

**ELECTORAL PROCESSES AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN SUDAN**

**BY**

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

This study will investigate the influence of electoral processes on democratic elections in Sudan. The independent variable will be 'electoral processes' and the dependent variable 'democratic elections' while the moderating variable is electoral legal framework. The dimensions which the study will consider under the independent variable are; electoral sensitization and electoral supervision. The dimensions under the dependent variable are; free and fair elections.

Elections are no doubt an important factor in determining the level of a Nation's democratic process. The level of development in any country depends on the credibility of the leaders and the process that brought them to power. Elections give the masses the opportunity to choose those who will govern them. Silveman (1992) pointed out that elections empower citizens through enhanced participation in decision making and development planning. Participatory democracy has assumed a central theme in the debate on the deepening of democratic practice in governments, particularly in developing countries. Lindberg (2006) and Hadenius and Teorell (2007) reported that elections and vigorous multi-partyism increased the likelihood of democratization and regime change. Elections provide the avenue for people to express their franchise and elect their choice of leaders and they provide an opportunity for leaders to be replaced when they fail. Huntington pointed out that in circumstance, an election becomes "the death of Dictatorship" (Huntington, 1991). Free and fair elections, which are the main reason for democratic elections, promote legitimacy and accountability in government. Lawrence and Norris (2002) pointed out that "elections are the lifeblood of democracy" (p.5). They further stressed that a democratic election requires many other

features, including transparency and accountability in government, vigorous party competition and regular rotation of the party in government and opposition, multiple channels of political communication and extensive opportunities for citizens “participation. Ake (2000.p23) argues that elections are perversions of democracy because they connote popular participation but not delegated power. This, according to him, is because direct democracy has become impossible and problematic in today’s complex and complicated post-modern society. The power to govern is given to the elected government officials by the people through a credible election, but in some cases they do not act or govern according to the will of the people who elected them into office.

According to EU Commission (2007), the achievement of a democratic electoral process is part of establishing a system of government that can ensure respect for human rights, the rule of law and the development of democratic institutions. This goes to show that for democracy to be sustained in any country of the world, the political power must be based on the consent and Will of the people.

This chapter presents the background to the study. It also states the research problem, purpose, objectives, research questions, hypotheses, significance, justification, scope, conceptual framework, as well as, definitions of terms and concepts that will be used in the study.

## **1.2 Background to the Study**

This subsection presents the background to the study divided into four perspectives historical, theoretical, conceptual and contextual

### **1.2.1 Historical Background**

At the global level, every continent and country has gone through unique political experiences, specifically elections that have shaped such countries. In Europe, for instance, the French went through brutal wars to ensure that the rights of the citizens to participate on affairs of their country

were secured. The same happened in other European countries, as well as in the Americas (Nohlen, 2009). After Second World War, many African countries (French and British colonies) went through political developments which led them to internal autonomy and independence. Although elections had taken place previously in some African countries, it was only through the post-World War development that the electoral processes and the right to vote became widely distributed in African countries. The colonial powers gave way to the participatory demands of the local elites in Africa, who then in turn used the elections to mobilize support against colonial rule (Zwier, 1998).

Towards the end of the colonial era, elections in Africa became a constitutional tool used to lead colonies into independence, and to pre-structure the post-colonial development of the new African states in the interest of the old colonial powers. The demand for elections and an extension of the right to vote was closely tied to demands for participation, self-determination and the independence of the African states, and proved to be one of the most effective weapons available to anti-colonial movements in and outside Africa. Although post-colonial development was shaped for long periods by autocratic, personality-led one-party systems and military regimes, 1989 saw the beginning of a comprehensive phase of democratic reforms. Multi-party systems were formally introduced in the majority of African states and multi-party elections took place with notable regularity (Woodward, 1990). The idea of voting was not completely foreign to pre-colonial Africa. In some traditional societies, leaders were chosen by 'election' in as much as a choice was made between several individuals through a process of consultation (see Hayward 1987). However, the range of choice and degree of participation in these selection processes was in general very limited. Competitively oriented systems with the direct participation of the complete adult population were rare. When these did occur, it was usually in the form of a decision at a local

level which could be made at a face-to-face meeting. Such systems cannot simply be scaled up to nation states and elections with direct mass participation. Although they are often viewed as a basis for a democratic culture, they do not represent a pool of political experience which is relevant for a national electoral policy. Such policy first became important in the British and French colonies after the Second World War (Nohlen, et al, 2009). Elections have been an integral part of African politics since political independence. Between 1950 and 1998, Africa was witness to 18 elections to constitutional assemblies, 186 presidential elections and 311 parliamentary elections. In addition, there were 115 referendums. The competitive character and the political function of elections vary widely, depending on the country and the phase of political development (Nohlen, et al, 2009).

