the prevalence of freedom of expression, but it also suggests that individuals do not believe their rights are adequately safeguarded. There is ethnic rivalry in Ghana despite the absence of active self-determination groups. However, the government is sensitive to these rivalries.

In the category of functioning of government, both Nigeria and Ghana exhibit high levels of corruption. This results in low levels of confidence in the government and in political parties whose decisions and actions are marred by the spoils of corruption. The case studies demonstrated that political positions are often bestowed upon friends and relatives of those in

power, rather than individuals who possess the qualifications and competence to fulfill the tasks at hand. The act of vote buying directly impinges upon the credibility of elections and democratic processes that transpire within the government.

In the category of political participation, which primarily focused on the role and presence of women in politics. Both Nigeria and Ghana are affected by stereotypes and cultural impediments that hinder the integration of women into the political sphere. However, what sets Ghana apart from Nigeria is the extent of the efforts being undertaken. Ghana has implemented substantially more comprehensive and intricate policies that promote women in politics, whereas the decisions, policies, and actions in Nigeria have not necessarily yielded the anticipated outcomes.

In the category of political culture, which focused on the militarized political culture of Nigeria and the neo-patrimonial political culture of Ghana, the case study indicated that undemocratic practices are prevalent in both countries, eroding the essential pillars of democracy. Notably, both Nigeria and Ghana have experienced periods of military rule. However, Ghana did not carry over those militarized styles of leadership into civilian rule. Both countries have had civilian presidents who previously served as militant rulers. Yet, in Ghana, the command-and-control approach to leadership is not as prominent as it is in Nigeria.

The overall trends deduced from the case studies presented suggest several things. Firstly, democracy is dynamic, and it does not present itself in the same manner. Even in countries with similar histories, the type of democracy practiced differs considerably. Secondly, Nigeria and Ghana are both on their separate paths of deepening and consolidating democracy and they each face unique challenges that are specific to the historical, social, and political context of each state. The case studies confirmed the categorization of Ghana as a flawed democracy and Nigeria as a hybrid regime. Ghana has free and fair elections and basic civil liberties are respected, despite issues. Except there are also serious flaws in other facets of democracy, such as poor political involvement, an undeveloped political culture, and governance issues.

In Nigeria, elections are not as free and fair because of significant irregularities. Serious flaws in political involvement, government operations, and political culture are more common than in flawed democracies. Corruption tends to be widespread, and the rule of law is weak. The militarized political culture, bureaucratic discrepancies, low levels of political participation, prominence of non-state actors, and corruption, point toward a sort of pseudo-democracy existing in Nigeria. Pseudo-democracy meaning in Nigeria there is an existence of democratic institutions but a lack of democratic practice and culture. Much work must be done to improve the quality of democracy. Ghana on the other hand has successfully implemented democratic institutions and practices that consolidate democracy however the levels of corruption and patronage/clientelism erode certain pillars of democracy. Which in turn affects support for and trust in democratic governance.

CHAPTER FIVE: TOWARD STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY

Democratic Citizenship

The aforementioned factors that democratic governance aims to promote include active citizen engagement and strong institutions. Political actors play a crucial role in encouraging citizen engagement and upholding democratic institutions. As highlighted by Abdoulie Fye, “the most vital component of any institution is leadership and management and therefore for government/institution/organization to achieve its goals and objectives must have a sound management structure and system in place to enhance democratic governance” (Fye, 2015: 29). Leadership plays a critical role in ensuring effective management within democratic governance.

The procedural dimensions of democratic governance involve an interactive process between leaders and followers. To analyze this relationship effectively, it is important to consider leadership and citizenship as distinct yet interconnected components.

This research report sought to investigate the extent to which Nigeria and Ghana have successfully consolidated democracy. To better understand the degree of success, I employ the concept of democratic deepening. This theoretical framework provides a comprehensive approach to identifying democracy deficits and improving its quality. By focusing on democratic deepening, leadership, and citizenship, this chapter aims to explore how Nigeria and Ghana have enhanced their democratic governance and whether there are any signs of regression. These concepts are pivotal elements in fortifying democracy.

Democratic deepening is an ongoing and dynamic process that may vary in its focus and implementation. It involves efforts to strengthen political institutions in a manner that is more transparent, inclusive, and responsive to the needs of the people. Any interpretation or implementation of democracy will be associated with citizenship, rights, and duties. The people and citizenship are crucial variables in the process of democratic deepening. Democratic citizenship is essential for fostering a healthy democracy, promoting social justice, and ensuring that policies are effective and representative. I contend that a lack of integration and a scarcity of communication channels between citizens and the government are largely to blame for specific malpractices in both Nigeria and Ghana.

