

**ASSESSMENT OF EUROPEAN UNION'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO ELECTION
ADMINISTRATION IN NIGERIA; 1999 -2015**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Stephen B. Pimor hereby declare that this research work titled: Assessment of European Union's Contributions to Election Administration in Nigeria; (1999 -2015) is my sole academic effort and it has not been submitted in this form to any institution for an award of a degree or a diploma. All quotations and sources of information have been duly acknowledged and referenced.

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CERTIFICATION

This research work titled “Assessment of European Union’s Contributions to Election Administration in Nigeria; (1999 -2015)” by Stephen B. Pimor meets the requirements of the regulations governing the award of Master Degree in Philosophy of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary insight.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of my late daughter Tamarakuro Stephen Pimor who returned to her creator on the 21st January 2018 at the unripe age of 28 year.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CISLAC	Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre
CCC	Citizens Contact Centre
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
DGD	Democratic Governance for Development Project
DFID	Department for International Development
EAEC	European Atomic Energy Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EC	European Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EMB	Election Management Bodies
EMS	Election Management System
EODS	Election Observation and Democracy Support
EOM	European Union Election Observation Mission
EPP	Election Project Plan
ERM	Election Risk Management
EU	European Union
FAQ	Frequently Asked Questions
GDC	Graphic Design Centre
INEC	Independent National Election
ICCES	Inter-Agency Consultative Committee on Election Security
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDEA	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IED	Institute for Energy Development
IEO	International Election Observation

IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPAC	Inter Party Advisory Council
IRI	International Republican Institute
KOICA	Korean International Cooperation Agency
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Non-Government Organizations
PWD	People with Disabilities
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN	United Nations
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ABSTRACT

The European Union (EU) and other international donors have been involved in the promotion of election administration in Nigeria since the country returned to civil rule in 1999. This research examines the contributions of the EU to Nigeria's democracy concerning election administration so as to ascertain the extent to which their contributions have impacted on the quality of elections in the country's democratic development. This work was guided by the following objectives. To ascertain the nature of EU's contributions to election administration in Nigeria from 1999-2015; to examine the impacts of these contributions to Nigeria's democratic development and to observe whether these contributions have added value to Nigeria's democracy. This work adopts David Mitrany's functional theory of international relations in explaining the role of EU in Nigeria's election administration process. The methods of data collection is qualitative in nature; hence, both in-depth interviews and content analysis were used for the study. The study concludes that the EU made financial, technical, logistics and election observation contributions to Nigeria's election administration. The findings of the study has shown that contrary to the long held view by some scholars that EU's involvement in Nigeria' election administration process is solely anchored on interest in crude oil, this study reveals that there are both political and economic motivations in EU 's contributions. There are other contending interests such as migration and global peace that democracy is prone to promote and the strategic location of Nigeria as a beacon of hope for the black race thereby giving credence to the theory of functionalism which emphasizes cooperation for the common interest of all. The study recommends that all hands should be on deck to ensure a conducive atmosphere by all critical stakeholders in promoting election administration in Nigeria.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Nigeria gained her political independence in 1960, but party politics and elections in the country date back to 1920s. Since independence, the country has spent thirty years under military rule and the remaining 29 years under a democratic rule or representative democracy. In representative democracy, elections are seen as the legitimate basis for exercising power. The elections that ushered in civilian rule in 1999 were characterized by electoral flaws and did not meet the standards of even the 1992 ones, but were tolerated because of the overriding desire to ease out the military (DFID; USAID, 2007,P.1), as a result of the force of third wave democratization across the globe.

Ahmed (2015) captured the chaotic democratic scene in Nigeria when he observed that since the attainment of independence in 1960, Nigeria has been plagued by political instability fueled largely by poor electoral process. The problems associated with the first post-independence national elections of 1964 and the 1965 Western Region election culminated in the January 15, 1966 coup. The 1979 elections were criticized by international observers as having been massively rigged. The 1983 elections four years later were even worse, leading to political violence. It also resulted in another military take over on December 31, 1983.

Election Administration in parts of the world-Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe and Asia is not a new phenomenon. This is largely due to the fact that democracy has been accepted all over the world as the best form of government. Democracy has gathered momentum across the globe as a result of its immense advantages (Bello-Iman, 2004:p.1). While making a case for democracy, Gana(1996) noted thus, democracy has

been described as government by persons freely chosen by the people who also hold them accountable and responsible for their actions while in government. A democratic system is one where rulers are held accountable to the ruled by means of a variety of political arrangements. Such arrangements include competitive multi-party elections held at regular intervals(Osaghae,1995).

The end of the cold war, according to Kia (2015) gave birth to a consensus in the global setting that democracy is an integral part of development efforts of African states. As democratization process spread through latin America and parts of Asia in the 1980s, Western donors began to consider how they might widen their assistance portfolios to support this trend. Some donors began to carryout assistance programs considered as pro democratic, particularly relating to elections and human rights(Thomas, 2004). Thomas (2004) further pointed out that by the mid-1990s, most western donors became more closely involved in domestic matters of weaker states. New guidelines and policy statements from the Americans, British, Canadians, Dutch, French, Germans and others stipulated that funding allocation would take into account political liberalization. The change of focus at the time also made the European Community as it was known then, to change its rule to enable it take into account a country's political system when determining aid levels.

Thus, foreign democratic assistance relating to the promotion of democracy increased sharply in the past two decades. While writing on some of the reasons for foreign democratic assistance, Thomas (1997) pointed out that two basic reasons or objectives characterized Western donor efforts toward democratic promotion. First, they are based primarily on the idea of promoting democracy for its own sake, as a political good that will improve the lives of citizens by bringing more freedom, political representation and governmental accountability. Second, that foreign democracy- related assistance is

primarily anchored on the notion that democracy is a valuable goal of external assistance because it will enhance inclusive political and economic institutions. In recent times, financial and technical support dominated and became the most popular and generally accepted form of foreign democratic assistance on election administration. Studies such as Rankner, (2007); Ranker, (2008); and Santiso, 2001) have revealed that more than 90% of foreign democratic assistance are provided through financial and technical support to improve the quality of the electoral process. More importantly, it is reciprocal as it benefits both the donors and recipient countries

Thus democratic assistance relating to election administrative is directed at achieving an objective (credible election) to bring about the desired outcome (development through good governance and democracy). The European Union is a critical partner in this process. It has supported Nigeria's efforts to improve its election administration process by offering financial and technical assistance as well as playing a very important role of election observation.

According to Abdullahi (2015), given the significance of credible elections in promoting good democratic governance, international development agencies committed themselves to providing financial and technical assistance towards improving electoral process with a view to raising the quality of democratic governance in Nigeria. One of the major initiatives formed by development agencies is the Democratic Governance for Development Project (DGD). The project was introduced to provide technical and financial assistance to political and Civil Society groups towards the promotion of credible elections in Nigeria.

The key partners of DGD include the European Union (EU) Department for International Development (DFID), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Korean International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) and the UNDP(UNDP, 2014).

Democratic assistance in election administration takes the forms of funding of trainings, study visits, designs and publications of posters, training materials, books supply of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) equipment and software and other technical support given to democratic institutions especially new and emerging democracies so as to promote and consolidate their democracies. Adetula, et al(2010) in a commissioned research on how development agencies has supported democratic institutions in Nigeria has shown that international governmental and non-governmental organizations including EU has been interacting with Nigeria's democratic institutions to support democratic consolidation and avoid democratic regression or reversal. The UNDP for instance had been serving as one of the socializing agents for the reconstruction of the norms of liberal democracy in Nigeria. For instance, in its 6th country plan 2003-2007, it focused on good governance; and 7th country plan 2009-2012 extended to 2015 focused on sharpening democratic project. Even though the impacts of these roles had been received with mixed feelings, Adetula et al (2010); Glenworth and Afari-Gyon (2011; and Adetula (2011) have shown that there are indications that studies have been done on this institution with the intention to consolidate democracy in Nigeria. According to Beichelt (2012), democracy promotion involves external relations and development cooperation that contribute to the development and consolidation of democracy in other countries other than donor countries. The extent to which EU as an international governmental organizations has contributed to the development of democracy election administration in Nigeria calls for empirical study.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Election administration is a complex, multistage process involving registration, structuring the voting process and the processes used to compile, register and then count and cast the votes. The importance of election administration cannot be overemphasized as it can influence the integrity and legitimacy of the would be winner. Therefore, for democracy to function properly, local, state, federal and even international governmental and non governmental organizations must foster an election system that achieves the highest standards of accuracy, convenience, efficiency and security

International governmental organizations have played active roles in these processes in Asia, Latin America and even in African countries. It is against this backdrop that this study examines the contributions of the European Union in Nigeria's election administration 1999-2015. These contributions are in financial and technical terms geared towards consolidating or deepening democracy. The researcher not only examined the contributions of the European Union but assesses the impacts of these contributions towards promoting efficient election administration Nigeria's democracy from 1999 - 2015.

Eyinla (1998), stated that the international community was most active in the provision of financial logistics support to Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). Such assistance came from Canada, Japan, UK, U.S.A. etc. The largest contributions to the electoral process amounting to US\$4 million came from European Union. According to Youngs (2002) the European Union (E.U.) unlike in the Asian countries evolved a significant range of activities aimed at democratic consolidation in Asian countries since the 1990s has done little in Africa. The E.U. approach to democracy building has been seen to possess a number of strength to U.S. policy of promoting democratization across

the globe and in connection with grassroots development imperative for developing countries. The European Union Election Observation Mission Final Report on the April 2011 General Elections noted that 141 Election Observers led by chief observer Alojz Peterle, a member of the European Parliament originated from the 27 EU member States, as well as from Norway and Switzerland. In total, during election days, the EU observers made 1,684 visits to polling units in order to observe accreditation, voting and counting, and additionally they observed collation of results at 309 centres at ward, local Government Area and higher levels.

Young (2004), further stated that the largest recipients of democracy assistance in absolute terms were the sub-Saharan African states within the Lome Convention, but even in this case, such funding accounted for only 0.3 percent of EC aid. The ACP countries received a total of 252 million Euro for political aid projects between 1992 and 1997. The Relations between Nigeria and the European Union has not been smooth since Nigeria gained political independence from Britain in 1960. While tracing the relationship between Nigeria and the EU countries; Khakee (2007), observed that in the course of the second period of dictatorship after Nigeria's independence(1984-1999), relations between Nigeria and EU countries gradually took a different dimension. In 1993, the results of the Presidential election which was supposed to reintroduce democracy in the country was annulled. Consequently, the EU suspended military cooperation and restricted high level visits. In the aftermath of the execution of Ken Saro Wiwa and other Ogoni eight leaders in 1995, relations between Nigeria and EU came to an almost complete stand still. The EU reinforced travel restrictions, imposed an arms embargo and suspended most development cooperation with Nigeria. The above measures were lifted after the elections in May 1999, following the death of military dictator General Sani Abacha.

When Nigeria returned to democratic rule in 1999, political relations between the EU and Nigeria resumed. According to Khakee(2007), development cooperation was quick to take off in 1999 with the granting of an EUR 100 million EU quick start assistance package covering 1999-2000. While observing the normalization of political relationship between the EU and Nigeria, Darren et al (2010), said that the relationship between Nigeria and the EU improved rapidly with the normalization of relations in June 1999, when EU lifted all sanctions against Nigeria. The European Commission(EC) resolved to focus future cooperation on poverty alleviation, promotion of democracy and good governance, anti corruption measures and the integration of Nigeria into the global economy.

Therefore, the allegiance and commitment paid by both the EU and its member States in recent years to the goal of democracy promotion in Nigeria through election administration should be properly assessed. Some of the critical areas EU has contributed to Nigeria regarding the above, includes areas such as poverty alleviation, promotion of democracy and good governance, anti-corruption measures but this study focuses on EU's contributions towards election administration in the areas of capacity building, logistics and election observation in order to ascertain the impact of these contributions on the promotion of Nigeria's democracy from 1999 – 2015.

1.3. Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions.

- i. What was the motivation of EU's contributions to Nigeria's Election Administration from 1999-2015?
- ii. What is the nature of contributions of the EU to Nigeria's Election Administration; 1999-2015?

- iii. What are the impacts of EU's contributions to Election Administration in Nigeria: 1999-2015?
- iv. To what extent has EU's contributions added value to Nigeria's Election Administration; 1999-2015?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

This study was guided by the following research objectives:

- i. To identify the motivating factors of EU's contributions to election administrations in Nigeria from 1999-2015.
- ii. To ascertain the nature of EU's contributions to election administration in Nigeria between 1999-2015.
- iii. To establish the impacts of EU's contributions to election administration in Nigeria between 1999-2015.
- iv. To examine the extent to which EU's contributions have added value to election administration in Nigeria between 1999-2015.

1.5. Research Assumptions

- i. Economic considerations prompted EU's involvement in election administration in Nigeria; 1999-2015.
- ii. Political considerations prompted EU's involvement in election administration in Nigeria; 1999-2015.
- iii. EU's financial and technical contributions has added value to election administration in Nigeria; 1999-2015.
- iv. EU's contributions has impacted positively on election administration in Nigeria; 1999-2015.

1.6. **Significance of the Study**

Scholars such as Ranker (2008); Santiso(2001) are of the view that EU's contributions to election administration in Nigeria is motivated by economic and political considerations. This study is significant in that, it will contribute to existing body of knowledge, and it will also serve as a reliable source of empirical data on EU contributions to election administration in Nigeria as it attempt to fill the gaps created by these scholars so as to ascertain the authenticity of such claims. Findings from this study would be of practical relevance to the appropriate agencies planning, projection, building and implementing theories and policies on election administration in Nigeria and other African countries as it relates to international organizations.