Sudan's political history was marked by repeated efforts to impose stable government over a country divided by numerous religious, linguistic, ethnographic and political differences. These have led to 21 years of civil war in the 42 years of Sudan's existence. The first legislative elections were held while Sudan was still a British-Egyptian condominium in 1953 under the electoral law of the same year. All male Sudanese above the age of 21 years were entitled to vote. The Electoral Law of 1953 was revised on the eve of the legislative elections in 1958. A single National Assembly of 173 directly elected legislators was created and suffrage was extended to all male Sudanese with a minimum age of 30 years. The government then, of General Ibrahim Abboud implemented a system of provincial councils, that were elected by the directly elected local council members following the 'basic democracy model' that had become known in Pakistan in 1961. The transitional government, which came to power in 1964, called for elections of a single-chamber legislature. The voting age was lowered to 18 years and suffrage was extended to women. Political

changes continued to occur till 1992 when President Omer Al - Bashir came to power. President Omer al-Bashir appointed a 300-member Transitional National Assembly consisting of all the members of his Cabinet (the former members of the RCC), a number of advisors to the President, all state governors, representatives of the army, trade unions and former political parties. As this government ruled principally through presidential decrees, the form of government was established in these decrees. The Twelfth Constitutional Decree divided the country into 26 states, each with an elected assembly. The Thirteenth Constitutional Decree in 1995 created a system that looked very much like that found in the American constitution in terms of the balance of powers. A directly elected President and single-chamber legislature was foreseen. This constitutional system was tested between 6 and 18 March 1996 when both presidential and legislative elections were held. The President was elected according to the absolute majority system for a five-year term, the National Assembly contained 400 members elected for a four-year term: 125 seats were filled by the members of the National Conference, which had been nominated by the President and 275 seats were filled by direct universal suffrage in single-member constituencies according to the plurality system. On 1 July 1998, the new Constitution of Sudan confirmed that Sudan was a Federal Republic and provided a constitutional (Nohlen, et al, 2009).

### **1.2.2 Theoretical Background**

The study will be underpinned by the mixed electoral systems approach which attempt to combine the positive attributes of both plurality/majority and proportional representation (PR) electoral systems. In a mixed system, there are two electoral systems using different formulae running alongside each other. The votes are cast by the same voters and contribute to the election of representatives under both systems. One of those systems is a plurality/majority system, usually a single-member district system, and the other a list proportional representation (PR) system (Moser

and Scheiner, 2004). Moser and Scheiner (2004), in their electoral studies, noted that to a great extent mixed systems maintain the independent effects of PR and SMD tiers in countries with established party systems. The mixed electoral systems approach informing this study will be further expanded in chapter 2 under the sub section of theoretical review.

### **1.2.3 Conceptual Background**

This section provides the definitions to the key concepts in the study. The main concepts are: Electoral Processes as the independent variable and Democratic Elections as the dependent variable. The election processes incorporates the rules, procedures and activities relating to the appointment of their members, the selection and training of staff, constituency delimitation, voters education, registration of voters, balloting, counting of ballots, resolution of electoral disputes, declaration of results, etc (Jinadu,1997).

According to Elekwa (2008:30) the electoral process relates to the entire cycle ranging from the provision of voter education to the dissolution of the National Assembly. There are number of measures that can be taken into consideration when measuring electoral process—electoral mass sensitization and electoral supervision. Mass sensitization is the delivery of sensitization programme or messages to general public by utilizing mass media such as national press, radio, and television. The term electoral sensitization refers to voter education and awareness, and civic education.(IDEA, 2006). According to Transparency International (2012), Voter Education is an enterprise designed to ensure that voters are ready and willing, and able to participate in electoral politics, and that the main objective is to increase the quality of governance and thus reduce corruption by assisting voters to make a more informed choice when voting in the national elections - the civic awareness geared ‘project’ aims to reach this goal of maximum Voter

Education information saturation and dissemination through poster distribution, radio & Television (TV) broadcasts and regional forums & provincial workshops.

Wall.A,et al (2009) argues that the legal framework within which an EMB operates may be defined in many different types of instrument-including international treaties, the constitution, national and sub-national stature law, and EMB and other regulations.

Democratic elections has been defined by Jane Kirkpatrick, Scholar and former US Ambassador to the United Nations as: Democratic elections are not merely symbolic, they are competitive, periodic, inclusive, definitive elections in which the chief decision makers in a government are elected by citizens who enjoy broad freedom to criticize government, to publish their criticism and to present alternatives,( USA Democracy in Brief,2008). .

Democracy has been given different definitions by different scholars, political analysis and schools of thought. One of the commonly used definitions is that of the former American President Abraham Lincoln, who defined democracy in his Gettysburg address (1963) as the “government of the people, by the people, and for the people”. His definition of democracy emphasized the power of the people. Przeworski (1996) defined democracy as “regime in which the governmental offices are filled as a consequence of contested elections’. He suggested that only “if the opposition has the chance of winning and assuming office is a regime democratic” (1996, p.12). Huntington (1991) defines democracy as: a political system that exist to the extent its most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes, and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote (Huntington 1991, cited in Donnell,2001, p.24) He added that democracy also implies the existence of civil and political rights to freedom of speech and assembly that are necessary for political debate and start the conduct of electoral campaigns. In Idike (2013) , conceptual issues in democracy have also

been highlighted as follows: democracy is a political system in which the people in a country rule through any form of government they choose to establish. In modern democracies, supreme authority is exercised for the most part, by representatives elected by popular suffrage (Osakwe, 2011;1)

The value of an election to a democracy is either enhanced or reduced depending on the nature of electoral system being used. Whereas an election is basically a process of choosing leaders, an electoral system is a method or instrument of expressing that choice and translating votes into parliamentary seats. Elections themselves may in some cases be a strategy for maintaining power and many African elections have been intended to forestall change, or to strengthen the status quo. Elections as political stratagems for pursuing such agendas produce quasi-democracies in Africa (Banks, 2005).