Democratic citizenship can be strengthened through civil society, participation, and participatory governance. To demonstrate, “a robust civil society can serve as an additional check and balance in government behaviour, through mobilizing claims, advocating for special interests, and playing a watchdog role” (Gaventa, 2006:14). Further, “other views focus on deepening democratic engagement through the participation of citizens in the process of governance with the state” (Gaventa, 2006: 15). This would involve allowing citizens to have a more direct role in public choices alongside allowing them to engage more deeply with substantive political issues.

Citizen engagement is critical for maintaining a healthy democracy and promoting social justice. The dividends of engagement include a legitimate and accountable government whose policies reflect the input of a varied spectrum of citizens. It guarantees empowerment and civic responsibility because when people actively participate in policymaking, they feel more connected to the government and community. Citizen engagement can prevent conflict as it allows governments to recognize and address possible disputes at an early stage. When people believe their voices have been heard, they have more faith in the democratic process and are satisfied with the government's performance.

At the same time, it is crucial to recognize that participation can also become undemocratic; "some argue that participation is subject to abuse, is easily captured by elites, and can itself become a new tyranny" (Gaventa, 2006: 16). Neo-patrimonialism in Ghana where the leadership style is personalist and patrimonial, citizen engagement may be selective, with only a subset of society engaging. Citizens who are concerned about reprisals or reactions may be afraid to participate. The potential for disappointment due to tokenistic engagement, in which citizens are involved for show rather than true input is relatively high. Personal systems can frequently develop a system of reliance in which citizens participate not to enhance institutions, but rather for personal advantage. Neo-patrimonial systems are prone to corruption and nepotism, and this can erode trust in government institutions and discourage citizens from actively participating as they perceive this system to be unfair and unjust.

The strand of democracy exhibited in both Nigeria and Ghana can be described as exclusionary democracies "which allow for political competition but cannot incorporate or respond to the demands of the majority in any meaningful way..." (Gaventa, 2006:10). These exclusionary democracies exhibit certain democratic deficits. Exclusionary democracies can be more comprehensively analyzed as political systems that adhere to democratic principles such as electoral processes and representative governance, while simultaneously marginalizing specific groups or individuals from full engagement in the political arena. Both Nigeria and Ghana have encountered periods characterized by manifestations of exclusionary behaviors. In Nigeria, for instance, ethnic politics have led to the centralization of authority within dominant ethnic factions, resulting in perceptions of marginalization among minority communities. Similarly, Ghana has confronted obstacles stemming from exclusionary practices, particularly in ethnic politics and socioeconomic inequality. Socioeconomic gaps and imbalances in Ghana have the potential to generate uneven political influence and impact the inclusiveness of the democratic process.

According to Gaventa, these deficits include hollow citizenship, referring to citizens who do not have equal rights and benefits. A lack of vertical accountability means that citizens are unable to hold governments and political elites accountable for how they utilize power. Weak horizontal accountability, in which potentially dictatorial executives manipulate checks and balances through patronage, corruption, and the suppression of dissent (Gaventa, 2006: 10).

The deficits mentioned above corroborate the case studies. For example, the prominence of self-determination groups in Nigeria affects the protection of equal rights and entitlements. The

political culture of clientelism in Ghana directly influences the efficacy of government. The reported cases of violence during national elections in both countries demonstrate bureaucratic inconsistencies.

Democratic deepening may vary in its areas of focus and execution and seeks to refine political institutions in a manner that enhances its ability to address and meet the needs of the people. It is an ongoing process that involves combined institutional and social experiments. It involves evaluating the historical, social, and cultural traditions that constitute the political settlement of a country. As a concept, it acknowledges the importance of improving the quality of institutions and extending democracy through more participatory mechanisms. The idea of democratic citizenship, which includes upholding civic duties and defending individual rights, is central to the process of deepening.

Social Perceptions of Democracy

Chapter 3 compared Nigeria and Ghana on an institutional level, utilizing the EIU Index, which incorporated both objective and subjective indicators. Although the Index adopted a maximalist conception of democracy that permits a multidimensional assessment of democracy, it failed to adequately consider the cultural and social variations in the practice of democracy. The concept of democratic deepening emphasizes the significance of combining institutional and social processes to fortify democracy inclusively and responsively. To further enrich my analysis, this section will analyze social processes through a public opinion survey to assess perceptions of democracy from the public.