In addition, some scholars from literature reviewed such as Edet, (2016); Omotola (2010) attributes weak political institutions mainly the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) for lacking financial, institutional and administrative independence and capacity required for effectiveness as major challenges, which resulted in questionable electoral outcomes. This study will serve as a reference material for future researchers and students who wants to validate this claims by establishing whether the contributions of EU has helped to strengthen INEC and consequently improved the credibility of elections and legitimacy of the process.

In specific terms, this study is significant in the following ways. The study shall serve as a source of reliable information that provides analytical insights on the intricacies of the relationship between developed and developing countries as aid is often construed as having stringes attached to it which may not ultimately lead to the development of the recipient country. This study is also significant because it will be an enormous contribution to the existing body of knowledge on election administration in Nigeria as well as serving as a guide for future research into same or related issues.

1. The study is particularly significant especially for Nigeria as it affords the researcher the opportunity to take a critical look at the underpinning issues responsible for the EU's huge investment in Nigeria's democratic process.
2. This study will form the basis for the assessment of whether the principles and ideals on which the EU was founded are being pursued abroad.
3. This study is fundamental and significant in the sense that after two decades of uninterrupted civil rule in Nigeria, it is necessarily important to consider Nigeria's democratic status as a giant in Africa and its geostrategic location and the implications of its political development as it relates to election administration, and the effects such may have on other African countries. Hence, democracy cannot be deliberated without giving necessary attention to electoral processes.

1.7. Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope of this study covers the contributions of the European Union to election administration in Nigeria; 1999–2015. The period of 1999 -2015 is chosen because it is when we have 16 years of uninterrupted democratic process thereby making it worth conducting a research on.

The major limitation of this work is the inability of the researcher to interview members of the European Union that were at the centre of administration of election in Nigeria within the period of the study as some of them have left Nigeria and those around were practically inaccessible for security reasons despite several efforts made by the researcher including the use of unofficial means to gain access. However, in order not to lose contributions from the UNDP, the researcher was advised by the Country Director that they can arrange a meeting with Professor Sam Egwu who was one of their staff on

governance and democracy in Nigeria. The researcher's meeting with the Professor greatly impacted on the value of the work. Another challenge was combining my office responsibility with research as the demand in my office was quite herculean. However, this challenge was overcome by the researcher's ability to sacrifice his leave and comfort to make sure the research was not abandoned.

1.8 Definition of key Terms

Democracy: Is the free and equal rights of every person to participate in a system of government often practiced by electing representatives of the people by the majority of the people (Pious, 2008). Democracy is a form of government in which all eligible citizens have an equal say in the decisions that affect their lives. Democracy in this study is a government by the people, especially the rule of the majority and in which supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them.

Election Administration

The administration of election is a complex, multistage process involving registration, structuring the voting process, and the processes used to compile register and then cast and then count the votes.

Election Monitoring: Is the monitoring and observation of an election by one or more independent parties, typically from another country or a non-governmental organisation.

Electoral Process: In a democratic society like Nigeria, electoral process is the means through which this objective is achieved. Electoral process is meant to build trust in the people as well as professionalism in the management. A free electoral process is one where fundamental human rights and freedoms are respected, including freedom of speech and expression by electorates.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Researchers have spent a great deal of time attempting to look at democracy and promotion of democracy especially in Asian and Latin American countries and recently emerging democracies like Nigeria. This has generated mixed feeling as some scholars attributed democracy promotion as having economic undertone. While some of these research is motivated by the desire to identify economic consideration especially the oil factor as reason for this contributions, this study attempt a departure by looking at the contributions of EU in the promotion of democracy through election administration in Nigeria since the return to civil rule in 1999. In fact, there have been multiple research studies such as Ranker (2008); Santiso(2001)Edet,(2016); Omotola (2010); that examined democracy and its consolidation in emerging democracies. This chapter reviews relevant literature by scholars on the roles of the European Union to election administration in Nigeria between 1999 to 2015. It consist of six sections: Background history of the European Union, motivating factors for European Union's involvement in election administration in Nigeria, major areas the European Union contribute to Nigeria's democracy with emphasis on election observation, financial contributions, material/technical as well as other areas European Union contributes to election administration in Nigeria generally. The chapter is subsumed into sections, with each critically reviewing various assumptions in relation to the major concerns of the study. Finally, the chapter aligns itself with the theoretical postulation of "Functionalism social structure and anomie" as propounded by David Mitrany. This will give the work an academic and scholarly bearing.

2.2 Conceptual and Empirical Issues

2.2:1 Election Administration

The administration of election is a complex, multistage process involving registration, structuring the voting process Hall, (2011), and the processes used to compile register and then count and cast the votes. The importance of election administration cannot be overemphasized as it can influence how many people vote (turnout), how easy it is to conduct fraud, whether we have confidence in the integrity of elections and sometimes even who wins election. Failures during this process can result in maladministration. Poor election administration as Ajayi(2007) has observed remains a recurring problem of electoral politics in Nigeria. The credibility and general acceptability of any election outcomes and the legitimacy of the elected government are a function of the transparency, freeness and fairness of th electoral processes. Omotola (2010) describes election administration as entailing legal-constitutional interaction, involving a combination of institutional rules and organizational procedures that ascertain the basic rules for electoral processes, political competitions, organization of political campaigns, registration of eligible voters, voting on election day, resolving election related disputes and certification of election results. This description place high premium on electoral process and its administration and the body saddled with the responsibility of organizing and conducting elections. Hartlyn, McCoy and Mustillo(2008) while conducting a comparative study of Latin America to investigate the level of significance of election administration on democratization process, identified significant professional roles within the ccontext autonomous electoral commissions on transparent electoral outcomes. Their study revealed that the electoral procedures are likely to be respected when there exist considerable level of independence and professionalism within the election commissions. This revelation demonstrates clearly the challenges facing INEC

where there is lack of independence and professionalism in the conduct of elections since 1999 thereby casting aspersion and suspicion on election process and results and consequently on the legitimacy of the winner. It is this gap that necessitate international organizations such as EU to contribute in election administration in Nigeria which form the thrust of this study.

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA, 2006) reported that political actors are likely to accept the electoral processes and outcome, when elections are effectively and professionally administered. This explains why most of the elections in Nigeria since the return to civil rule in 1999 have not been accepted.

Many countries have experimented with election administration in recent years. In some countries, the focus has been on reducing perceived voter fraud and making it more difficult to vote (James, 2012). The 1999 Nigeria's Constitution as amended and the Electoral Act 2010 as amended has empowered INEC as the electoral umpire in the country to organize elections in to various political offices. However, as Edet(2015) had observed, each elections conducted by INEC have always been flawed by poor organization, lack of accountability and transparency. He added that this has reduced elections in Nigeria to mere periodic rituals.

2.2:2The Role of Government and Non-Governmental Organizations in Election Administration

Governmental and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) are legally constituted organizations created by natural or legal people that operate independently from any form of government. The term emanated from the United Nations, and normally refers to organizations that are not a part of a government and are not conventional for profit-businesses. In Nigeria, there are many of them, but one of the most recently formed

one, is known as the “Red Card Movement” led by Obi Ezekwesili, which serves as a watchdog by telling those representing the Nigerian people in parliament that “Nigerians are not happy with the way and manner in which our democracy is run”. The social crusader reiterated that, in such case, “Nigerians have no hope in our democratic institutions” (viewed on the Channels Television: “Politics Today”).

Pavehouse(2002); Bjorkdahl(2004), have demonstrated how international organizations are important vehicles for establishing democratic consolidation. Democratic norms assistance covers wide range of issues that include, but not restricted to development cooperation aimed at developing and consolidating democracy in developing countries. International organizations are also involved in the promotion of democracy. Kamal(2018, p.21) has observed that the United Nations and its agencies like UNDP, the EU, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe(OSCE) among other international organizations promote democracy across the globe. The instrument for democracy promotion according to Knodt and Junemann(2007,p.261) can be categorized into two. Inducement and Enforcement. Economic instrument for enforcement of democracy promotion include financial support, economic cooperation, technical instrument, trade and visa facilities among others.

Inducing instruments include multilateral regional cooperation promotion, diplomatic recognition, financial support and aid and capacity building. Inducing instrument are usually given to country that is ready to consolidate its democracy and it is usually given in form of grants and programme, projects in financial, practical and technical sphere.

Carothers (2009) classified approaches to international democracy promotion into 2, political and development. While political approach focuses on the importance of genuine, competitive elections and sufficient respect for political and civil rights to

ensure that citizens can participate meaningfully in a democratic process, developmental approach involves basic features of democratic governance such as transparency, accountability and responsiveness and contribute to more equitable overall socioeconomic development.

The EU and UNDP use this approach essentially to implement their international democracy assistance. Even though Khakee(2007), assessed the democracy promotion project of the EU and its member countries focusing on the challenges of conducting free and fair elections in Nigeria, he noted that EU was not satisfied with the conduct of 2007 General election. He however affirmed that the interest of EU and EU countries were more on oil than on democracy. This therefore becomes the gap that this study is out to fill by focusing on the contributions of EU in election administration in Nigeria.

The term “civil society” has a long history in political philosophy and its definition was altered with Roman, Hegelian, Marxist, Gramscian interpretations before it was resurrected in the 1990s (Kumar, 1993). The *Latin* notion of *civilis societa* referred to communities, which conformed to norms that rose above and beyond the laws of the state for hundreds of decades, theorists did not clearly distinguish “civil society” from the “state” and often used the two terms interchangeably (Kean, 1988,p.35). Diamond (1997) conceives civil society as an organised social life that is voluntary, self-generating, self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound legal order or set of shared rules. Therefore, the concept of civil society can be defined to include, free associations such as churches, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), political parties, trade unions and other organizations not controlled by the state, which are self-organising.

Mesharch (2006) posits that democracy remains indispensable tool for democratic consolidation. Therefore, it does not make any sense to speak of “democratic consolidation” in an authoritarian regime. Any talk about democratic consolidation presupposes that a democratic regime exists from the beginning to the end of the whole process. A consolidated democracy refers to a political regime in which democracy as a complex system of institutions, rules and patterned incentives and disincentives has become the phrase...“the only game in town”, behaviourally, attitudinally and constitutionally. “Behaviourally” implies that no significant actors attempt to employ non-democratic means to obtain their goal, “attitudinally” means that democratic procedures and institutions are considered by the vast majority to be preferred way of organising politics, and “constitutionally” signifies that actors-governmental, as well as non-governmental, are subject to the laws and institutions of the democratic process. In the same vein, consolidation is more or less total institutionalisation of democratic practices, complete only when citizens and the political class alike come to accept democratic practices as the panacea to conflict resolution.

A strong civil society is considered as one of the prerequisites for democracy. Mesharch (2006) identifies at least six functions of civil society in shaping democracy

- a. Civil society serves a reservoir of political, economic, cultural and moral resources. It can also checkmate the excesses of government which can reduce political corruption
- b. It also ensures that a few people do not hold the state to ransom
- c. A potent civil society gives room for wider political participation by allowing other organizations which stimulate and strengthened the legitimacy and the institutionalization of democratic governance. This point is essential for election administration and democratic consolidation.

- d. Civil society demands the state to improve on lives
- e. It remains a locus for recruiting new political leaders. In other words, those who are involved in the activities of such groups learn how to organize and motivate people, publicize programmes, reconcile conflicts and build alliances. This teaches people to deal efficiently with political challenges and can mould competent political future leaders.
- f. Civil society resists authoritarianism. It should be noted that civil society was never seen as playing any partnership with the government and instead it was always viewed for its unalloyed role against unwanted regimes.

2.2:3 International Donors' Contributions to Democracy Nigeria's

2.2.4 The EU Delegation's Mandate and Objectives In Nigeria

The EU Delegation's mandate and objectives in Nigeria is based on the Lisbon Treaty and on the 2005 European Consensus on Development, which commits the EU council, European Parliament and Commission to a common vision. These objectives include:

- To actively promote the values and policies of the European Union, in an open and equal partnership with the government and people of Nigeria.
- To deepen the political dialogue on all issues of mutual interest and to strengthen partnership with both Nigeria and ECOWAS.
- To implement the EU common Foreign and Security Policy, the development and trade policies focusing on poverty alleviation and on the promotion of democracy, human rights and the rule of law as well as the smooth and gradual integration of countries into the world economy.

- To support regional integration in the Economic Community of West African States as well as the planned development of Pan-African Policies, Programmes and institutions.
- To promote democratic values and practices such as human rights, fundamental freedoms, good governance and the rule of law as well as gender equality.

This section attempts to specifically explore the contributions of the European Union to Nigeria's election administration with the intention to address the objectives of ascertaining the motivating factors for EU's involvement in Nigeria's democracy. This section shall therefore present the contributions and inputs that is made by the EU to Nigeria's election administration. These contributions borders principally on financial, election observation, material and technical assistance (capacity building).

i. Financial Assistance

In the words of Abubakar (2015), given the significance of credible elections in promoting good democratic governance, international development Agencies committed themselves to providing financial and technical assistance towards improving electoral process with a view to raising the quality of democratic governance in Nigeria. One of the major initiatives formed by development agencies is the Democratic Governance for Development Project (DGD). The project was introduced to provide technical and financial assistance to political institutions and civil society groups towards the promotion of credible election in Nigeria. The key partners of DGD project include the European Union (EU), Department for International Development (DFID) the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Korean International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) and the UNDP (UNDP, 2014). Thus, the project is a joint donor-

funded project implemented by United Nation's Development Programme (UNDP) on behalf of their contributing donors.