The conduct of a credible election and democracy's other essential elements (which include consent of the governed, constitutional limits, the protection of human and minority rights, accountability and transparency, a multiple party system, economic freedom and the rule of law), are the only root to the consolidation of a true liberal democracy (sections Land 3-12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). A credible election is the antidote for bad governance and the only way for the consolidation of a true liberal democracy. It provides an avenue for citizens to periodically elect their representatives in government and to charge them when they fail to perform. A free and fair election is the bedrock of a true participatory democratic system of government, and central to democratic consolidation in Sudan and in any country of the world

### **1.2.4 Contextual Background**

The National Elections commission (NEC) of Sudan was established by the constitutional and legal legitimacy of the elections derived from Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2005) that secured the right to vote in regular elections, which is based on secret voting, to guarantee freedom of expression for voters. The National Elections Acts(2008) of Sudan describes the NEC as independent, impartial and transparent commission that undertakes the processes of organizing and managing the elections with the utmost degree of administrative, technical and financial independence, without interference from any other body in its affairs, functions or competences (Banks, 2005).

The National Elections Commission of Sudan comprises nine commission members, who are appointed by the President of the Republic with the consent of the first Vice-President and unanimous approval of the members of the National Assembly. The chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the commission are on fulltime base and are selected from among the commission members by the president of the Republic and the consent of the first vice-President. It is worth noting that some of the key criteria for selection are integrity, independence, non-partisanship beside academic qualifications. The tenure of the office is five years (Bormann, 2013). The commission establishes the branch state high committee offices within the states (District) of Sudan and the Southern Sudan high election committee (SSHEC) office in Southern Sudan and determines the functions and powers of the two offices at different levels. The electoral process depends on the electoral system used in the country. Sudan used a mixed electoral system i.e. The First-past-the-Post (FPTP) and Proportional Representation (PR).These electoral systems differ fundamentally in term of their essence and features as well as their impact on election outcomes and the political stability needed for democratic governance (Bormann, 2013).

Voting in Sudan is by suffrage: universal, secret, direct and indirect. Sudanese of at least 18 years of age, who are resident in the constituency for three months before voting and registered as a voter (which can be done at time of voting), are eligible to vote. The elected national institutions in Sudan include; the president, elected for a five-year term by direct universal suffrage (one consecutive re-election being allowed). Concerning nomination of candidates, Sudanese citizens who are of at least 40 years of age, of sound mind and who have not been convicted of ‘an offence involving honor or honesty’ in the seven preceding years qualify to run for the position of president (Art. 37 of the 1998 Constitution). For elections to the national assembly, Sudanese of at least 21 years of age and who have not been convicted of ‘an offence involving honor or honesty’ in the seven preceding years (Art. 68 of the 1998 Constitution) are eligible to run for election. The Sudan Government seem to have put in place some enabling laws (constitution), but a some section of the population seem to be in skeptical as seen from the statement by this researcher: “The electoral commission of Sudan operates in an environment where interests and influences from the government might be hindering its execution of proper electoral processes which in turn might be affecting democratic elections” (Golder, 2005). The researcher takes to dig out more and come out with a position on the electoral processes and democratic elections in Sudan.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

The Sudan electoral commission as provided in the National Elections Act of 2008, is supposed to ensure free and fair elections, especially by incorporating the prevention of corrupt practices and elections offences from Act 1994, as well as allowing eligible citizens exercise their right to vote. However, despite this provision, what actually happens during election periods is different from

guidelines. Although the elections process generally peaceful, Carter Center Observers report,(2010) found it fell far short of Sudan's domestic and international obligations in many respects: Intimidation and violence in some areas of Sudan undercut inclusiveness, Civic and voter education were insufficient, the inaccuracy of the final voter registry prevented full participation in the process, insufficient delivery of electoral materials to the polling stations.

Moreover, the NEC was insufficiently transparent and lacked full independence from the central government, thereby undermining trust. Poor coordination between the NEC and state HECs led to significant problems in the administration of key phases of the electoral process, including constituency delimitation, etc. The legal framework for elections failed to provide effective means for contestants seeking redress.