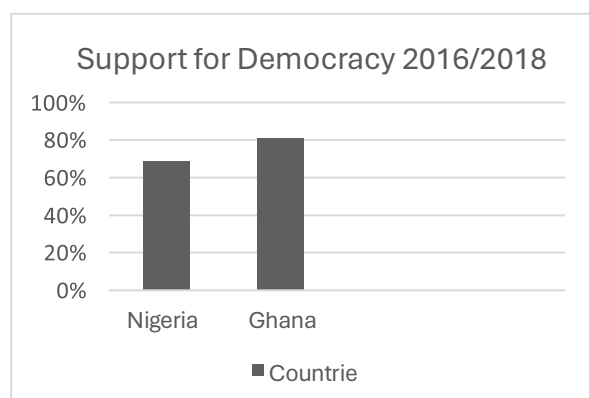


Figure 13. Support for Democracy Nigeria and Ghana 2016/2018 (Mattes, 2019: 7)

Support for democracy can come from various sources. For example, individual beliefs refer to belief in democratic principles at an individual level. It includes political equality, individual human rights, and the rule of law. Individual beliefs also refer to positive experiences with democratic institutions. Figure 13 demonstrates that Ghana has a higher support for democracy in comparison to Nigeria. According to the policy paper, 81% of the respondents were in support of democracy whereas in Nigeria 69% of the respondents were in support of democracy.

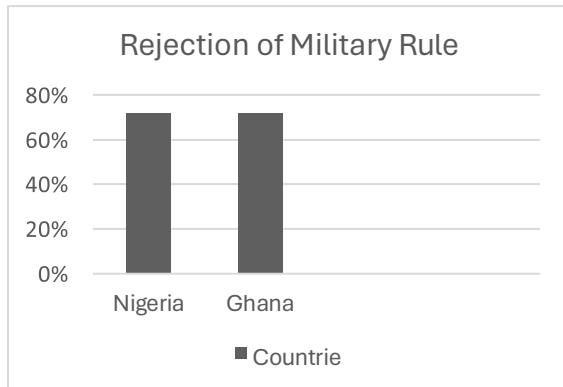


Figure 14. Rejection of Military Rule Nigeria and Ghana 2016/2018 (Mattes, 2019: 8)

Figure 14 is indicative of a strong commitment from the public to foster democratic principles and abandon stratocracy. Considering both countries had a history of military rule, the higher levels of rejection speak to discontent from the public at large of military rule. According to the policy paper, 72% of the respondents rejected military rule in both Nigeria and Ghana.

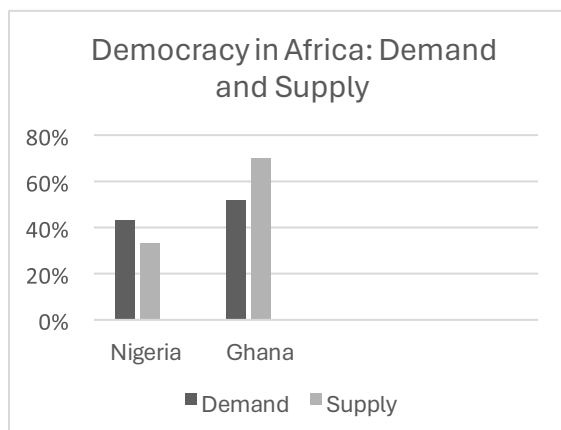


Figure 15. Democracy in Africa: Demand and Supply Nigeria and Ghana 2016/2018 (Mattes, 2019: 18)

To obtain a deeper understanding of the relationship between the state and the people it is necessary to analyze the relationship between the demand for democracy from the public and the supply of democracy from the state. Is the public willing to accept democracy and its respective institutions and values? And is the state able to adhere to democratic values and conduct itself in a manner that consolidates and strengthens democracy? Figure 15 illustrates an intriguing relationship between demand and supply in each country. In Nigeria, the demand for democracy exceeds the supply of it. This can affect the public perception and lead to high levels of dissatisfaction, potential violence, and an overall weakening of democracy. Ghana proves the inverse, with the supply of democracy exceeding the demand for it. In this case, the public may be benefiting from the dividends of democracy.

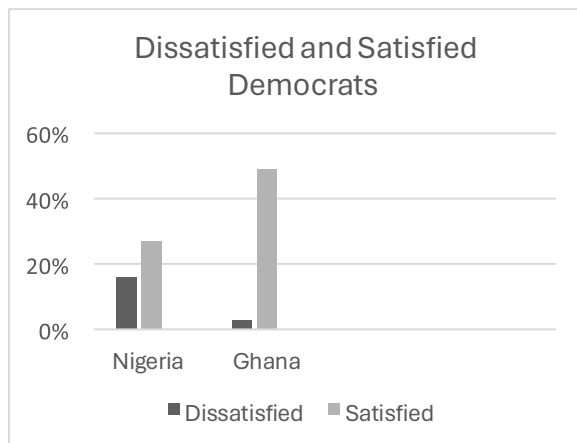


Figure 16. *Dissatisfied and Satisfied Democrats Nigeria and Ghana 2016/2018 (Mattes, 2019: 24*

The data presented in Figure 16 illustrates the level of contentment with the practice of democracy in each country. Upon examination of the levels of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, one can gain a brief understanding of the quality of democracy in these nations. Higher levels of satisfaction indicate a higher quality of democracy. Ultimately, the level of satisfaction should surpass that of dissatisfaction. In both countries, there are greater numbers of satisfied individuals than dissatisfied individuals in terms of their perception of democracy. However, in Nigeria, the difference between the number of satisfied and dissatisfied individuals is much smaller compared to Ghana, which has a higher number of satisfied individuals than dissatisfied individuals.