Donors supported democracy efforts with the belief that democracy, as a system of governance, provides more benefits than authoritarianism both internally and internationally (Abubakar, 2015). International donor efforts targets both state and non-state actors as well as civil society organizations. Rakner et al (2007) stated that from 2003-2004, about US \$ 2b was expended on democracy promotion related projects across the globe out of this amount, more than US \$ 80 million was provided by the United States Agency for international Development (USAID) and significant portion of this amount went to Africa. According to *Adetula et al, (2010)* by 2009, USAID has provided \$17.552M for various forms of democracy aid in Nigeria. Similarly €7m was provided by European Union Parliament to support human rights and democracy efforts in Nigeria. The primary motive for some of this form of assistance is to empower the CSDS/NGOs in their quest to promote human rights and democracy.

Another important sector that benefited from democracy assistance is the civil society sector which is an important factor in democratization. The CSOs have been widely acknowledged as an integral part of election administration and democratization process. The civil society organizations are considered not just a major analytical paradigm, but a force and factor in the politics of developing countries. Therefore, the influence of the CSOs in African governance and development discourse is regarded as a significant milestone in the restructuring of the political life of Africa. Uadiale, (2011) while acknowledging the importance of the CSOs in the promotion of democracy, Brendier-Lindquist (2007) argued that civil society performs both countervailing and educative functions in a democratic setting. Fadaknite (2013) echoed the importance of civil societies thus, the period of military rule was the most remarkable for the civil society

because it was the period that witnessed the emergence of civil society organizations as the main opposition to military rule. This accounts for the tremendous support of the DGD to civil society groups.

Table 1: Donor Contribution to DGDII Project in Nigeria from 2012-2015

Year of Contribution	Donor partner	Amount Contributed
2012-2013	All Donors	\$12.5m
2012-2015	EU	\$25m
2012-2015	DFID	\$10.9m
2012-2015	CIDA	\$3m
2012-2015	UNDP	\$12.6m
2012-2015	KOICA	\$230,000
TOTAL		\$64,230,000

Source: UNDP, 2013

The first phase of the DGD project was implemented from 2010-2011. Following the success of the first phase, the second phase came into effect and was tagged DGD II. The overall objectives of the DGD II include strengthening the democratic character of Nigerian Political Processes, and promoting outcomes that consolidate and advance democratic governance and accountability (DGD II Document, 2012).

International Donors provided financial contributions for the implementation of DGD II project with effect from 2012. Table 1 shows donor contributions by the members of the project with the highest contribution of \$25m coming from the European Union (EU).

Significant proportion was earmarked for improving the capacity of CSOs involved in election and other related areas in Nigeria. Evidence from UNDP database (n.d) shows that over 250 CSOs benefitted from the project in seven thematic areas. These include election, media, conflict, management, political parties, gender empowerment, human rights, rule of law and access to justice, youth empowerment and any other democratic governance areas not covered in the list.

Table 2: CSOs and other areas of coverage under DGD II Project from 2012-2015

S/N	NAME OF CSO	COVERAGE	AREA OF ENGAGEMENT
1	Alliance for Credible Elections	National	Voter education and election monitoring
2	Legal awareness for Nigerian Women	North West	Mobilization and capacity building for women politician
3	Gender and Development Action	South West and South South	Mobilization and capacity building for women politician
4	Alliance for Africa	South East	Voter education on National Gender Policy
5	Centre for human development	National	Voter education and gender sensitization
6	Centre for women study and intervention	North Central	Voter education and training on national gender policy
7	Poverty in Africa alternative	South South	Voter education on the review of electoral laws.
8	Aminu Kano Centre for Democratic Research and Training	North West	Voter education Research and training
9	Association of Youths against drug abuse	North West	Sensitization and voter awareness
11	Electoral Reform Network	National	Sensitization and election observation

Source: accessed from www.ngundp.org/dgd/cso-profileshtml

Table 2 show the benefitting CSOs and their areas of interest in Nigeria. The Table revealed that ten selected civil society organizations benefited from DGD II project across the country.

Table 3: European Union Donations to Nigeria between 1999 - 2015

Table 3	Donor	Year	Amount
1	EU	1999	€1.9m
2	EU	2003	€6.5m
3	EU	2007	€20m
4	EU	2011	€20m
5	EU	2015	€35m

Source: Delegation of EU Office, Abuja.

Table 3 above, shows breakdown of the funds that have so far been contributed by the European Union for the conduct of elections in Nigeria between 1999 to 2015.

Table 4: Sources of funding for 2015 General Election

S/N	ITEM	AMOUNT (₦)
1.	INEC Funding through Budgeting Appropriations for 2014 – 2015	108,851, 683, 313.93
2.	Estimates of Assistance from Development partners	5,207,260,433.55
3.	Grand Total	114,058,943,747.48

Source: INEC 2015 General Elections Report.

Table 4 shows a summary of the major sources of budgetary allocations for 2015 General Elections which was funded from the consolidated National Budgetary Appropriations and Assistance from Development Partners such the European Union.

ii Technical /Material Assistance (capacity building)

Another important area the EU and other donor partners contributed to election administration in Nigeria was on the area of Technical and material contribution. Ram (2003), suggests that the positive effects of bilateral aid on growth derive from a better understanding by the donors of the recipient's needs.

From 1999 democratization process to date, donors have assisted Nigeria with hundreds of dollars and non-monetary measures....(Kia et al., 2015) Western donors in a bid to strengthening democracy in Nigeria co-funded projects aimed at improving the quality of elections and the competence of INEC. The support includes technical assistance and training of electoral officers in the areas of election management and deployment of election materials. USAID recognized the importance of technical and material support by contributing 5m Us dollars that was spent for training of Poll workers in 1999 elections (Kia et al., 2015).

The enormous contributions of donor partners in 2015 elections is stated thus: The electoral process is characterized by many activities and challenges. The electoral management body, in all these, often does not do it alone, it thrives on effective collaboration and assistance from international agencies, also known as development partners. The build up to the 2015 General Election created an enabling environment for the commission to effectively harness the enormous resources that abound in these organizations. Their assistance in no small measure contributed to easing the technical, financial, logistical, operational and administrative challenges associated with the conduct of elections in a large electoral environment such as Nigeria. It is noteworthy that the credibility of that election accounted for the appointment of the current members of the commission and their acceptability to the international community. It is against

this background that the commission enjoyed the unfettered support and contributions of the international community and their agencies (INEC 2015 General Elections Report).

The INEC 2015 General Elections report compiled the names of the international organizations that collaborated with the commission as: UNDP, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), Friedrich Elbert Stiftung (FES); Ford Foundation; Mac Athur Foundation; The commonwealth secretariat; International Republican Institute (IRI), National Democratic Institute (NDI), International IDEA, African Union (AU); Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The United State Embassy and the Netherlands Embassy; among others. Their support is categorized into six broad areas, namely

- Technical and Financial, Strengthening Institutional Memory capacity building, retreats and experience sharing, stake holders engagement and electoral research and documentation.

The EU is a global actor in the field of electoral assistance and provides technical and material support to electoral processes in many partner countries. In recent years, there has been significant increase in the funding and coverage of electoral assistance, which is tailored towards implementing long term support strategies within the framework of democratic development and good governance (Handbook for European Union Election observation and democratic support 2015).

iii. Elections Observation Role

One of the most critical roles played by the EU and other donor organizations is the role of observing the conduct of election as first hand observers. According to the AU, conducting regular and credible elections is the hallmark of a democracy (African Union,

2013). Cognizant of the fact that elections do have strong implications for peace and stability of a state and the wider region, it is believed that elections in many instances can contribute to or even stimulate development. The language used within regional protocols and international instruments seem to favour development principles, indicating a supportive environment for election observation to take root.

More than a decade ago Carothers (2015) recognized the important contribution election observation would make to international politics within the next five to ten years. This contribution stems from the role he saw International Election Observation (IEO) had in publicizing and deterring fraud and holding “together shaky electoral processes in transitional countries” (Kelley, 2010:15).

Since the 1980s, Election Observation has undergone considerable changes particularly after the United Nations (UN) developed new expectations in the conduct of election observation. Most democratic elections around the world invite a few delegations to add credibility to electoral out comes. It is within this context this study is carried out to ascertain the extent to which the contributions of EU has added credibility to elections administration within the period of the study.

In Africa, that perception of quality processes has become increasingly important to the legitimacy of government, along with the rise of foreign election observations in the continent. Ogaba, et al, (2015: 1) went further to conclude that, while there are strong criticisms against international election observation, the overall impact on Africa’s development establishes new interpretations which would challenge previously un-theorized accounts of international elections observation, and recommend options for boosting political development in Africa by making it more responsive to election observation concerns.

While writing about the functions of international elections observers Ogaba (2015), noted that, the motives behind election observers can be categorized into two groups- those who promote democracy because of moral obligation and those that do it as part of a wider development programme. What unites these two group is facilitated by the need to spread democratic political institutions and principles.

It is the above viewpoints that informed the EU's Commitment to election observation in Nigeria. European Union election observation reflects the EU's dynamic approach to election observation. While the EU's methodology for election observation has been continuously developed since it was established in 2000, the core principles upon which EU election is built encompassing all aspects of an electoral process, grounded in international human rights law- has remained largely unchanged. The EU's Election Observation and Democracy Support (EODS) project, following the NEEDS projects that started in 2001, has contributed to the ongoing development of the EU observation methodology, coupled with trainings to ensure the on-going skills and capacity building of EU observers and core team members (Hand Book for European Election Observation, 2015).

The European Union Election Observation handbook noted that election observation is a tool used in the context of the EU's wider policy of support for democracy, the rule of law and human rights. The EU also recognizes that international election observation provides a comprehensive, independent and impartial assessment of an electoral process. As election observation enhances transparency and accountability, it can promote public confidence in the electoral process and may serve to promote electoral participation. This in turn can mitigate the potential for election-related conflicts. Together with other international observation groups, and European Union Election Observation Mission (EOM), seeks to make a positive contribution without interfering in the conduct of an

election, nor validating its results. It is only the people of the host country who can ultimately determine the credibility and legitimacy of an election process.

The EU as a matter of fact has a mandate for Election observation which is outlined in its handbook. The first EU EOM was deployed to the Russian Federation in 1993, which was followed by several other missions throughout the 1990s, which were always organized in an ad hoc manner.

In recognition of its growing role and increasing support for election observation activities, the European Commission in 2000, adopted the communication on EU Election Assistance and Observation which established a systematic and consistent approach. The communication identified the main objectives of EU election observation as;

- Strengthen respect for fundamental freedom and political rights.
- Undertake a comprehensive assessment of an electoral process in accordance with international standards.
- enhance public confidence in the electoral and democratic processes, including providing a deterrence to fraud.
- Contribute, where relevant towards the prevention or resolution of conflict.

The EU has deployed EOMs and Election Assessment Teams (EATs) in 65 countries between 2000 and 2015 around the globe. The countries are outline in the table below:

Table 5: European Union Election Observation Mission (EOM)

Afghanistan	Democratic Republic of Congo
Algeria	Ecuador
Angola	Egypt
Bangladesh	El Salvador
Bhutan	Ethiopia
Bolivia	Fiji
Burkina Faso	Ghana
Burundi	Guinea
Cambodia	Guinea Bissau
Chad	Guyana
Congo (Brazzaville)	Haiti
Honduras	Nigeria
Indonesia	Pakistan
Iraq	Paraguay
Ivory Coast	Peru
Jordan	Rwanda
Kenya	Senegal
Kosovo	Sierra Leone
Lebanon	South Africa
Liberia	Sri Lanka
Libya	Sudan
Madagascar	Swaziland
Malawi	Tanzania
Maldives	Timor
Mali	Togo
Mauritania	Tunisia
Mexico	Uganda
Mozambique	Venezuela
Myanmar	West bank & Gaza
Nepal	Yemen
Nicaragua	Zambia
Niger	Zimbabwe

Communication for EU Assistance and Observation (Com 2000, P.191).

The European External Action Service and the European Commission work closely with partner countries to follow up on the recommendation of the EU EOMs, especially in relation to strengthening the institutional capacity of Election Management Bodies (EMB) and the long-term needs of Civil Society. However, an EU EOM is politically independent from any EU-funded technical assistance projects that may be taking place

in the country being observed (Handbook for European Union Election Observation (2015 : 23).

During the 2015 General Elections, INEC accredited more than one hundred domestic and international groups to observe the elections. Many of these groups returned positive verdicts on the elections. Even before the results of the Presidential and National Assembly Elections were announced, many international observers, including former Ghanaian President, John Kuffour, who led the African Union Team; former Malawian President and Head Commonwealth to 2015 elections observer group, Dr. Bakili Muluzi; and former Liberian President, Dr. Amos Sawyer, who led the African Union Team, all agreed two days after the 28th March elections, that the elections have been peaceful, transparent and credible (INEC 2015 General Election Report (2015:.,p.90).

A Nigerian Newspaper aptly captures the mood of the team during a visit to the Presidential Villa.

We appreciate that the processes are not yet done till the results are declared; then of course, the aftermath of the declaration. But we have come this far and want to give an interim report to the authorities that mandated us to come and to the world and Nigerians in particular; to let everybody know that Nigeria so far has been at peace with the process and so that at the end of the day, the people of Nigeria will be satisfied with themselves that they use the process to get the government they want and deserve (People's Daily, Tuesday, March 31, 2015, p.6).