The electoral process lacked sufficient safeguards and transparency. For instance the indelible ink that can be easily removed and box seals, in addition to the process of verifying voters 'identity when registration certificates were issued by popular committees(Carter Center report,2010). Furthermore, the observation by (Golder, 2005): that "the electoral commission of Sudan operates in an environment where interests and influences from the government might be hindering its execution of proper electoral processes which in turn might be affecting democratic elections" seem to be pointing at a problem unearthed in his study on electoral systems in the world (Sudan being a subset of the study). Given the above, the researcher therefore wants to investigate the influence of the electoral processes on democratic elections in Sudan.

#### **1.4 Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to investigate the influence of electoral processes on democratic elections in Sudan.

### **1.5 Objectives of the Study**

- i. To find out the effect of electoral mass sensitization on democratic elections in Sudan
- ii. To examine the influence of electoral legal framework on democratic elections in Sudan
- iii. To assess the influence of electoral supervision on democratic elections in Sudan.

### **1.6 Research Questions**

- i. What is the effect of electoral mass sensitization on democratic elections in Sudan
- ii. What is the influence of electoral legal framework on democratic elections in Sudan
- iii. What is the influence of electoral supervision on democratic elections in Sudan

### **1.7 Hypotheses**

- i. Electoral mass sensitization has significant effect on democratic elections
- ii. Electoral legal framework has significant positive influence on democratic elections
- iii. Electoral supervision influences democratic elections

### **1.8 Conceptual Framework**

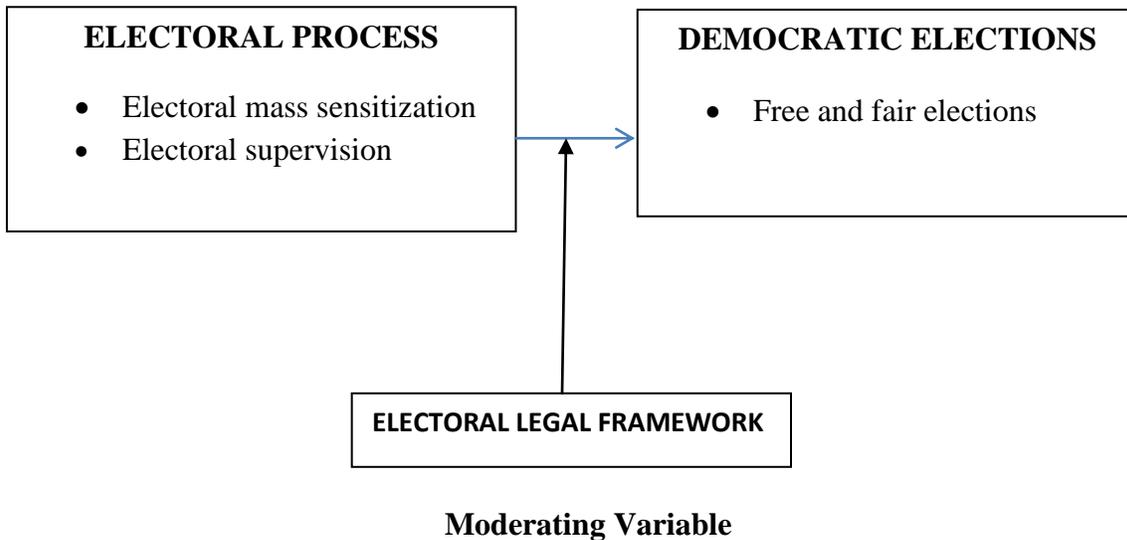
The conceptual framework below shows a logical linkage between the dimensions of the independent variable and the dependent variables. In this conceptual framework, the independent variable is electoral process and the dimensions being electoral mass sensitization and electoral supervision. The moderating variable is electoral legal framework. The dependent variable on the

other hand is democratic elections whose dimension is free and fair elections. This is illustrated diagrammatically as follows:

**Figure 1: Conceptual Framework**

**INDEPENDENT VARIABLE**

**DEPENDENT VARIABLE**



**Source:** *Adopted from Marc Plattner (1998), Centre for Democracy and Governance strategic plan (1997-2002).*

### **1.9 Justification of the Study**

Understanding the influence of electoral processes on democratic elections in Sudan is necessary if improvements towards democratic elections are to be realized in Sudan. Unless issues relating to electoral sensitization, electoral legal framework, and electoral supervision in the Sudan electoral commission are thoroughly understood in line with how they affect democratic elections and all the challenges that the electoral commission of Sudan faces will persist, thus the relevance of this study.

### **1.10 Significance of the Study**

Findings and conclusions from the study may be used by key stakeholders in the electoral processes of Sudan especially the electoral commission, the government of Sudan, the lawyers, the media, and the general public. The finding of the study may be used to sensitize the local community about the laws of electoral process in Sudan. To the academia, the study will add to the existing literature and study material in library for other researchers who may be interested in the subject matter and for future research.

### **1.11 Scope of the Study**

This section presents content scope, time scope, and geographical scope that will guide the study.

#### **1.11.1 Geographical Scope**

The study will be carried out in Sudan at the electoral commission headquarters in Khartoum; the state elections high committees' and selected stakeholders' locations.