According to the policy paper, 16% of respondents in Nigeria express dissatisfaction, while 27% express satisfaction. In Ghana, 3% of respondents express dissatisfaction, while 49% express satisfaction. The proximity in the numbers of satisfied and dissatisfied individuals in Nigeria suggests a weakened quality of democracy

In Nigeria, achieving high levels of support for, supply of, and satisfaction with democracy remains a challenge. Figure 13 highlights this limitation by indicating a higher demand for democracy compared to its supply. Ghana, on the other hand, displays a sufficient level of societal consensus along with an overall high level of support for democracy. Figure 13 signifies a higher supply of democracy from the Ghanaian government in comparison to the demand.

Considering both institutional and social conditions, it becomes evident that the practice of democracy in Nigeria and Ghana is not simply characterized as black or white, but rather a combination of successes and failures. Elaborating on the statement made by Gaventa, 'to support the process of democracy building we must also find and support emerging visions and imaginations of what democracy might become,' (2006: 27), it can be observed that mixed visions and imaginations of democracy are evolving in both Nigeria and Ghana.

The concept of democratic deepening challenges the traditional liberal democratic views,

which originate predominantly from the North, and questions their applicability in Southern settings. It calls for an expansion of liberal perspectives as the concept is concerned with "deepening its quality and meanings in ways appropriate to the settings in which it is found" (Gaventa, 2006: 8).

In Ghana, for instance, certain aspects of democracy have proven to be successful, while high levels of anti-democratic practices continue to persist. Nigeria, on the other hand, has not achieved as much success, but the concerted efforts being made are worthy of note. The emerging visions of democracy in both countries encompass anti-democratic practices such as neo-patrimonialism and militarism. These practices serve as a testament to the historical background of these nations and will ultimately shape and contribute to their democratic experience

RECOMMENDATIONS

Thus far this chapter has utilized the concept of democratic deepening to further explain deficits found in Nigeria and Ghana and explore the possible strategies for improving citizen engagement. This was subsequently followed by an analysis of a public opinion survey to draw parallels between institutional and social experiences. Throughout this chapter and overall research report leadership as a practical skill in both Nigeria and Ghana has been brought into contention. This is mainly because leadership plays a crucial role in the functioning and success of a democratic system. The efficacy, accountability, inclusivity, and transparency of leadership are necessary for developing and consolidating democracy. The pitfalls and successes highlighted in each category of the EIU Index are largely predicated upon leadership.

The comparisons made between Nigeria and Ghana highlight the presence of leadership challenges that require attention. To address these challenges, I will now discuss Vusi Gumede's three-step strategy for advancing the African continent.

Vusi Gumede explores three 'ingredients' for taking the African continent further. Although these three conditions are explored in the context of socioeconomic development. I argue that the three ingredients are relevant in the context of deepening democracy and addressing leadership concerns. Gumede argues that "the African continent needs should be informed by thought leadership, thought liberation, and critical consciousness" (Gumede, 2015: 107). All three of these requirements complement one another in renewing the African continent. Gumede argues that these conditions are relevant across the continent meaning there are lessons to be learned by Nigeria and Ghana.

Thought leadership, thought liberation, and critical consciousness is a deliberate program of action to unlearn dominant thought patterns and relearn and rethink patterns that are more conducive to the sustenance of democracy. Thought leadership is "distance from and more critical than other forms of leadership- must be about leadership that is based on progressive ideologies, beliefs, orientations with significant pragmatic and impact appeal" (Gumede, 2015: 93). Thought liberation "... is a call for the rediscovery of a self as an able and capable being that can produce progressive thought, actions and achievements" (Gumede, 2015: 93). Finally, critical consciousness refers to "learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Gumede, 2015: 93).

All three ingredients are crucial for ensuring that Africa obtains ideal conditions given the history of the continent. It is premised on decoloniality, in that it attempts to avoid dominant powers interfering with Africa's development process. Though the relationship between development and democracy is not linear or deterministic there are several ways in which the two can be interconnected. For example, democracy can contribute to political stability and stable political environments are more conducive to long-term development efforts. Democratic systems can also prioritize social inclusion and representation leading to policies that address social inequalities and ensure equal opportunities. What makes this program particularly attractive is the effort made to ensure a deep understanding of the culture and

historical experiences.