In its briefing shortly after the 28th March, 2015 Presidential and National Assembly Elections, the European Union Election observation mission in Nigeria said “it saw no evidence of systematic manipulation of the electoral process by any of the stakeholders”.

The EU EOM chief, Santiago Fisas, told journalists that INEC “appears to have performed impartially well in difficult circumstances”. He commended INEC’s efforts to work impartially despite difficult circumstances, strong tensions and criticisms. The

views expressed by the EU Election Observation Mission was adopted by the Parliament, whose Chairman, Javier Nart, was present at the briefing given by EU - observer Mission Chief. The EU observer team was made up of 90 observers from 25 EU member states; Norway and Switzerland.

The US – based National Democratic Institute (NDI) led by Ambassador Johnie Carson, on his part applauded INEC for its deployment of technology in the elections. He however, requested INEC to “review and address the causes of widespread delays in the opening of polling units observed on the 28th March, 2015, including better planning for transportation of poll officials and sufficient voting materials to the polling units.

iv. Other Areas EU has Contributed to Nigeria’s Election Administration

The contributions made by the EU to Nigeria is not limited to the promotion of democracy only, but other areas of vital importance to the overall development of the country too. This section is therefore an overview of some of the specific areas/projects that have been undertaken by the European Union in Nigeria.

The main instrument for EU assistance is the European Development fund. The current allocation to Nigeria from this global fund is around €512million over the period of 2014 to 2020. In addition, the European Union provides funding from a number of other aid instruments such as humanitarian aid, support for civil society and assistance to fight terrorism.

The European Union announced a \$562m assistance programme for Nigeria which was made by the Union’s representative Mr. Veli Ollikainen in Abuja in 1999. The then minister of Cooperation and Integration in Africa Prof. Jerry Gana told newsmen that the money would be spent to support Nigeria in the areas of rural water supply, democracy, poverty alleviation and development of some micro projects in the Niger

Delta. The Union's representative said studies had been conducted on affected projects and findings made known to the federal government (*National Concord 23rd September, 1999,P.13*).

Approval was given by the European Union Development Fund to draw funds worth €600 million about N57.4bn frozen during the military administration of late General Sani Abacha. The go ahead, to withdraw this funds was contained via the May 14, 2001 Passage of the EU bill titled "common Foreign and Bilateral Policy" The French representative at EU Mr. Phillipe Bertoux, said the money was programmed for specific development projects in Nigeria. The areas of project priority were water, sanitation and health which are believed to be of significant benefit to the average Nigerian (*This day, 13th July, 2001,P.1*).

In the same year the European Union approved € 550 million euro grant for Nigeria. The money was part of the dividends of democracy as a technical assistance grant to Nigeria. This amount was beside a 10 million euro grant set aside for all African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries to assist them to act efficiently and appropriately in WTO negotiation and activities (*The Guardian, 26th June, 2002,p.19*).

In 2002, the EU Okayed ₦50bn grant for Nigeria which was to benefit six states. The grant was part of the European Commission's efforts to improve health, education and water projects and to reduce poverty in the country. The beneficiary states were Gombe, Osun, Kebbi, Cross River, Abia and Plateau. This was disclosed by the European Commission's delegation in Nigeria, Mr. Felice Zaccimen at the opening of a five-day workshop on good governance, water supply and sanitation in Osogbo, Osun State. The funds were meant to improve access to clean water, increase literacy and primary health care delivery system (*Daily Times 17th, September, (2002,p.40)*).

The EU also assisted Nigeria on immunization programmes with €44m (euros). According to the charge d' Affairs of the European commission then, Mr. Felice Zaccimen, the immunization component was part of a new initiative called the partnership for the reinforcement of immunization efficiency in Nigeria. This is in addition to the 20.4m euros already granted to the polio-eradication programme for year 2001 and 2002 (The Punch, September, 9th, 2003,p.3).

In year 2004, the EU pledged ₦1.83b to tackle child diseases in Nigeria. Consequently, the organization invested about \$85 million as immunization support in the country. “The then National Team Leader of European Union Partnership to re-enforce immunization efficiency”, Mr. Gerald Moore disclosed it on a journey to Plateau (Guardian 20th, September 2004,p.6).

The European Union and Japan jointly donated the sum of ₦17.2b as aid from the European Union (EU) and the Japanese government. The EU donation was ₦16.8b (120 Million Euros) and that of Japan ₦435 million (\$3.2 million). (Guardian, 11th August ,2005:6).

The EU delegation in Nigeria has been collaborating with the National Planning Commission (NPC) to develop programs on a number of key areas. The EU committed €98m about (N20b) to support the justice, anti-corruption and drugs sectors in Nigeria, with the overall objectives of promoting good governance, enhancing transparency and accountability, combating corruption, strengthening the justice sector and addressing drug related issues in the country. A €35m (7.2b) contract financing agreement in support of the Nigerian government's efforts at preventing and fighting corruption was signed on March 19, 2012 in Abuja (The Guardian, 22 October, 2012:13).

In March 2008, the EU declared its readiness to assist Nigeria tackle energy crisis in the country. The then Charge d’Affairs of the European Commission delegation in Nigeria, Mr. Dennis Thieulin told the Guardian in Calabar, that the EU wants to extend its intervention on other areas like energy and environment issues, among others (Guardian 21, April, 2008:6). As a follow up the EU embarked on a 2.3million Euros (about N460million) utilization of gas and renewable project in the Niger-Delta. The EU commission stated that the project EU SUN GAS will be solely funded by the body through the Institute for Energy Development (IED), United Kingdom. The project was launched on the 7th December, 2009 (The Guardian, December 7, 2009:5).

The European Commission Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection (ECHO) support international relief organizations operating in Nigeria. Since 2010, the European Union has funded humanitarian partners in providing emergency food assistance health and protection to displaced people and victims of conflict as well as in improving the community management of acute malnutrition. Currently, the EU is focused on providing the basic needs of those displaced in the North Eastern part of Nigeria. Since 2014, a total sum of €33million has been allocated to humanitarian assistance in Nigeria. Despite these contributions, the gap this study intends to fill in specific terms is the EU’s contributions to election administration in Nigeria between 1999-2015.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

This work adopts the functional theory of international Relations in explaining the contributions of the European Union in election administration in Nigeria’s democracy. David Mitrany(1888-1975), a Romanian born naturalized British Scholar is considered as the proponent of the theory of functionalism in international relations. In his book *A Working Peace System*, David Mitrany suggested that the basic way of developing

international organization in the future was to make it above all a system of practical cooperation in various functional fields. The problem of our generation, put very broadly, is how to wield together the common interests of all without interfering unduly with the particular way of each. He emphasizes the need to bind together those interests which are common, where they are common, and to the extent to which they are common.

During the Second World War, David Mitrany set forth the above functionalist theory of integration, arguing that greater interdependence in the form of transnational ties between countries could lead to peace, Robert, et al (2007:104). In the same manner Steven et al (2013), described it as an idea formulated by early proponents of European integration that suggests cooperation should begin with efforts aimed at resolving specific regional or transnational problems. It is assumed that resolution of these problems will lead to cooperation, or spillover, in other policy areas.

Some of the major assumptions of the theory of functionalism are:

1. That the promotion of transnational ties between countries could lead to peace.
2. That cooperation between countries should be arranged by technical experts and not politicians.
3. That technical and economic collaboration would expand when the participants discovered the mutual benefits that could be obtained from it.
4. That transnational cooperation in one area would open new avenues for similar cooperation in other areas which is referred to as the spill over concept.

The main concern of the functionalist theory is to develop piece meal non-political cooperative organization which will not only help establish peace and secure prosperity but also render the practice of war obsolete eventually. Cooperation for the common

good is the task, both for the sake of peace and of a better life and for that , it is essential that certain interests and activities should be taken out of the mood of cooperation and worked together.

David Mitrany's assumption that the promotion of transnational ties between countries could lead to peace explains the EU's role in election administration in Nigeria. The EU's role has promoted friendly ties between member nations and Nigeria and has also contributed to a peaceful world. This is situated within the context that any threat to peace in Nigeria considering the geostrategic location of the country in the West African Region and Africa could pose a security and refugee threat to the region and continent. It is therefore pertinent for EU to contribute to Nigeria's election administration so as to enhance the credibility of elections thereby reducing or averting electoral crises that may result to conflicts and perhaps war.

Political cooperation between the EU and Nigeria has opened up other areas of cooperation just as Mitrany theory intended such as trade, security etc. International cooperation such as the one between the EU and Nigeria is the best means of softening antagonism in the international environment. Nigeria still remains a strategic market in the region and Africa, therefore, functional cooperation between Nigeria and EU countries could open up Nigeria's economy for foreign direct investment in the age of trade liberalization.

One of the major weaknesses of the theory of functionalism is that the ultimate goals of the theory as envisaged by David Mitrany which is global peace will continue to be elusive as long as the international system continues to be founded on suspicion and anarchy and war is accepted as an established means of settling international disputes.

Robert, et al (2007) criticized David Mitrany's belief that cooperation should be arranged by experts and not politicians as "somewhat naive". While Joseph Nye (1968) in criticism of the theory wrote thus:

The European federalists have been so fascinated by a readily convenient formula that they have neither asked how it works, where it exists, nor whether its origin bear any relation to the problem of uniting a group of states in the social ambience (Nye,1968,p.200).

As it relates to what would be the broad lines of such a functional organization of international activities, Mitrany stated: the essential principle is that activities would be selected specifically and organized separately each according to its nature, to the conditions under which it has to operate , and to the needs of the moment" (1992, p.502).

The observed weaknesses notwithstanding functionalism as an international relations theory of integration that emphasizes greater interdependence in form of transnational ties between countries is one of the best means of promoting global peace and harmony. In addition, Mitrany's suggestion that the basic way of developing international organization in the future was to make it above all a system of practical cooperation in various functional fields, clearly explains the contributions of the EU in diverse areas which ranges from financial, technical and other areas designed to promote election administration which is to enhance the credibility and legitimacy of elections. These contributions forms the basis for which this study was conducted to ascertain the extent to which it has impacted and added value to Nigeria's election administration process.

Gaps in Literature

1. Both empirical and thematic works by Santiso (2001); Ranker (2008); and Rankner (2007) reviewed, have showed that EU's contributions to democracy

and election administration has both political and economic motivations. Hence, this study was carried out to either validate or invalidate these findings.

2. This study was also carried out to ascertain whether geostrategic location of Nigeria in the West African region and continent with its economic considerations in terms of investment was a motivation behind EU's contributions.
3. This study was also carried out to establish whether geostrategic location of Nigeria and her population in the West African region and African continent constitute a formidable position where any threat to peace in Nigeria would be a threat to peace in the region and the entire continent. Hence, averting election related crises as a result of lack of credibility become pre-eminent in establishing peace. So it becomes fundamental to EU to contribute to election administration.
4. A critical element in maintaining election integrity is sound management of elections by a credible election management body. In a well-established democracy, the structure that administers election is usually taken for granted. In newer democracies, the electoral management system may still be developing and may face considerable distrust, criticism and scrutiny. This therefore addresses it.
5. The existing literature on democratization in any society places emphasis on the significance of elections (Lindberg, 2016). But as Edet(2016) has observed, the unfortunate thing about emphasizing the practice of democracy, especially in a political setting like Nigeria is that little interest is taken in the rightness or appropriateness of the procedures through which elections are organized. Hence, this study attempt to contribute in that direction by focusing on the process of election which is described as election administration.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

According to Akpabio and Ebong (2009) research methodology focuses on valid approach to be used in obtaining accurate data aimed at producing precise results in answer to the research problem. This chapter provides a detailed description of methods and procedures adopted in conducting the study. Apart from providing a detailed description of every step employed in conducting the research, this chapter also encompasses an historical background of E.U., description of the location area of the research, types and sources of data used, method of data collection, sampling method, technique of data analysis and the problems encountered in the course of study.

3.2 Research Design

The study is designed to rely on the official record of EU as regard its contributions to the promotion of election administration in Nigeria 1999-2015. In order to capture the wide range of information required in pursuance of the research objectives, the researcher also relied on survey method of data collection with In-Depth Interview(IDI) as its technique for data collection.

3.3 Location of the Study

This study is located in Nigeria. On October 1 1960, Nigeria obtained its independence. Nigeria, officially the Federal Republic of Nigeria, is a federal constitutional republic comprising 36 States and its Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. As at 2006 National Population Census, the population of Nigeria was 170 million (NPC, 2006).The country is located in West Africa and shares land borders with the Republic of Benin in the west, Chad and Cameroon in the east, and Niger in the north. Its coast in the south lies on the

Gulf of Guinea on the Atlantic Ocean. There are over 500 ethnic groups in Nigeria of which the three largest ones are, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa, the 7th most populous in the world and the most populous Black Country. Nigeria is roughly divided to half between Muslims, concentrated mostly in the north, and Christians, who mostly live in the south and central parts of the country and traditional religious practice especially among the Yorubas in the Western region (Library of Congress, 2008). There are six geo-political zones in Nigeria. These are North Central, North East, North West, South East, South West and South South.

The political history of Nigeria has shown that it has operated under military regime more than democratic rule until 1999 when civil rule was restored to Nigeria after the death of late General Sani Abacha.