#### **1.11.2 Content Scope**

This study will investigate the influence of electoral processes on democratic elections in Sudan. The independent variable will be 'electoral processes' and the dependent variable, 'democratic elections'. The dimensions which the study will consider under the independent variable are; electoral mass sensitization, electoral legal framework and electoral supervision. The dimensions under the independent variable are; free and fair elections.

#### **1.11.3 Time Scope**

The study will focus on the period 2008 – 2015 because it is during this period that issues of electoral processes and electoral democracy have been most discussed in Sudan.

## **1.12 Definition of Operational Key Terms**

**Candidate** - refers to a person who is nominated to contest an election either as a political party representative or independent of any political party' support.

**Civic education** -refers to an information and/or educational programme which is designed to increase the comprehension and knowledge of citizens 'rights and responsibilities.

**Code of conduct**- refers to a set of general rules of behavior, for members and/or staff of EMB, or for political parties, with respect to participation in an electoral process.

**Constituency**-refers to a synonym for electoral district used predominantly in some Anglophone countries.

**Democracy** - refer to a system of government in which power is vested in the people, who rule either directly or through freely elected representatives.

**Elections** – refers to the translation of votes obtained by the candidate or the political party, into parliamentary seats.

**Electoral administration**-refers to the measures necessary for conducting or implementing any aspect of an electoral process.

**Electoral law**- refers to one or more pieces of legislation governing all aspect of the process for electing the political institutions defined in a country' constitution or institutional framework.

**Electoral management body(EMB)**- refers to an organization or body which has been founded for the sole purpose of ,and is legally responsible for, managing some or all of the essential (or core) elements for the conduct of elections, and of direct democracy instruments.

**Electoral observation** – refers to a process under which observers are accredited to access an electoral process, and may assess and report on the compliance of the electoral process with relevant legal instruments and international and regional standards.

**Electoral Process** – refers to a series of steps involved in the preparation and carrying out of a specific elections or direct democracy instrument.

**Electoral register** –refers to the list of persons registered as qualified to vote. In some countries known as the voters’ list or electoral roll.

**Electoral system** –refers to a set of rules and procedures which provides for the electorate to cast votes and which translates these votes into seats for parties and candidates in the legislature.

**Electoral Sensitization** - Refers to civic education, voter education and awareness to persuade eligible voters to participate in electoral process.

**Legal framework** – refers to the collection of legal structural elements defining or influencing an electoral process, the major elements being constitutional provisions, electoral law, other legislation impacting on electoral process, such as political party laws and laws structuring legislative bodies, subsidiary electoral rules and regulations, and code of conduct.

**Stakeholder** – refers to the individuals, groups and organizations having interest or stake in the electoral management operations.

**Voter education** –refers to a process by which people are made aware of the electoral process and the particulars and procedures for voter registration, voting, and other elements of the electoral process.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

## **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the relevant literature that was referenced for the study. It contains the theoretical review, the conceptual review, a review of literature objective by objective, and a summary of all literature reviewed as well as gaps identified and lessons learnt.

## **2.2 Theoretical Review**

This study will be underpinned by the mixed electoral systems approach which attempt to combine the positive attributes of both plurality/majority and proportional representation (PR) electoral systems. In a mixed system, there are two electoral systems using different formulae running alongside each other. The votes are cast by the same voters and contribute to the election of representatives under both systems. One of those systems is a plurality/majority system, usually a single-member district system, and the other a list proportional representation (PR) system (Moser and Scheiner, 2004). In addition he scholars, Moser and Scheiner (2004), defined Mixed Electoral Systems as electoral systems that provide voters two votes for the legislature—one for a party list in a proportional representation (PR) tier and one for a candidate in a single-member district (SMD) tier—have emerged as a major alternative to strictly PR or SMD systems. According to Reynolds, Reilly and Ellis (2005), in mixed systems (e.g. Parallel and Mixed Member Proportional), representatives are elected through a combination of different elements of the proportional representation (PR) and plurality systems; and that although Plurality systems are the most widely used worldwide, about 15% used mixed systems; as depicted in a survey of about 199 countries and territories which have direct elections to the legislature. Mixed Electoral Systems share the distinction of allowing the electorate votes in both PR and SMD elections, but four characteristics distinguish mixed systems from one another: linkage/compensatory seats, the ratio

of seats in each tier, the SMD electoral formula, and the district magnitude and legal threshold of the PR tier (Moser and Scheiner, 2004).

About forty countries have adopted some variant of the system, since the fall of the Soviet Union (Soudriette& Ellis 2006), in which deputies are elected in two tiers, one of which is majoritarian (most often comprising single mandate districts decided by plurality or majority) and the other proportional (Shugart& Wattenberg 2001). As their numbers have grown so has scholarly interest in them. Besides attempting to identify the reason that mixed electoral systems are adopted (Bawn 1993, Herron 2004), scholars have been intrigued by their potential effects on other institutions, in particular party systems. The first wave of scholarship considered them a near ideal laboratory controlling for contextual factors and permitting tests of Duverger's (1954) Law that single mandate contests penalize small parties (Moser 1999, 2001). Duverger's notion holds that proportional systems are associated with multi-party systems.