I argue that both Nigeria and Ghana should strive toward achieving thought leadership. The process of achieving leadership that is relevant to emerging trends and addressing current issues involves engaging in thought liberation and critical consciousness.

To achieve ‘thought liberation’ individuals must engage in self-reflection and intentional efforts to challenge ingrained thought patterns. This is a process of expanding intellectual boundaries and is one that is not static but dynamic and adaptable. Through this process of self-reflection leaders are expected to achieve critical consciousness where they can recognize and analyze societal structures, systems of power, and prevailing norms. Analyzing societal structures will allow leaders to reflect on their personal beliefs, biases, and privileges to promote equality, equity, and human rights.

Cultivating critical consciousness among Africans entails a purposeful attempt to deconstruct and recreate their sense of self (Gumede, 2005: 94). This notion is critical for developing and systematizing how democracy works in different settings. Extensive work is needed to understand social practices of management in the context of both Nigeria and Ghana and thought leadership thought liberation and critical consciousness are healthy starting points for improving not only leadership but democracy overall. It will ensure a new breed of African political leadership that is open-minded, responsive, and relatable. When leaders allow themselves to be free from constraints and limitations and break free from rigid thought patterns, only then can they explore unifying ideas.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study has conducted a comparative analysis between Nigeria and Ghana to assess the degree to which both countries have effectively developed and consolidated democracy.

The process of democratic consolidation can be classified as either negative or positive. Negative consolidation is achieved when any significant challenges to democratization are completely contained, a level of achievement that both Nigeria and Ghana have yet to reach. Positive consolidation, on the other hand, places greater emphasis on attitudinal patterns and requires a remaking of political culture that is system supportive. Ghana has demonstrated its steady progress towards positive consolidation, while Nigeria has experienced a tumultuous journey.

The foundation of this research report lies in the definition of democracy, which aims to realize the common good. The common good generally reflects the general will, which will always be good. However, the existence of sectional associations in both countries tarnishes the general will by restricting representation, polarizing society, and prioritizing narrow interests over broader concerns.

The true advancement of democracy relies on various existing conditions, such as state capacity, overall representation, and interests. Representation is thus expected to be reflective, intentional, and constructivist. Ghana has excelled in reflecting the interests of its people by committing to upholding personalized forms of representation, mending past grievances, bridging inequalities, and empowering marginalized groups. This leads to a reproduction of an all-encompassing form of representation.

On the other hand, Nigeria has yet to fully reflect the needs of its people and commit to upholding democratic values. There are discrepancies between reflecting the interests and needs of the people and implementing them. A stable and active channel of communication remains feeble. Representation in Nigeria is often limited, failing to account for the diversity of its population.

Significant disparities exist in the roles played by state and non-state actors in advancing democratic ideals in the two countries. In Nigeria, both state and non-state actors exhibit hostility. The division among societal members makes it challenging to establish an overall democratic identity, as each group promotes its own interests. This division is observed between the political class, state leaders, and the general population. Even within the general population, further divisions based on ethnicity, religion, or region take precedence over national identity. The absence of appropriate channels or avenues for integration among Nigerians severely weakens fundamental conditions for democracy. The limited efforts by state actors to address this division obstruct democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

In contrast, state and non-state actors in Ghana are proactive in impelling democratic progress. There is evidence of their greater commitment to the democratic project. All members of society, including leaders and the general population, are dedicated to developing and consolidating democracy. Civic culture in Ghana is relatively more advanced, as there is a higher level of trust among the public. This is not to imply that Ghana has fully consolidated democracy, as regressive political and economic policies still exist, and the political class affects the distribution of power and resources. However, the responses and decisions made by state and non-state actors in Ghana are far more conducive to democracy.

Nigeria has so far consolidated and enhanced democracy to some degree. This research report has exhibited how electoral malpractices, corruption, anti-democratic sentiments, and disparities in supply and support for democracy have impeded the process of consolidation. The incapacity of leaders to establish a shared democratic identity weakens the progression of democracy. Ghana has so far consolidated and developed democracy to a significant extent. This research report has illustrated how credible and transparent elections, responsive and inclusive political policies, and a positive relationship between support and supply for democracy have aided in the process of consolidation. Enhanced civic culture validates the leaders' ability to cultivate a high degree of trust among the public.

The competency of leadership is pivotal for the advancement of democracy. Both Nigeria and Ghana should strive to attain thought leadership. Thought leadership integrates decoloniality into Africa's democratic project, recognizing that alongside repairing anti-democratic practices. The democratic project is situated within a post-colonial context, and the advancement of democracy must exist within a decolonial framework. The practices, values, institutions, and cultures must all be geared towards embracing emerging traditions and practices not only in a post-colonial but decolonial setting.