3.3:1 Nigeria's Geo-Strategic Location and Importance in Africa

According to Abdullahi (2015, P.190), "Nigeria is one of the most influential countries in Africa. In terms of size, the country is the largest on the continent with a population of 170 million people (NPC, 2006; NBS, 2013). Similarly available records have shown that the per capita income of Nigeria stood at \$1280 and human development index was 0.47 (UNDP Report 2012). While writing on the strategic importance of Nigeria as a country and Regional Player, Marta & Jude stated thus:

Nigeria is referred to as an African giant. It's economy is second only to South Africa's. It has a population of roughly 150 million and it holds the biggest oil reserves on the continent after Libya. It is a strategic partner for the European Union, an essential leader in the West African Sub-region and plays a stabilizing role both bilaterally and through the economic community of West African States (ECOWAS) peace and security architecture (Marta & Jude, 2012,p.12).

Following decades of military rule, the country returned to democratic rule in May 1999 after a successful transition programme initiated by General Abdulsalam Abubakar who took over as the country's head of State after the death of General Sani Abacha. This

transition ushered in the fourth republic and witnessed the influx of international agencies in the country's election administration process. According to Rakner et al (2008) democracy assistance responds to a variety of foreign government donors' motivations and interest, including foreign policy, security, humanitarian and development goals.

In addition, Rukambe (n.d) also argued that building democracy is an important vehicle for ending conflicts and bringing development. While adding their voices, Newman and Rich (2004) alluded that democracy is a critical condition for ending conflicts and the problem of underdevelopment in developing countries and that the quality of development anywhere in the world often depend on the quality of their democratic governance.

While making a case for the positive impacts as a factor motivating international democratic assistance, Adetula, et al, (2010); Santiso (2001) stated that, some international agencies have strong conviction that there is a correlation between development potentials and challenges as well as the quality of democratic governance in developing countries.

Providing democracy assistance will not only raise the legitimacy of a country's elected leadership, but also reduce poverty and conflicts. Abubakar (2015), Santiso (2001) corroborated this opinion by saying that, democracy's credibility resides in its capacity to alleviate poverty and promote development and that a democratic government with credible leadership formulates policies and programmes to address the problems of poverty and raise the quality of governance (Santiso, 2001).

It is in recognition of the above strategic importance of Nigeria that the EU decided to engage the country as an ally in the African Continent. The EU Delegation to the Federal

Republic of Nigeria and by extension ECOWAS, is a full diplomatic mission representing the European Union in Nigeria, with concurrent accreditation to the regional body ECOWAS, headquartered in Abuja. The delegation of the European Union in Nigeria and to ECOWAS is part of the European Union External Service, and is one of the 140 delegations throughout the world. Nigeria is a key strategic partner of the European Union being Africa's most populous nation and its biggest economy. It is the biggest EU diplomatic hub in the continent. (delegation-nigeria@eeas.europa.eu). This study therefore focused on the contributions of EU to the promotion of democracy in Nigeria since 1999.

3.3:2 Background History of the European Union

The European Union EU was created by the Maastricht Treaty on November 1st in 1993. It is a political as well as an economic union between European Countries which formulate its own policies that are binding on member countries. The European Union consists of 28 countries that are located in the continent of Europe. It covers an area of 4,314,782km², with an estimated population of over 508 million people.

The European Union was not just unilaterally created by the Maastricht Treaty. It began as a result of gradual integration since 1945 after the Second World War. After the end of the Second World War, Europe was left divided between the pro-soviet union block and the mostly democratic western nation. The idea of a Federal European Union emerged with an intention to bring Germany into a Pan- European democratic institution with other European nations.

Regionalism in Europe after 1945 took the form of a gradual process of integration leading to the emergence of the European Union. It was initially a purely western European creation by the original six member states, born out of the desire for

reconciliation between France and Germany in a context of an ambitious federalist plan for a United Europe.

3.4 Types and Sources of Data

In line with the research problem and objectives of the study, both primary and secondary data were used for this study. The primary data for this study was derived from respondents and key informants selected through survey techniques by conducting face to face in-depth interview. The researcher elicited data from senior officers of UN especially those in charge of election and governance, Civil Society Organization such as (CISLAC), Officials of INEC and members of the academia who are knowledgeable and vast on the issue under investigation. They were selected through Simple Random Sampling where all lists of CSOs and respondents related to promoting election administration were listed and some were picked from a bowl. These respondents were selected because they are vital to adding value to this study.

The secondary data used in this study include the examination of the official documents of EU and INEC as it relates to election promoting roles of EU in Nigeria between 1999-2015. The primary data relied on the information directly gathered from officers of EU, INEC and CISLAC and members of the academia. The rationale for this is to make sure that the study covers a wide range of issues with the aim of strengthening the findings of the study.

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

This study relied on qualitative method drawn from IDI and a content analysis of documentary records of EU and INEC. The rationale for using both primary and secondary sources is to enable them complement each other in order to achieve valid results from the study.

The researcher visited the office of the European Union in Nigeria to conduct interview with the officials. One official of EU and one INEC officer were interviewed in addition to Civil Society Organizations and members of the academia. In the selection of respondents, the researcher adopted purposive non-probability sampling technique where respondents were selected based on the knowledge they possess on the issue under investigation.

The IDI was conducted with different categories of respondents ranging from Staff of UNDP, Civil Society and members of the academia where the researcher met with the Informants, discuss relevant questions relating to the objectives and problem under investigation and all the responses were captured and tape recorded after seeking their consent and approval. The informants were contacted and convenient time and venue were agreed upon for the interview.

On the examination of official documents of EU on election promotion in Nigeria, relevant documents that covered the activities of EU as it relates to promoting election administration in Nigeria were collected and examined so as to decipher valid points that directly related to the issue under study.

Content analysis was conducted on vital documents used for elections within the period under study. These documents were sourced from the INEC Headquarters in Abuja. Office of the European Union was visited to source vital documents. These documents are the secondary source of data collection. It is secondary because the data were collected by other people for a particular purpose. It is a source which can further serve as a compliment to the primary data to be collected in this study. In using content analysis, documents from INEC and EU were examined based on the issue of election administration in Nigeria.

3.6 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

The population of this study is essentially drawn from officials of EU, INEC, CISLAC and members of the academia who are vast and knowledgeable on the issue under investigation and whose views are meant to add value to the study. This study purposely selected key informants. The key variables under study are EU contributions and democracy promotion through election administration.

3.7 Method of Data Analysis

Data gathered through IDI was transcribed and translated verbatim from the tapes and notes into readable formats and arranged in themes and sub themes based on the research problem and objectives of the study taking into cognizance of similarities and dissimilarities in response to questions. The primary data was analyzed to complement data generated from secondary sources. This was done after the consent of the respondents were sought and granted because of the ethical considerations of the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS ON EUROPEAN UNION'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO NIGERIA'S ELECTION ADMINISTRATION; 1999-2015

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with data presentation, interpretation and analysis based on the objectives of the study. The analysis is based on the in-depth interview conducted with staff of European Union, INEC, CISLAC and member of the academia interviewed and corroborated with the examination of UNDP official documents . This chapter is divided into four sections based on the objectives of the study. These are motivating factors for EU's contributions to Nigeria's Election Administration from 1999-2015; to ascertain the nature of EU's contributions to Nigeria's Election Administration; 1999-2015; to establish the impacts of EU's contributions to Nigeria's Election Administration; 1999-2015; and to examine the extent to which EU's contributions have added value to Nigeria's Election Administration process; 1999-2015.

4.2 Motivating Factors for European Union's involvement in Nigeria's Election Administration;1999-2015

The motivating factors behind European Union's involvement in Nigeria's democracy is driven by mutual benefits to both EU and Nigeria. European Union's involvement in Nigeria's democracy is by their claim to ensure political and economic stability in both Nigeria and European Union countries. This position was corroborated by the EU official

document examined which is specifically outlined on page 10 of the “Country Strategy Paper and National Indicative Programme 2008 -2013” between the European Union and the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It is stated in this document that motivating factors behind the European Union’s involvement in Nigeria’s democracy is that Nigeria is an important Partner for the EU for several reasons; including its economic and social strength. Other reasons are:

- Its young and not fully embedded democratic institutions.
- Its political influence on the continent and elsewhere.
- Its role in Africa in general and particularly in the process of regional integration in West Africa.
- Its weight in the fight against poverty (1 in 7 poor people in Africa is a Nigerian).
- Its role as key energy supplier for the EU’s energy security.
- Its central position in the management of inward and outward migration flow, both to support the development agenda and to control human trafficking.

This position was given credence by Miss Olaolu of the EU in an interview that the motivating factors behind the European Union’s support to Nigeria’s democratic process are clear: She itemized the following factors as responsible for EU’s involvement in the promotion of democracy in Nigeria.

- i. There is provision in the European Union constitution to support democracy all over the world. This is done through overseas development assistance. It is through this provision that the European Union support deserving countries all over the world in their democratization efforts including Nigeria.
- ii. The European Union consider Nigeria’s strategic place in Africa and the world. Nigeria’s large population as the most populous country in Africa, the leading black nation in the world, and Nigeria’s efforts at stabilizing peace in

the West Africa Region, Africa as well as the supply of troops for the United Nations for the purpose of maintaining peace makes Nigeria to be strategically important.

- iii. The stability of Nigeria as a country and Europe as a continent. If Nigeria is unstable or in crisis as a result of absence of stable democratic governance, a lot of Nigerians will seek refuge or migrate to European Union countries which can adversely affect the economy and stability of Europe. The hundreds of people who lost their lives in the Mediterranean Sea trying to reach Europe are clearly avoidable when countries are democratically governed and the rule of law observed.

Another staff of the EU interviewed who pleaded for anonymity while responding to how the European Union's support for Nigeria democratic process is viewed, stated that:

European Union's contributions to Nigeria's democratic process is beneficial to both EU and Nigeria. He reiterated that the contribution is to ensure or strengthen democratic institutions in Nigeria which implies that, it is not only beneficial to Nigeria but to the EU too. He further stated that, there is nothing negative about it. The European Union support to Nigeria's democracy is a partnership that is governed by the National Indicative Programme, which is renewed every six years. The European Union assist in Areas Nigeria consider that are of priority to the country apart from contributing to election, European Union also contributes funds in form of grants to Nigeria.

Mr Jake Dabang Dan-Azumi, Research Fellow with National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies, National Assembly, Abuja observed that:

The motivating factors behind European Union's involvement in Nigeria's electoral process are not farfetched. The European Union is exporting democracy to ensure a politically stable Nigeria which directly serves their interest too. The advanced democracies have one or two lessons to share with developing democracies which will keep Europe out of a lot of trouble especially the problem of migration which is very key.

Dr. Emmanuel Aiyede of the University of Ibadan in an interview on the motivating factors behind UNDP's contributions to Nigeria's election administration process observes that:

It is part of the values of their society which they know can advance good governance as well as global peace and security. They are concerned about migration, so a peaceful world is very much for their interest. There is a saying that no two democracies usually go to war. Nigeria as a country is not what anyone can ignore.

A Professor of Political Science, University of Ibadan, Professor Agbaje in an interview on the 10th May, 2018 while explaining the motivating factors behind the contributions of the EU to Nigeria's Democracy stated that:

Though the ideological battles are quiet compared to the 1970s, self preservation is part of the reasons why the European Union is involved in Nigeria elections. Nigeria is a major partner of the European Union in terms of trade, investments, education, etc. Returns in investment in Nigeria is very high compared to other countries. It is not necessary that the European Union want to spread democracy, they have other interests to enjoy in a stable Nigeria. Even the issue of immigration, if election process fails, it will reverberate in many other areas in Europe. It is in European Union's strategic interest to see to a peaceful prosperous Nigeria.

On the political factors motivating EU's contribution to the election administration in Nigeria's democracy, Professor Sam Egwu in an interview stated that: "This whole idea was with a view to improving the quality of the outcome of elections in Nigeria through the first phase of the Democratic Governance for Development Project (DGD)".

He further stated that the motivating factor behind the involvement of EU in the promotion of democracy in Nigeria is because:

Nigeria is a strategic great country and plays a major role in the ECOWAS region and Africa, as well as the commonwealth and the United Nations. Nigeria is a Regional power house. The European Union has core interests it has to protect in Nigeria. Nigeria has a strategic value globally.

A member of the Civil Society Organization (CISLAC) in an interviewed had observed that:

The motivating factors behind European Union's involvement in Nigeria's elections is to see a prosperous democratic Nigeria. Nigeria is a young democracy and an important country. If elections are not done well in Nigeria, it may lead to consequences such as mass migration. The European Union strengthens democratic systems not just in Nigeria but other countries, too to avoid a Ghadaffi situation. I don't want to believe that there's any ulterior motive behind European Union support for election administration in Nigeria(Austin Erameh,2018).

On the other hand, the European Union is one of the largest economies in the world, the principal contributor to external development aid and a world leader in technological innovation. Besides economic interests, Nigeria and Europe are bound together by history, culture, geographical proximity, as well as by a community of values to be protected and enhanced, including respect for human rights, freedom, equality, solidarity, justice, the rule of law and democracy.

These assertions from the official documents of the EU examined and corroborated with IDI has shown that the contributions of European Union to Nigeria's democracy has both political and economic motivations. The existence of significant mutual interests and shared values has been acknowledged by both parties. Following a number of initiatives that have been progressively expanding the list of issues of mutual concern over the last decade, the European Union and Nigeria are now engaged in an effort to take their relations to a higher new level through intensified political dialogue and enhanced cooperation within the context of Article 8 of the Cotonou Agreement. In addition to the dialogue with the Federal institutions, consultations will continue to raise awareness and address development and human rights concerns. However, a significant obstacle to regular dialogue with Non-State Actors and other two tiers of government is the largest number of institutions involved and the sheer diversity of the political actors. This is in

agreement with the theory of functional cooperation adopted which emphasizes the need for cooperation as enhancing development and trade among EU countries and Nigeria.