The assumption was that each tier of a mixed system could be observed independently, with Duvergerian effects expected in both the nominal and proportional tiers (Cox 1997). Subsequent scholarship has revealed otherwise. The number of effective parties has been found to be larger in the nominal tier than the proportional tier in some mixed electoral systems (Moser, 2001; Cox and Schoppa, 2002). While there are those who contend that these results cast doubt on Duverger's Law (Colomer, 2005), scholarly consensus has converged around the notion that there are interactive effects between the two tiers of a mixed system (Herron & Nishikawa 2001, Cox & Schoppa 2002, Ferrara 2004, Ferrara & Herron 2005, Moser 2005, Crisp 2007), rendering it impossible to treat them as independent and distinct from one another in their institutional effects.

### **2.2.1 Types of Mixed Electoral Systems**

Scholars have recently begun to classify mixed electoral systems based on mechanical design differences. Among the two most prominent schema are those proposed by Shugart and Wattenberg (2001) and Massicotte and Blais (1999). Both define mixed electoral systems as those using two fundamentally different electoral formulae to allocate seats: some variant of PR in a proportional tier and some variant of SMD in a nominal tier. Shugart and Wattenberg classify mixed electoral systems into two categories based on whether the two tiers operate independently of one another in determining the allocation of seats. Mixed member majoritarian (MMM) systems are those in which the election results are simply the additive outcomes in the single mandate district races (decided under either majority or plurality rules) and the party-list vote. There is no attempt to offset any resulting disproportionality. Mixed member proportional (MMP) systems attempt to create a more proportional result by using the results of the PR tier in some fashion to determine the distribution of seats among parties. Similarly, Shugart and Wattenberg, Massicotte and Blais (1999) focus on the relationship between tiers to classify mixed electoral systems into two basic categories: independent combinations, roughly corresponding to Shugart and Wattenberg's MMM category, and dependent combinations, roughly corresponding to Shugart and Wattenberg's MMP category. However, they further distinguish between types within each category. They identify three types of independent combinations: coexistence, superposition, and fusion mixed electoral systems. In coexistence systems, a country is divided into districts, the electoral outcomes in each being decided by either SMD or PR. Voters cast ballots under one electoral formula or the other, but not both. In superposition systems, voters cast ballots under both formulae, one in an SMD district and the other in a PR district. Fusion mixed electoral systems combine SMD and PR formulae in a single district, some seats being allocated based on

the first formula and the remaining district seats on the basis of the other formula (Massicotte&Blais, 1999).

Massicotte and Blais' (1999) scheme identifies two types of dependent combinations (mixed electoral systems in which the two different electoral formulae act in tandem): correction and conditional systems. In correction systems, the final outcome is adjusted to reflect the vote in the PR tier. In conditional systems, seat allocations are undertaken using an initial formula. If some proportionality criterion established in law is not achieved, further adjustments are made on the basis of a second formula. Massicotte and Blais (1999) also identify one additional category of mixed electoral system, super-mixed systems. These systems employ both a PR and a plurality tier; however, the rules used to determine the outcome are a combination of those used in correctional, conditional, and superposition systems.

Sudan electoral system, as established within the National Elections Act (2008), is highly complex and led to confusion among the public and significant problems in its implementation. The electoral system called for executive elections( ( President of the Republic of Sudan, President of the government of Southern Sudan and state Governors) and three levels of legislative elections(National legislative Assembly, Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly and State Legislative Assemblies) . the elections to the seat of president of Republic of Sudan and President of the Government of Southern Sudan both require a single majority(50 percent plus one vote) of votes cast. The gubernatorial elections are majoritarian (FPTP) contests.

Elections for the seats in the National Assembly, Southern Sudan Assembly and State Assemblies use a combination of First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) and Proportional representation (PR) system. Sixty (60) percent of seats were designated for single-member geographical Constituencies, and

Forty (40) percent were elected from closed party lists of which 25 percent were reserved for Women and 15 percent for political Parties. For the seats chosen through lists, the “Alsaigh method’ of seat allocation was used, a derivation of the d’Hondt system of PR, which favors bigger parties, with a requirement that parties obtain at least 4% of votes cast to be allocated seats. Given that seats were to be allocated on the basis of statewide constituencies.

The use of this type of ‘mixed’ electoral system for the National Assembly and the State Legislative Assemblies has several implications for the conduct of the respective elections in some states. Foremost among these implications is the ability of single-seat geographical constituencies to effectively represent minority- or heterogeneous political views. The ability, therefore, of a majoritarian system using single-seat constituencies – as specified in the Electoral Act – to effectively represent the views of the constituents, for example minority views depend on: (1) the political homogeneity of the constituency; and (2) the political homogeneity of different geographical areas within the region in which the election is taking place (e.g. within a State, for State Legislative Assembly elections). McHugh (2008), however noted that the potential negative effects of the use of a majoritarian system as specified in the National Elections Act (2008), may have to be countered through other institutional or electoral arrangements, for example by amending all of the electoral processes and legislation to establish a single Legislative Assembly to cater for minority interests. It is this status quo which is in itself a gap that needs to be addressed.