The pursuit of thought leadership aspires to acquire an enlightened comprehension of leadership to revolutionize representation, functionality, involvement, and overall consolidation. Democracy is subjective, influenced not solely by principles but also by opinions, patterns, and behaviors. Nigeria and Ghana present distinct forms of democracy, with a dynamic amalgamation of supporting and contradicting practices, ultimately shaping the form of democracy observed in these two countries today.

APPENDIX

Table 1: Democracy Index 2006-2022

	Ghana	Nigeria
2006	5.35	3.52
2008	5.35	3.53
2010	6.02	3.47
2011	6.02	3.83
2012	6.02	3.77
2013	6.33	3.77
2014	6.33	3.76
2015	6.86	4.62
2016	6.75	4.50
2017	6.69	4.44
2018	6.63	4.44
2019	6.63	4.12
2020	6.50	4.10
2021	6.50	4.11
2022	6.43	4.23

Own illustration. Source: EIU Index 2022

Table 2: Corruption Perception Index 2008-2011

	Ghana	Nigeria
2008	3.9	2.7
2009	3.9	2.5
2010	4.1	2.4
2011	3.9	2.4

Own illustration. Source: CPI Archive 2008-2011

Table 3: Corruption Index 2012-2022

	Ghana	Nigeria
2012	45	27
2013	46	25
2014	48	27
2015	47	26
2016	43	28
2017	40	27
2018	41	27
2019	41	26
2020	43	25
2021	43	24
2022	43	24

Own illustration. Source: CPI Archive 2012-2022

Table 4: Democracy Index 2022

	Overall score	Rank	Change in rank from previous year	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Ghana	6.43	63	-7	8.33	5.00	6.67	6.25	5.88
Nigeria	4.23	105	2	5.17	3.93	3.89	3.75	4.41

Own illustration. Source: EIU Index 2022

Ghana category: Flawed democracy. Nigeria category: Hybrid Regime

Table 5: Democracy Index 2020

	Overall score	Rank	Change in rank from previous year	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Ghana	6.50	59=	N/A	8.33	5.36	6.67	6.25	5.88
Nigeria	4.10	110	N/A	5.17	3.57	3.89	3.75	4.12

Own illustration. Source: EIU Index 2020

Ghana category: Flawed democracy. Nigeria category: Hybrid Regime

Table 6: Democracy Index 2018

	Overall score	Rank	Change in rank from previous year	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Ghana	6.63	57=	N/A	8.33	5.71	6.67	6.25	6.18
Nigeria	4.44	108	N/A	6.08	4.64	3.33	3.75	4.41

Own illustration. Source: EIU Index 2018

Ghana category: Flawed Democracy. Nigeria category: Hybrid Regime

Table 7: Democracy Index 2016

	Overall score	Rank	Change in rank from previous year	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Ghana	6.75	=54	N/A	8.33	5.71	6.11	6.25	7.35
Nigeria	4.50	109	N/A	6.08	4.29	3.33	4.38	4.41

Own illustration. Source: EIU Index 2016

Table 8: Democracy Index 2014

	Overall score	Rank	Change in rank from previous year	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Ghana	6.33	68	N/A	8.33	5.36	5.56	5.63	6.76
Nigeria	3.76	=121	N/A	5.67	2.86	3.33	3.13	3.82

Own illustration. Source: EIU Index 2014

Ghana category: Flawed Democracy. Nigeria category: Authoritarian Regime

Table 9: Democracy Index 2012

	Overall score	Rank	Change in rank from previous year	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Ghana	6.02	78	N/A	8.33	5.00	5.00	5.00	6.76
Nigeria	3.77	120	N/A	5.67	3.21	3.33	3.13	3.53

Own illustration. Source: EIU Index 2012

Ghana category: Flawed Democracy. Nigeria category: Authoritarian Regime

10: Democracy Index 2010

	Overall score	Rank	Change in rank from previous year	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Ghana	6.02	=77	N/A	8.33	5.00	5.00	5.00	6.76
Nigeria	3.47	123	N/A	3.83	3.21	3.33	3.13	3.82