Furthermore, it was found that apart from finance, European Union committed other resources to the election administrative process in Nigeria. These are in areas of technical assistance and election observation mission. The European Union usually deploy a large team of about 250 persons to observe and monitor elections in Nigeria. This team of observers is usually deployed to every part in Nigeria during elections.

The above presentation and analysis gives credence to the theoretical postulation of Mitrany's theory of functional cooperation as peace in Nigeria will guarantee the stability and peace of the region and continent thereby creating room for investment and trading activities between Nigeria and EU countries. It also validates the assumption that economic consideration prompted EU's involvement in election administration in Nigeria; 1999-2015; even though it is not solely economic but has both economic and political motivations as demonstrated in the discussion above..

4.3 The nature of European Union's involvement in Election Administration in Nigeria;1999-2015

This section is designed to present and analyze data on the nature of EU's involvement in Nigeria's election administration process;1999-2015. This data generated and analyzed has shown that the EU makes financial, technical, logistics (otherwise described in this study as capacity building) and election observation contributions to Nigeria's electoral administrative process. This is done through UN basket where the donor countries and organizations including the EU contribute to the basket and is in turn administered by the UNDP (United Nation Development Program).European Union's involvement in Nigeria's democracy revolve around Technical and Financial assistance, strengthening institutional memory, capacity development, retreats and experience sharing,

stakeholder's engagements, electoral research and documentation. This position has been given credence by a respondent interviewed who consented that UNDP's contributions covers a wide spectrum of activities. In an interview with Miss Laolu Olawumi, the Programme Manager, Political Governance and Democracy of the UNDP, the contribution of the EU to the democratic ideals in Nigeria was not given in cash to Nigeria. The respondent stated that the cash made by the European Union was given to a Joint Basket Fund which was administered by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and an agreement was signed with UNDP on how the funds were to be administered. INEC is the agency targeted for such assistance. According to Professor Agbaje in an interview, he stated that "The European Union usually deplore funds, personnel as well as logistics for the purpose of election observation". This position was also given credence to by Austin Eramah of CISLAC and Jake Dabang Dan-Azumi, a Research Fellow of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies, National Assembly, Abuja. But Dr Emmanuel Aiyede of the Political Science Department, University of Ibadan gave a more detailed overview of the activities of EU contributions to Nigeria's democracy when he stated in an interview that:

The contributions of the European Union in Nigeria's electoral process is mostly on capacity building considering the meager input of their financial support. The European Union's contributions are greatly felt in trainings for INEC staff, training of personnel for the preparation of elections, training for political party officials, assisting INEC in the production of manuals, as well as bringing up initiatives for electoral reforms. They also train stakeholders such the Police, Civil Defence etc for election duties. They support in continuing voter's registration exercise, post election peace building and election observation.

Concerning the amount in cash given to INEC or the Nigerian Government for elections, it was gathered from the interview that a total of about Euro 83.4 million has so far been contributed by the European Union in funding elections in Nigeria from 1999 to 2015. This is presented in the table below.

Table 4:1 The Amount of European Union funding of General Elections in Nigeria, 1999-2015

YEAR	PURPOSE	AMOUNT IN EURO
1999	General Elections	1.9
2003	General Elections	6.5 million
2007	General Elections	20 million
2011	General Elections	20 million
2015	General Elections	35 million
	Total	83.4 Million

Source: Field survey, 2017

The findings revealed that conditions were not attached to the European Union support. However, conditions are only spelt out to the organization administering the utilization of the funds which is the UNDP.

Professor Agbaje of the University of Ibadan, in an interview stated that “The European Union has contributed in capacity building as well as election observation by providing a global framework to assess elections in Nigeria. Apart from the United Nations, the European Union is next”. Professor Sam Egwu alluded to this contributions when he stated that “The contributions of the European Union to election administration cannot be quantified because they bring their experience to bear. However, in specific terms, the European Union makes, financial, technical and even election observation duties in Nigeria’s electoral process”.

In an interview with Engr Okop Umobong, Director, Development Partners Liaison, and Independent National Commission, he revealed that ‘INEC has been receiving financial and other assistance from the European Union under the auspices of the United Nations UNDP/DGD II Project. Page 53 of the 2015 General Elections Report contained some of

the contributions of the European Union and other international organizations”. Furthermore, the study also found out that apart from finance, European Union committed other resources to Nigeria’s election administration. These are in areas of technical assistance and election observation mission. The European Union usually deploys a large team of about 250 persons to observe and monitor elections in Nigeria. This team of observers is usually deployed to every part in Nigeria during elections. Apart from the above, the European Union also provides computers, materials, kits, vehicles, etc. for the purpose of elections administration in Nigeria. These contributions are classified into the following major categorization.

1. Technical and Financial Assistance. The development partners – including the European Union – helped in developing various strategic programmes and management tools of the Commission such as Election Project Plan (EPP), Election Management System (EMS), Election Risk Management (ERM), EOPs and INEC Citizens Contact Centre (ICCC). They also supported the technical team in the office of the Chairman INEC, engagement of consultants to support operational and logistic processes as well as Policy development in critical issues such as Gender and Communication. They are component parts that are crucial not only to the electoral process but to the conduct of elections.

2. Strengthening Institutional Memory. The development partners contributed to the consolidation of the Commission’s policy on building institutional memory through the printing of numerous documents such as training manuals, guidelines and other publications on the 2015 Elections. They also assisted in the development of an electronic Polling Unit Directory, where the Polling Units were updated to conform to International best practice. It is a continuous process of documentation and storage of

INEC operational records. The process has been on since the return of democracy in Nigeria.

3. Capacity Development. Capacity development was another area in which development partners such as the European Union assisted INEC. This they did through training and retraining of staff, training of election personnel, voter education officers, facilitation of study tours, election observation and exchange Programmes as well as the development of INEC Graphic Design Centre (GDC). Capacity development for INEC officials is a routine process. They are usually trained to be able to execute their job schedules. The ability of INEC officials to carry out their duties professionally is very crucial to the successful conduct of elections.

4. Retreats and Experience Sharing. The development partners in addition, supported the Commission in organizing retreats on Post election audit. They also assisted in other activities such as TEI international conferences, policy dialogues round table discussions as well as workshops on Electoral Risks Mapping. This is where INEC officials and representatives of European Union meet to share experience on issues concerning successes and challenges of elections administration.

5. Stakeholder Engagements. Furthermore, development partners contributed to the constructive engagement with stakeholders such as Inter Party Advisory Council (IPAC), Inter-Agency Consultative Committee on Election Security (ICCES), Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), meeting with election observers, various workshops as well as training of security and political party agents. They also assisted in the production and dissemination of fact sheets, Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ), PVC advertorials, printing of election leaflets among others.

6. Electoral Research and Documentation. In the area of electoral research and documentation, development partners such as the European Union helped in the

establishment of certain infrastructure for research, such as the Commission's Virtual library and the e-learning Portal as well as in the organization of an international conference on Electoral jurisprudence in Africa.

7. Support For Voter Education

- Provide technical assistance to assist the Commission in the design of voter education messages.
- Printing of posters, leaflets and trifold
- Designing and airing voter education messages (short dramas and PSAs) through radio.
- Conduct voter education training for Electoral Officers, CSOs, CBOs on the knowledge and skills required to conduct LGA voter education forum.
- Conduct State voter education forum
- Conduct LGAs voter education forum

8. Support to Gender and People with Disabilities (PWDs)

- Conduct training of PWDs on conducting voter education forums
- Conduct sensitization forums for PWDs on the elections
- Conduct sensitization forum for women on the elections.

9. Support to Electoral Operations

- Continue to provide technical assistance to the commission in establishing and running Elections Operations Support Centers (EOSC)
- Conduct training/ briefing of EOSC staff
- Monitor EOSC implementation

- Conduct Elections Operations planning workshops
- Conduct post elections assessment workshops

It is important to state at this point that the above supports have been ongoing since Nigeria returned to civil rule in 1999. The nature of EU contributions covers different areas.

4.4 **The impact of the EU's contributions on Nigeria's Election Administration 1999-2015**

The EU's contributions made it possible for Nigeria's election body to meet some of its democratic obligations as and when due against some administrative bottleneck faced by INEC in mobilizing fund for the conduct of elections. The impact of the technical contributions of EU in form of provision of gadgets and other technical equipment assisted in the successful conduct of elections. The impact of the logistic contributions in form of vehicles etc. made it possible for the conveyance of men and materials during the conduct of elections. Also, the impact of election observation by the EU made it possible for international observers to monitor elections and confirm whether such elections were transparent and credible. It was also revealed in the course of this study that the above contributions are made by the EU based on the "Country Strategic Paper and National Indicative Programme 2008 – 2013" between the European Union and the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The study has shown that the contributions of EU to Nigeria's election administration have apparently impacted positively on Nigeria elections. For instance, Professor Sam Egwu stated that:

The development of election administration has been upgraded tremendously by the contributions of the European Union. INEC has been strengthened, other innovations such as the Election Management System, (EMS), the situation Room, Electoral Risk Management etc are

introduced. In addition, Political Parties, the Media, Civil Society Organizations are also greatly supported.

In his own contribution Jake Dabang Dan-Azumi, a Research Fellow with National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies, National Assembly Abuja, in an interview corroborated this impact when he stated that “The European Union’s involvement has strengthened INEC and contributed to good governance. It also serves as a road map to improve on future elections”.

The Program Officer Democratic Governance Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC) stated that “the contributions of the European Union has impacted on the development of election administration in Nigeria such as the development of INEC, the strengthening of EMB (election), support for civil society organizations as well as the media. It also helps in capacity building”.

Despite these contributions, it is imperative to state that, Nigeria as a sovereign entity should strive to be more and more in control of her internal affairs. This is to ensure less external interference in the affairs of the country. The likely negative implication is that Nigeria may not be free to make choices in world affairs if that position runs counter to the position of the European Union or her allies. Therefore, Nigeria should wake up to her responsibilities as a truly independent country. The ability of Nigeria to stand on her own is an expectation of the European Union as echoed by Laolu Olawumi, the Programme Manager, Political Governance and Democracy in an in-depth interview conducted with her.

The only way to address or preempt any likely implication of EU’s involvement in Nigeria’s democracy is for the country to be mindful of international political conditions which generally cannot be the same forever. Nigeria should therefore take her destiny in her own hands and ensure less internationalization of her internal affairs.

As to whether conditions were attached to the support, findings revealed that conditions are not attached to the European Union support; however, conditions are only spelt out to the organization administering the utilization of the funds which is the UNDP.

4.5 The Extent to which EU's contributions has added value to Election Administration in Nigeria; 1999-2015

In an Indepth interview, Professor Agbaje, stated that EU's contribution to Nigeria's election administration has added value to Nigeria's election. He specifically stated that:

Absolutely, there is no doubt that election observation has added a lot of quality to elections in Nigeria. The European Union is uniquely placed in terms of experience and identifying global best practices. Election observation is at the centre of the march of democracy. It helps curb irresponsible behaviour. The mere presence of election observers restrain and constrain the actors. It helps to record/document evidence before, during and after elections, for future improvement which is very important. The experience of the American elections shows that no democracy is consolidated.

This position was corroborated by Professor Sam Egwu who stated that:

The development of election administration has been upgraded tremendously by the contributions of the European Union. INEC has been strengthened, other innovations such as the election management system, (EMS), the situation Room, Electoral Risk Management etc are introduced. In addition, political parties, the media, civil society organizations are also greatly supported.

With reference to whether EU support is enough, it was found out that EU support may not be enough, but the key informant in the interview was not categorical on this. It was also stated that European Union was of the view that Nigeria should one day stand on her own and finance her electoral process.

Concerning the assessment of European Union's support for Nigeria, it is largely positive. The quality of elections organized in Nigeria is generally getting more and more improved. It is evident that the desired positive impact is being made. The evidence of the positive impact in the conduct of election in Nigeria is the reduced number of

disputed election results. The introduction of voter card reader is an added advantage. The 2011 and 2015 general elections were adjudged as more credible than the 1999, 2003 and 2007 general elections.

The examination of official documents from the EU interwoven with response from the respondents have shown that there is a need for caution with the contributions from the European Union (EU) towards election administration in Nigeria. This is reiterated in the following areas.

1. **Issues of Sovereignty:** As a sovereign nation the issue of political transition that hands over political power to an incoming government and strengthening of such political institution is very critical. Therefore, issues such as the funding and administration of elections which is supposed to be a strict internal responsibility of the State should not be internationalized or open to external intervention.

2. **Our Colonial Experience:** One of the key countries in the EU is Great Britain. Great Britain, no doubt has vested political and economic interest in Nigeria being her former colonial master. The possibility of protecting the above interests through the application of several options including contributing to Nigeria's election administration process cannot be ruled out. That is why the relevant authorities should think out of the box and initiate measures that can preempt the real intentions of these contributions and save the nation from any form of neocolonialism.

3. **International Politics:** International Politics as we know is where countries go beyond moral concerns or morality to protect their interests. This was witnessed recently when Russia deployed its military might in a bombing campaign of Syrian opposition held areas in the country to help President Bashar Assad stay in power despite

widespread international condemnation. It cannot be totally ruled out that the interest of Nigeria and the EU may clash in International Politics.