### **2.3 Electoral Mass Sensitization and Democratic Elections**

Sensitization is defined in the on-line business dictionary (n.d.) as “an attempt to make oneself or others aware of and responsive to certain ideas, events, situations, or phenomenon.” Mass

sensitization is the delivery of sensitization programme or messages to general public by utilizing mass media such as national press, radio, and television. The term electoral sensitization, voter education and awareness, and civic education are often used inter-changeably. Distinction needs to be made between voter information, voter education, and civic education. Certainly, each falls along a continuum of educational activities in support of elections and democracy and is mutually reinforcing. And it would be correct to assume that voter education, for example, should be one component of a broader civic education program (IDEA, 2006).

Voter Education/Awareness (more accurately referred to as Voter Awareness or Information Programs) happens just before electoral event – usually they are one-off events. They aim to provide basic information enabling qualified citizens to vote, including the date, time, and place of voting; the type of election; identification necessary to establish eligibility; registration requirements; and mechanisms for voting. These constitute basic facts about the election and do not require the explanation of concepts. Messages will be developed for each new election. These activities can usually be implemented quickly (although sufficient planning is still required). Election authorities are typically required to provide this type of information, although contestants in the election and civil society organizations will also do so. Electoral Education (sometimes referred to as voters Education, but broader term of electoral education implies the education of non and future citizens, not just people who are already eligible to vote, (ie the voters) should happen in schools and/or in conjunction with EMB (electoral management bodies) – covers aspects of elections (how, why, when to vote, etc). Electoral education programs typically address voters' motivation and preparedness to participate fully in elections. They aim to address relatively more complex types of information about voting and the electoral process and are concerned with concepts such as the link between basic human rights and voting rights; the role, responsibilities

and rights of voters; the relationship between elections and democracy and the conditions necessary for democratic elections; secrecy of the ballot; why each vote is important and its impact on public accountability; and how votes translate into seats. Such concepts involve explanation and exploration by the learners, not just a statement of facts. Electoral education requires more lead time for implementation than voter information and, ideally, should be undertaken on an on-going basis. This type of program is most often provided by election authorities and civil society organizations. Civic Education is broader – (can and should include electoral education) is a continual and long-term process and is usually embedded in education curriculum and others programs. According to Transparency International (2012), Voter Education is an enterprise designed to ensure that voters are ready and willing, and able to participate in electoral politics, and that the main objective is to increase the quality of governance and thus reduce corruption by assisting voters to make a more informed choice when voting in the national elections - the civic awareness geared ‘project’ aims to reach this goal of maximum Voter Education information saturation and dissemination through poster distribution, radio & Television (TV) broadcasts and regional forums & provincial workshops.

Civic education (often referred to as civic and citizenship education) deals with broader concepts underpinning a democratic society such as the respective roles and responsibilities of citizens, government, political and special interests, the mass media, and the business and non-profit sectors, as well as the significance of periodic and competitive elections. It emphasizes not only citizen awareness but citizen participation in all aspects of democratic society. Civic and citizenship education typically comprise three main elements, the teaching of/towards: Civic Knowledge, Civic Disposition (values) and Civic Skills – i.e. to enable them to acquire the knowledge and skills essential for informed, effective citizenship. Civic education is a continual

process, not tied to the electoral cycle. Voter information and electoral education, however, may be part of larger civic education endeavors. Civic education may be carried out through the school and university system, through civil society organizations, and perhaps by some state agencies, although not necessarily the election authority (IDEA, 2006).

The ACE Project website (2013), for voter and civic education initiatives to be successful, they must be accompanied by the establishment of sustainable democratic institutions including viable political parties, functioning assemblies, a culture of good governance, constitutional protections backed by an independent judiciary, an impartial election authority capable of conducting periodic elections, and an effective state; and that in such an environment, citizens can exercise their rights and can be educated in their roles and responsibilities, including participation in elections

The main purpose of electoral sensitization is to create awareness to the voters about the importance of participation in an electoral process to ensure a responsive, accountable and democratically elected government - specifically to sensitize the voters about the importance of vote in democratic country like India; to persuade minorities, the homeless, disabled persons, and many others who lack access to the vote for a variety of reasons including poverty, illiteracy, intimidation, or unfair election processes to participate in the election process; to ensure that people understand their right as voters and exercise that right with full knowledge and responsibility; to educate a suitable and right candidate; to impart knowledge on voting procedure; to educate them about the importance and use of Electors Photo Identity Cards (EPIC) in different Government Schemes, Passport Preparation and Opening Bank Accounts, etc; and to encourage the voters to participate in the democracy by enrolling themselves in the Electoral Rolls and voting at the time of Election (Election Commission of India training manual, 2011).