Own illustration. Source: EIU Index 2010

Ghana category: Flawed Democracy. Nigeria category: Authoritarian Regime

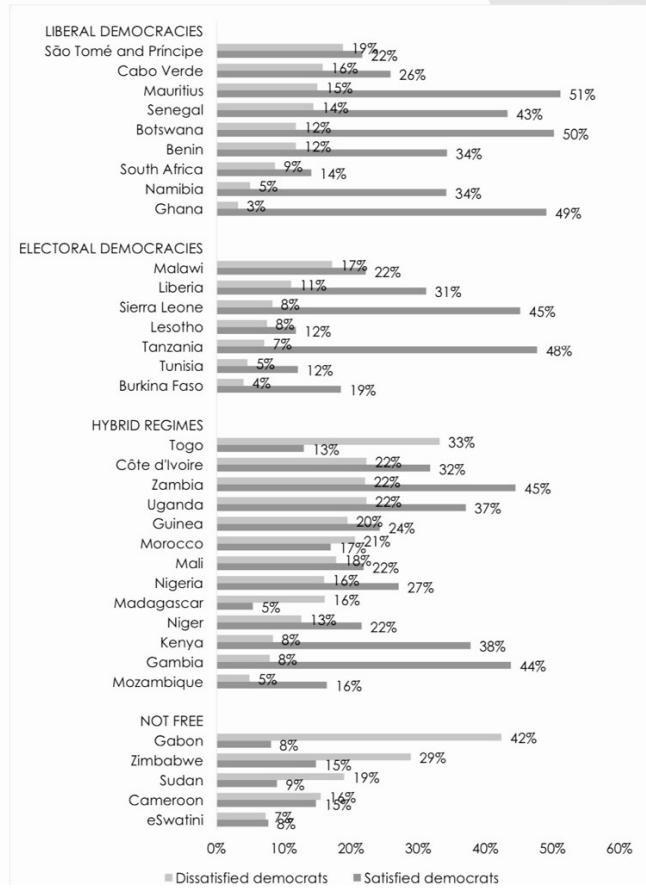
Table 11: Democracy Index 2008

	Overall score	Rank	Change in rank from previous year	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Ghana	5.35	94	N/A	7.42	4.64	4.44	4.38	5.88
Nigeria	3.53	124	N/A	2.92	3.21	3.33	4.38	3.82

Own illustration. Source: EIU Index 2008

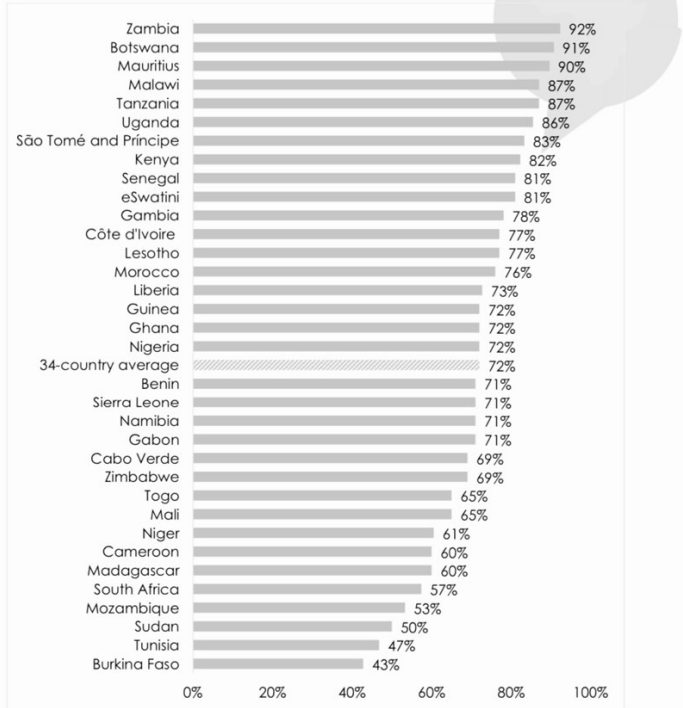
Ghana category: Hybrid Regime. Nigeria category: Authoritarian Regime

Figure 21: Dissatisfied and satisfied democrats | 34 countries | 2016/2018



Source: Afrobarometer Policy Paper No.54. See References

Figure 5: Rejection of military rule | 34 countries | 2016/2018



Respondents were asked: There are many ways to govern a country. Would you disapprove or approve of the following alternative: The army comes in to govern the country? (% who "disagree" or "strongly disagree")