This is very possible because International Politics as well as international relations is very unpredictable and therefore can pitch the interest of one Nation against another. From the Cold War experience, no one could have believed that Washington and Havana – USA and Cuba – will work towards a warm relationship. Nigeria should therefore learn to rely on herself by providing critical needs such as making available funds to conduct credible elections and not to rely on foreign donations hook- line- and sinker, so that it can stand for the black race and indeed the third world.

On the applicability of functionalism in this work, we can say democracy is of common interest to all. It is therefore, conceived as globally accepted best form of government and seen as a basic requirement for good governance, political stability and economic advancement.

Therefore, from the view point of functionalism, the contributions to election administration in Nigeria by the EU is to help Nigeria attain the status of a stable democratic country. A democratically stable Nigeria under the functional theory will be beneficial to both Nigeria and the EU. This is because it will ensure a politically stable Nigeria which will attract investment, economic development, transparency and accountability in governance, protection of human rights and the supremacy of the rule of law.

A politically stable and economically prosperous Nigeria will not only attract foreign investment, but will also protect the huge investment of EU countries in the Niger delta. It can slow down drastically the flow of economic migrants from Sub – Saharan Africa especially Nigeria which has become a nightmare to most European and EU countries. In

this way, both the interest of the EU which is the donor and that of Nigeria which is the recipient are served.

European Union aid to Nigeria since the return to democratic rule has helped in some regard. So far, from 1999 to date elections have been held as at when due. No election has been postponed owing to paucity of funds. The 2015 and 2011 general elections were adjudged as more improved and credible compared to 2007, 2003 and 1999 general elections. This improved elections has led to a reduction in disputed election results and fewer litigations.

The EU aids are of assistance by way of provision of logistics, technical assistance as well as election observation. That is why Nigeria as a country has not stopped receiving this aids despite the fact that the conduct of election is supposed to be a strictly internal affair of any nation.

4.6 Major Findings of the Work

- i. The study has shown that the motivating factors behind European Union's involvement in the process of election administration in Nigeria's democracy is driven by both political and economic considerations
- ii. The study reveals that EU's contributions to Nigeria's election administration have mutual benefits to both EU and Nigeria.
- iii. The finding of the study has shown that EU's contributions has helped to strengthen democratic institutions especially INEC as an Election Management body, thereby promoting election administration in Nigeria.
- iv. The finding of the study has also shown that apart from INEC, EU's contributions has helped to strengthen democratic institutions such as The Electoral Institute (TEI) in developing and implementing cascade training

plan for the training of poll workers. Staff of INEC do undergo refresher's programme to get themselves acquainted with latest or up to date knowledge on how elections can be successfully conducted which ultimately improved the quality of the election and enhancing the credibility of the electoral process and ultimately promoting election administration in Nigeria.

- v. The impact of the EU's contributions to Nigeria's election administration were significantly positive. For instance, financial contributions by the EU made it possible for Nigeria to meet some of its democratic obligations including the conduct of elections as at when due. The technical contributions of EU in form of provision of gadgets and other technical equipment assisted in the successful conduct of elections. The logistic contributions in form of vehicles etc. made it possible for the conveyance of men and materials during the conduct of elections. Also, the election observation by the EU made it possible for international observers to monitor elections and confirmed whether such elections were transparent and credible.
- vi. Theoretically, from the view point of functionalism, the promotion of democracy in Nigeria by the EU has helped Nigeria to attain the status of a stable democratic country. A democratically stable Nigeria under the functional theory will be beneficial to both Nigeria and the EU. This is because it will ensure a politically stable Nigeria which will attract foreign investment and reduce mass migration to Europe.

4.7 Contributions to Existing Body of Knowledge

- i. This study has contributed to the existing body of knowledge, by confirming the findings of the works of Scholars such as Ranker (2008); Santiso (2001) who were of the view that EU's contribution to Nigeria's election administration is motivated by economic and political considerations.
- ii. In addition, some scholars from literature reviewed such as Edet, (2010); Omotola (2010) attributes weak political institutions mainly the Independent National Election (INEC) which lacks financial, institutional and administrative independence and capacity required for effectiveness as major challenges, resulting in questionable electoral outcomes. This study has shown that the contributions of EU in both financial, technical and logistics has helped to reduce these challenges thereby enhancing the credibility challenge confronting INEC because of an improved electoral process experienced during the period under study.
- iii. This study has shown that EU's contributions to Nigeria's election administration is anchored on Nigeria's geostrategic location and the implications Nigeria's political development as it relates to election administration may have on other African countries should there be any crises that may threaten the peace of Nigeria and its consequence on the West African Region and African continent in terms of refugee and humanitarian crises and the threat to business interest of European countries been the major trading partners of Nigeria and the entire region.
- iv. Theoretically, from the view point of functionalism, functional cooperation will be beneficial to both Nigeria and the EU as it will attract foreign investment and reduce mass migration to Europe and avert refugee and humanitarian crises arising from any electoral crises or likely war in Nigeria.

- v. Finally, the study has contributed to the existing body of literature by demonstrating that apart from INEC, EU's contributions has helped to strengthen democratic institutions such Civil Society Organizations and The Electoral Institute (TEI) in developing and implementing cascade training plan for the training of poll workers, Staff of INEC do undergo refresher's programme to get themselves acquainted with latest or up to date knowledge on how elections can be successfully conducted .Generally, the impact of the EU's contributions to Nigeria's election administration were significantly positive.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

This study examines the contributions of the EU in the promotion of Election Administration in Nigeria; 1999 – 2015. The thrust of the study is to find out the motivating factors behind EU's involvement in Nigeria's election administration 1999-2015 and to also ascertain the extent to which these contributions have added value to Nigeria's electoral process. However, the specific objectives that guided the study are; to ascertain the nature of EU's involvement in Nigeria's election administration; to examine the motivating factors behind EU's involvement in Nigeria's election administration; to examine the impacts of European Union's involvement in Nigeria's democratic process and to proffer possible solutions to how the identified problems can be addressed in the future.

The summary of the findings of the study has shown that the European Union's involvement in the promotion of Nigeria's democracy is driven by both political and economic motivations. The study also reveals that EU's contributions to Nigeria's election administration have mutual benefits to both EU and Nigeria. The findings of the study has shown that EU's contributions covers different areas such as financial, technical, etc. For instance, the technical contributions of EU in form of provision of gadgets and other technical equipment assisted in the successful conduct of elections. The logistic contributions in form of vehicles, etc. made it possible for the conveyance of men and materials during the conduct of elections and have helped to strengthen democratic institutions especially INEC as Election Management Body in Nigeria. In addition, the findings of the study have shown that apart from INEC, EU's contributions has helped to strengthen democratic institutions such as The Electoral Institute (TEI) in

developing and implementing cascade training plan for the training of poll workers and Staff of INEC to undergo refresher's programme to get themselves acquainted with latest or up to date knowledge on how elections can be successfully conducted .Generally, the impact of the EU's contributions to Nigeria's election administration were significantly positive.

Finally, the study has made theoretical contributions. For instance, theoretically, from the view point of functionalism, the contributions of EU to Nigeria's election administration which ultimately leads to the promotion of democracy in Nigeria has helped Nigeria to attain the status of a stable democratic country which is within the context of the study, a democratically stable Nigeria under the functional theory will be beneficial to both Nigeria and the EU as it will attract foreign investment and reduce mass migration to Europe and avert refugee and humanitarian crises arising from any electoral crises or likely war in Nigeria.

5.2 Conclusion

From the foregoing, it can be safely concluded that the EU made financial, technical logistics and election observation contributions to Nigeria's election administration. This has improved the quality and credibility of elections in Nigeria within the period under study.

The study concludes that since the return to civil rule in 1999 to 2015, the prospects of promoting democracy in Nigeria through effective election administration still calls for an improvement which requires functional cooperation between Nigeria and other foreign donors like international organization such as EU as pointed out by the theory of functional cooperation which is adopted in the work.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, the following policy recommendations are hereby considered helpful for Nigeria's election administration.

- i. Election administration is an important part of Nigeria's political development as such; requires strengthening of functional cooperation with EU and other international donors for effective collaboration. In terms of policy implications, all stakeholders should work hand in hand towards consistent promotion of Nigeria's election administration.
- ii. There is need for government to strengthen democratic institutions and Civil Society Organizations so as to make the political process more acceptable.
- iii. Election Management Bodies such as INEC should be unbundled to enable other institutions perform roles that can be performed by them to make INEC more effective and focused as there is always room for improvement.
- iv. Government should invest massively in INEC and other democratic institutions to make them more effective and independent through adequate budgeting, staffing and autonomy instead of relying always on the Office of the Secretary of the Federation and the Presidency for funding and other matters. INEC's budget can be incorporated into the national budget directly so as to enhance the independence of the institution and the credibility of its activities.
- v. Finally, Civil Society Organizations and Non- Government Organizations must also collaborate for effective election administration in Nigeria.

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This day, 13th July, (2001:1)

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INDIVIDUALS AND SPECIALIZED GROUPS (CSO, INEC, UNDP).

Introduction

Sir, I'm a Post-Graduate student of the Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, undertaking a research work on the topic "Assessment of the Contributions of EU to Election Administration in Nigeria 1999 – 2015". The purpose of this interview is to collect a comprehensive data on the above subject as part of my MPhil. Thesis.

Your response will be treated in strict confidence as it will be used for academic purpose only.

Thank you, Sir.

1. Please, can you introduce yourself by name, qualification, position held, and the name of your organization?
2. Sir, to the best of your knowledge, tell us about the activities of the European Union as it relates generally to election administration in Nigeria?
3. Sir, in specific terms, in what way(s) has EU contributed to election administration in Nigeria?
4. If yes, in what way(s) has these contributions impacted the development of election administration in Nigeria?
5. Sir, what do you understand by election observation?
6. Sir, can you explain to us the contributions of EU towards election observation in Nigeria?
7. Sir, do you think election observation exercise by the EU added value to the quality of elections in Nigeria?
8. Sir, are there conditions attached to the contributions made by EU regarding election administration in Nigeria?

9. Sir, what in your opinion are the likely Motivating factors behind EU involvement in election administration in Nigeria?
10. Sir, in what way(s) has EU contributions to election administration impacted on Civil Society organizations such as yours?
11. Sir, do you think Nigeria can conduct/administer elections without relying on contributions from donor organizations such as the EU?

APPENDIX II

LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED WITH DATE

SN	NAME	ORGANIZATION	RANK / POSITION	DATE/PLACE OF INTERVIEW
1	Mr Laolu Olawumi	UNDP, Abuja.	The Programme Manager, Political Governance and democracy.	5/5/18 Abuja
2	Agbaje,A.A.	University of Ibadan	Professor	10/5/18 Ibadan
3	Austin Eramah	Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC)	Programme Officer, Democratic Governance	13/3/18 Abuja
4	Jake Dabang Dan Azumi	National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies, National Assembly, Abuja	Research Fellow	29/3/18 Abuja
5	Dr Emmanuel Remi Aiyede	Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan	Associate Professor	11/4/18 Abuja
6	Sam Gabriel Egwu	UNDP/ Resident Electoral Commissioner, Niger State	Professor	01//18 No. 51 Alex Ekweme Street, Jabi, Abuja.
7	Engr Okop Umobong,	Independent National Commission	Director, Development Partners Liaison, and	2/10/18 Abuja

Field Survey, 2018

APPENDIX III

TRANSCRIPTION OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

Place of Interview: No. 16, Flat 3, Pow Mofemi Crescent, Off
Solomon Lar way Utako District, Abuja.

Date of Interview: 13th March, 2018

Time of Interview: 12 Noon

Question 1: **Please, can you introduce yourself by name, qualification, position held, and the name of your organization?**

Name: Austin Erameh

Academic Qualification: M.Sc International Relations

Position Held: Program Officer Democratic Governance

Name of Organization: Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC)

Question 2: **Sir, to the best of your knowledge, tell us about the activities of the European Union as it relates generally to election administration in Nigeria?**

The European Union has been playing a role regarding election administration in Nigeria.

Question 3: **Sir, in specific terms, in what way(s) has EU contributed to election administration in Nigeria?**

The European Union has contributed in technical, financial and election observation duties through the European Development Fund.

Question 4: **If yes, in what way(s) has these contributions impacted the development of election administration in Nigeria?**

The contributions of the European Union has impacted on the development of election administration in Nigeria such as the development of INEC, the strengthening of EMB

(election), support for civil society organizations as well as the media. It also helps in capacity building.

Question 5: Sir, what do you understand by election observation?

Election observation is an independent review of how elections are planned and administered. It is a process that starts 6 months before the election and even after the elections.

Question 6: Sir, can you explain to us the contributions of EU towards election observation in Nigeria?

The European Union contributes to election observation by providing men and materials.

Question 7: Sir, do you think election observation exercise by the EU added value to the quality of elections in Nigeria?

Election observation by the European Union has added value to the quality of elections in Nigeria. It helps to ensure accountability in the whole process.

Question 8: Sir, are there conditions attached to the contributions made by EU regarding election administration in Nigeria?

Generally there are no conditions attached. Even if there are conditions, it cannot infringe on the sovereignty of the country.

Question 9: Sir, what in your opinion are the likely Motivating factors behind EU involvement in election administration in Nigeria?

The motivating factors behind European Union's involvement in Nigeria's elections is to see a prosperous democratic Nigeria. Nigeria is a young democracy and an important country. If elections are not done well in Nigeria, it may lead to consequences such as mass migration. The European Union strengthens democratic systems not just in Nigeria but other countries, too to avoid a Ghadaffi situation. I don't want to believe that there's any ulterior motive behind European Union support for election administration in Nigeria.