Source: Afrobarometer Policy Paper No.54. See References

Figure 12: Perceived supply of democracy | 34 countries | 2016/2018

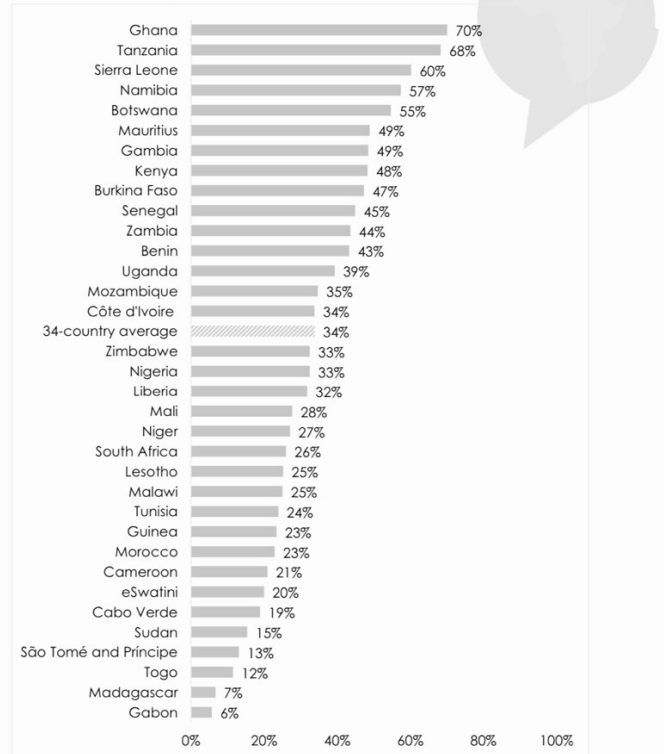


Figure shows % who perceive an adequate supply of democracy, i.e. who say they live in a democracy and are satisfied with how democracy works.

Source: Afrobarometer Policy Paper No.54. See References

Figure 6: Demand for democracy | 34 countries | 2016/2018

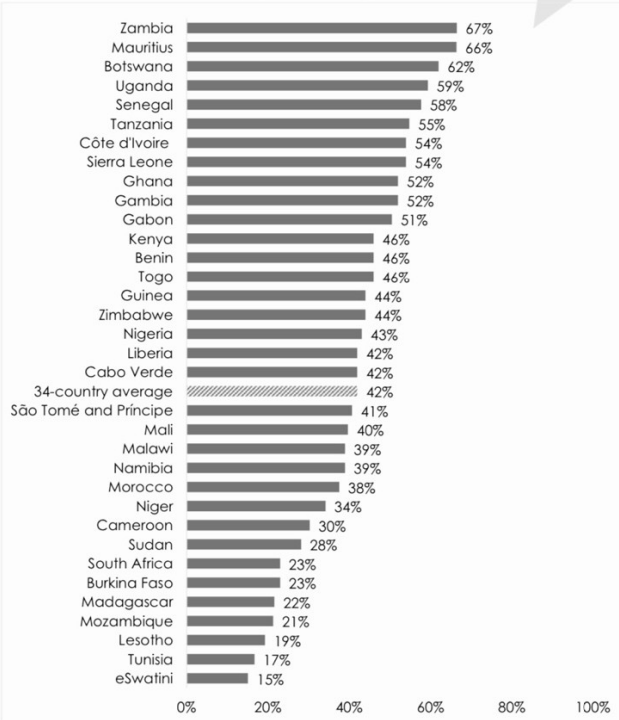
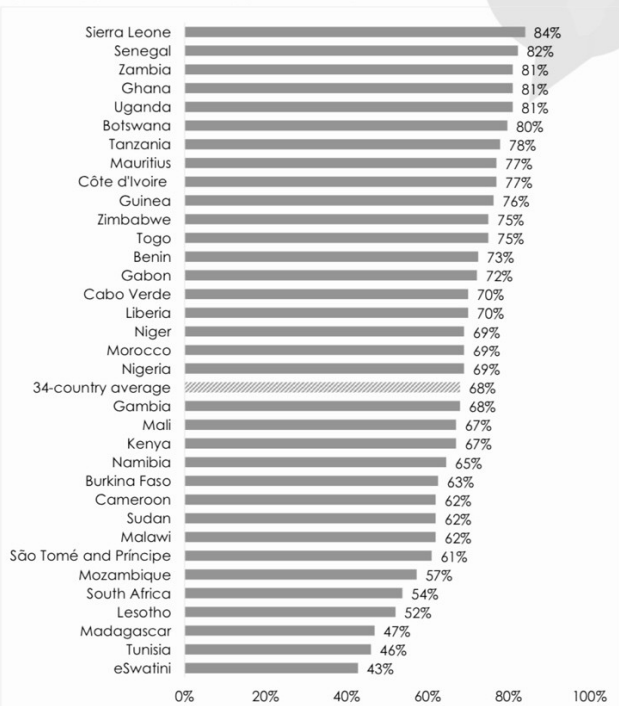


Figure shows % who demand democracy, i.e. who both prefer democracy and reject three authoritarian alternatives.

Source: Afrobarometer Policy Paper No.54. See References

Figure 4: Support for democracy | 34 countries | 2016/2018



Respondents were asked: Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?
 Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.
 Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.
 Statement 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind government we have.
 (% who say democracy is preferable)

Source: Afrobarometer Policy Paper No.54. See References

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