Question 10: Sir, in what way(s) has EU contributions to election administration impacted on Civil Society organizations such as yours?

The European Union is one of the biggest contributors to civil society organizations. Civil society organizations do not have the required funds to operate without the grants and technical support offered by the European Union. Such grants are channeled through the Federal Ministry of Planning.

Question 11: Sir, do you think Nigeria can conduct/administer elections without relying on contributions from donor organizations such as the EU?

If Nigeria get her acts right, we can conduct elections without relying on the European Union. The European Union support as well as other donors is very key as they bring credibility to our elections.

Place of Interview: University of Ibadan, Campus

Date of Interview: 11th April, 2018

Time of Interview: 10am

Question 1: Please, can you introduce yourself by name, qualification, position held, and the name of your organization?

Name: Dr. Emmanuel Remi Aiyede

Academic Qualification: Associate Professor Political Science

Position Held: Lecturer, Political Science

Name of Organization: University of Ibadan

Question 2: Sir, to the best of your knowledge, tell us about the activities of the European Union as it relates generally to election administration in Nigeria?

The European Union carry out a lot of pre and post election activities regarding election administration in Nigeria. All these activities are aimed at targeted goals of a standard election.

Question 3: Sir, in specific terms, in what way(s) has EU contributed to election administration in Nigeria?

The contributions of the European Union in Nigeria's electoral process is mostly on capacity building considering the meager input of their financial support. The European Union's

contributions are greatly felt in trainings for INEC staff, training of personnel for the preparation of elections, training for political party officials, assisting INEC in the production of manuals, as well as bringing up initiatives for electoral reforms. They also train stakeholders such the Police, Civil Defence etc for election duties. They support in continues voter's registration exercise, post election peace building and election observation.

Question 4: If yes, in what way(s) has these contributions impacted the development of administration in Nigeria?

It has greatly impacted the development of election administration in Nigeria, especially some recommendations of the Electoral Reform Committee in June 2010 which accounted for the improvements we noticed in the 2011 general elections.

Question 5: Sir, what do you understand by election observation?

Election observation is a means of protecting the integrity of elections.

Question 6: Sir, can you explain to us the contributions of EU towards election observation in Nigeria?

The presence of observers restrain unruly behaviour of people. Election observation provide opportunity for dispassionate information of facts about the elections. They are a source of knowledge about elections. They usually pass judgment about elections as to whether they are free and fair. They provide legitimacy about the outcome of elections. They provide ideas about electoral reforms.

Question 7: Sir, do you think election observation exercise by the EU added value to the quality of elections in Nigeria?

Of course yes, though election observers do not have the mandate to intervene in elections unlike election monitors.

Question 8: Sir, are there conditions attached to the contributions made by EU regarding election administration in Nigeria?

There are no conditions. They are democracy promoting institutions. Democracy is a bench mark for supporting countries in many aspects.

Question 9: Sir, what in your opinion are the likely Motivating factors behind EU involvement in election administration in Nigeria?

It is part of the values of their society which they know can advance good governance as well as global peace and security. They are concerned about migration, so a peaceful world is very much for their interest. There is a saying that no two democracies usually go to war. Nigeria as a country is not what anyone can ignore.

Question 10: Sir, in what way(s) has EU contributions to election administration impacted on Civil Society organizations such as yours?

The contribution of European Union is a major financial life line for civil society organizations.

Question 11: Sir, do you think Nigeria can conduct/administer elections without relying on contributions from donor organizations such as the EU?

Nigeria can conduct elections on her own except there is a major economic downturn in the country.

Place of Interview: No. 14/16 Danube Street off IBB way Maitama, Abuja.

Date of Interview: 29th March, 2018

Time of Interview: 10am

Question 1: Please, can you introduce yourself by name, qualification, position held, and the name of your organization?

Name: Jake Dabang Dan-Azumi

Academic Qualification: Ph.D University College London

Position Held: Research Fellow/Special Assistant to the Director General

Name of Organization: National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies,
National Assembly, Abuja.

Question 2: Sir, to the best of your knowledge, tell us about the activities of the European Union as it relates generally to election administration in Nigeria?

The European Union has been involved in election activities in Nigeria for sometimes now. However, the National Institute for legislative and democratic studies has not gotten any direct contact with the European Union regarding elections.

Question 3: Sir, in specific terms, in what way(s) has EU contributed to election administration in Nigeria?

The European Union has been active in financial and technical support, and most importantly election observation which help determine whether elections complied with international minimum standard.

Question 4: If yes, in what way(s) has these contributions impacted the development of election administration in Nigeria?

The European Union's involvement has strengthened INEC and contributed to good governance. It also serves as a road map to improve on future elections.

Question 5: Sir, what do you understand by election observation?

Election observation is the process of following up all activities involved in the electoral cycle before, during and after the elections, taking into account the high and the low points.

Question 6: Sir, can you explain to us the contributions of EU towards election observation in Nigeria? The European Union usually fund it and deplore their personnel for this purpose.

Question 7: Sir, do you think election observation exercise by the EU added value to the quality of elections in Nigeria?

The European Union election observation exercise add value to our elections especially their report. The European Union brings international experience to our election process. European Union help give more integrity to our elections. As a matter of fact, emerging democracies always have something to learn from the advanced democracies. They are not partisan in their contributions even though they may have their preferred candidates. The involvement of international actors such as the European Union is a strong factor in our democracy.

Question 8: Sir, are there conditions attached to the contributions made by EU regarding election administration in Nigeria?

There are no significant ulterior conditions except security of personnel of the European Union. There are no hidden clauses too.

Question 9: Sir, what in your opinion are the likely Motivating factors behind EU involvement in election administration in Nigeria?

The motivating factors behind European Union's involvement in Nigeria's electoral process are not farfetched. The European Union is exporting democracy to ensure a politically stable Nigeria which directly serves their interest too. The advanced democracies have one or two lessons to share with developing democracies which will keep Europe out of a lot of trouble especially the problem of migration which is very key.

Question 10: Sir, in what way(s) has EU contributions to election administration impacted on Civil Society organizations such as yours?

The European Union contributions have greatly impacted on civil society organizations. Most of them have been strengthened. The civil society organizations form the local observation wing corroborate their findings with the European Union observers report as it was done in the situation room. They provide the necessary grants for the civil society organizations to function effectively.

Question 11: Sir, do you think Nigeria can conduct/administer elections without relying on contributions from donor organizations such as the EU?

Nigeria can conduct elections without outside help. Most of the budget of INEC come from Nigeria. We can only rely on international donors for capacity building.

Place of Interview: University of Ibadan, Campus

Date of Interview: 10th May, 2018

Time of Interview: 2 pm

Question 1: Please, can you introduce yourself by name, qualification, position held, and the name of your organization?

Name: Prof. A.A.B. Agbaje

Academic Qualification: Professor Political Science

Position Held: Lecturer, Department of Political Science

Name of Organization: University of Ibadan

Question 2: Sir, to the best of your knowledge, tell us about the activities of the European Union as it relates generally to election administration in Nigeria?

The European Union is a vital component to global determination of maturing electoral process in Nigeria and Africa in general.

Question 3: Sir, in specific terms, in what way(s) has EU contributed to election administration in Nigeria?

The European Union has contributed in capacity building as well as election observation by providing a global framework to assess elections in Nigeria. Apart from the United Nations, the European Union is next.

Question 4: If yes, in what way(s) has these contributions impacted the development of election administration in Nigeria?

The European Union's contributions has positively impacted on the development of election administration in Nigeria in many ways especially the credibility it comes with and the strengthening of our electoral process and institutions.

Question 5: Sir, what do you understand by election observation?

Election observation is basically the process of looking at the unfolding events that surround before and after elections. Election observation is very critical for democracies that are emerging.

Question 6: Sir, can you explain to us the contributions of EU towards election observation in Nigeria?

The European Union usually deplore funds, personnel as well as logistics for the purpose of election observation.

Question 7: Sir, do you think election observation exercise by the EU added value to the quality of elections in Nigeria?

Absolutely, there is no doubt that election observation has added a lot of quality to elections in Nigeria. The European Union is uniquely placed in terms of experience and identifying global best practices. Election observation is at the centre of the march of democracy. It helps curb irresponsible behaviour. The mere presence of election observers restrain and constrain the actors. It helps to record/document evidence before, during and after elections, for future improvement which is very important. The experience of the American elections shows that no democracy is consolidated.

Question 8: Sir, are there conditions attached to the contributions made by EU regarding election administration in Nigeria?

Certainly there are no written conditions, but nothing is free at the end of the day even though the resources are given as grants. I am sure the European Union will reduce or stop helping entirely if Nigeria shrink into authoritarianism or when the safety of the country is not guaranteed. If a country is in turbulence, the European Union will not even send their officials to observe elections.

Question 9: Sir, what in your opinion are the likely Motivating factors behind EU involvement in election administration in Nigeria?

Though the ideological battles are quiet compared to the 1970s, self preservation is part of the reasons why the European Union is involved in Nigeria elections. Nigeria is a major partner of the European Union in terms of trade, investments, education etc. Returns in investment in Nigeria is very high compared to other countries. It is not necessary that the European Union want to spread democracy, they have other interests to enjoy in a stable Nigeria. Even the issue of immigration. If election process fails, it will reverberate in many other areas in Europe. It is in European Union's strategic interest to see to a peaceful prosperous Nigeria.

Question 10: Sir, in what way(s) has EU contributions to election administration impacted on Civil Society organizations such as yours?

Of course, it has positively impacted on the operations of civil society organizations.

Question 11: Sir, do you think Nigeria can conduct/administer elections without relying on contributions from donor organizations such as the EU? →→→→→

Of course, Nigeria is a very rich country. Even in technical terms we have citizens in diaspora that can assist. We only lack the capacity to work for the good of all. The real challenge we have is that Nigeria has a population who will not play by the rules.

Place of Interview: No. 51 Alex Ekweme Street, Jabi, Abuja.

Date of Interview: January, 2018

Time of Interview: 10am

Question 1: **Please, can you introduce yourself by name, qualification, position held, and the name of your organization?**

Name: Prof. Sam Egwu

Academic Qualification: Professor, Political Science

Position Held: Resident Electoral Commissioner Niger, State

Name of Organization: Independent Nation Electoral Commission

Question 2: Sir, to the best of your knowledge, tell us about the activities of the European Union as it relates generally to election administration in Nigeria?

The European Union plays a very active role in Nigeria's electoral process. The European Union in conjunction with other International donor agencies such as Department of International Development (DFID), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Korean International Cooperation (KOICA) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) took the lead in the establishment of a Joint Donor Basket Fund (GDBF), for assisting the electoral process in Nigeria with INEC as a contributing partner. This whole idea was with a view to improving the quality of the outcome of elections in Nigeria through the first phase of the Democratic Governance for Development Project (DGD). Its mandate was specifically to empower political and civil society organizations through the first phase of the democratic governance project towards the 2011 general elections. The second phase of the DGD took effect from 2012. I was a member of the UNDP committee and I later worked for them as a consultant before the programme was rounded up.

Question 3: Sir, in specific terms, in what way(s) has EU contributed to election administration in Nigeria?

The contributions of the European Union to election administration cannot be quantified because they bring their experience to bear. However, in specific terms, the European Union makes, financial, technical and even election observation duties in Nigeria's electoral process.

Question 4: If yes, in what way(s) has these contributions impacted the development of election administration in Nigeria?

The development of election administration has been upgraded tremendously by the contributions of the European Union. INEC has been strengthened, other innovations such as the election management system, (EMS), the situation Room, Electoral Risk Management etc are introduced. In addition, political parties, the media, civil society organizations are also greatly supported.

Question 5: Sir, what do you understand by election observation?

Election observation is basically an evaluation of the electoral process before and after elections.

Question 6: Sir, can you explain to us the contributions of EU towards election observation in Nigeria?

The European Union plays a unique role in that regard. They deploy personnel and materials and most importantly they come up with a comprehensive report about the conduct of elections which serves as a reference point guiding future elections.

Question 7: Sir, do you think election observation exercise by the EU added value to the quality of elections in Nigeria?

Of course it does despite the challenges the European Union faces. The European Union funded programme "support to Democratic Governance in Nigeria" (EU – SDGN) which aim to reinforce democracy in Nigeria was as a result of the recommendations of the European Election Observation Mission Report on the 2015. Generally, it provide the platform for comparing experiences and retooling democracies. However, election observation is not

always a big deal, in some situations it is just regarded as a checklist for global democratic compliance.

Question 8: Sir, are there conditions attached to the contributions made by EU regarding election administration in Nigeria?

No conditions are attached to the European Union contributions to the best of my knowledge.

Question 9: Sir, what in your opinion are the likely Motivating factors behind EU involvement in election administration in Nigeria?

The motivating factors behind European Union's involvement in elections in Nigeria are obvious. Nigeria is a strategic great country and plays a major role in the ECOWAS region and Africa, as well as the commonwealth and the United Nations. Nigeria is a Regional power house. The European Union has core interests it has to protect in Nigeria. Nigeria has a strategic value globally.

Question 10: Sir, in what way(s) has EU contributions to election administration impacted on Civil Society organizations such as yours?

It has strengthened civil society organizations no doubt.

Question 11: Sir, do you think Nigeria can conduct/administer elections without relying on contributions from donor organizations such as the EU?

Why not? Nigeria can of course conduct elections without relying on donor organizations. Nigeria is not a banana republic. The whole financial contribution from the donor basket is just about 3%. So Nigeria can conveniently cope without them. We need them basically for the global recognition that will be attached to the validity of the outcome of our elections.