The right to elect representatives in government and to influence their political direction is democracy's indispensable political foundation, and thus can only be achieved through a credible electoral process (of which electoral sensitization is a part). Nevertheless, despite the ideal practical expectations and minimum requirements for sensitization as pointed out (Transparency International, 2012; and IDEA, 2006), the Republic of Sudan fell short of these as NEC (NEC Report, 2010:126), the EMB, reported lack of knowledge and comprehension of the political parties and political powers of the National Election laws of 2008 which resulted negatively in the efficient contribution with media channels; and worse of it, all the media campaign which were stipulated in the media strategy were not implemented (e.g. mobile vans, football games, mobile cinemas in remote areas, memorial stamps).

#### **2.4 Electoral Legal Framework and Democratic Elections**

According to International Electoral Standard guidelines for reviewing the legal framework of Elections (2002), the term "legal framework for elections" generally refers to all legislation and pertinent legal and quasi-legal material or documents related to the elections, and that specifically, the "legal framework for elections" includes the applicable constitutional provisions, the electoral law as passed by the legislature and all other laws that impact on the elections; and also any and all regulations attached to the electoral law and to other relevant laws promulgated by government – and encompasses relevant directives and/or instructions related to the electoral law and regulations issued by the responsible EMB, as well as related codes of conduct, voluntary or otherwise, which may have a direct or indirect impact on the electoral process.

An international and regional legal framework is equally important to be in place for democratic elections to be realized. The Carter Center Publication on Election Obligations and Standards (2009), maintains that a sound legal framework is essential for the effective administration of genuine democratic elections; and points out that the legal framework includes rules found in the domestic laws of the country that regulate how all aspects of the electoral process should unfold. These laws may include: the constitution; election laws; laws regulating the media, political parties, civil society actors, etc.; and other rules and regulations promulgated by the appropriate authorities such as procedures for election administration – the laws written clearly and consistent with one another, and will provide a framework for elections that protects and advances international human rights (The Carter Center, 2009). The Carter Publication on Election Obligations and standards (2009) spells out that electoral issues that a legal framework on elections should address includes: the protection of human rights and fulfillment of obligations as well as any derogation measures; the role of state authorities, including the EMB, in upholding rights; the timing of elections and impact of the electoral calendar on human rights and obligations; the need for the legal framework to be non-discriminatory; and the right to an effective remedy. The right to an effective remedy should include a provision for challenging election results where necessary; citizenship rules should be clear and non-discriminatory; the legal framework should include guarantees of equality before the law for men and women, and measures to promote equality of minorities, and persons with disabilities; the framework only allowing for temporary postponement of the elections in times of declared public emergencies, and including realistic electoral calendar that allows adequate time to successfully implement all aspects of the elections, among others (The Carter Center, 2009).

Sudan is considered to be an undemocratic nation despite its presidential election held recently. On the contrary, from the position of the Sudanese government, the 2010 general elections is an emerging democracies, a comprehensive legal framework that guarantees the independence and integrity of the electoral process, promotes consistency and equality in electoral management, and promotes full and informed participation in electoral events by political parties, civil society organizations and electors is a necessary prerequisite for democratic elections to be realized (IDEA, 2006). According to European Union Election Observer Mission's report on The Republic of The Sudan Executive and Legislative Elections (2010); the structure, power, functions and responsibilities of electoral management bodies are defined in its legal framework that deals with electoral processes – the Constitution of the Republic of Sudan (2005) and the National Elections Act (NEA) 2008. These stemmed from the Comprehensive Peace Agreement(2005). The establishment of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January, 2005 brought an end to Sudan's 22-year civil war. The CPA constitutes a deal between the Khartoum-based government of Sudan, represented by the National Congress Party (NCP), and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), a former southern rebel group. In addition to several other arrangements, the CPA provided for an interim period of six years during which the country is ruled by a Government of National Unity (GNU) that represents both parties, as well as for an autonomous Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS). Ultimately, the interim arrangement paved the way for a referendum on independence for the South Sudan in 2011. It was decided that general elections were to be conducted at the halfway point (European Union Election Observation Mission report, 2010). The framework of Sudan's 2010 elections was marked by its complexity and it reflects a high level of ambition. The National Elections Act, passed in July 2008, stipulates elections for political offices at six different levels, namely for (i) the presidency of the GNU; (ii) the presidency of the GoSS;

(iii) state governorships; (iv) the national legislature, consisting of the National Assembly and the Council of States; (v) the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly; and (vi) the State Legislative Assemblies. The executive branch of government – the presidencies and state governors – is to be elected by using a majoritarian, ‘first - past- the-post’ system. A mixed system is used for the election of members for the national, the southern and the state legislatures: 60 per cent of the members of the National Assembly, the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly and the State Legislative Assemblies will be elected through a majoritarian system, while the remaining 40 per cent will be elected on the basis of proportional representation, with 25 per cent of the seats being reserved for women closed list and 15 per cent party closed list. The Council of States will be made up of two representatives from each of Sudan’s 25 states, to be selected by each State Legislative Assembly.

Though the legal framework is in place, the crisis in Darfur continues to cast a shadow over other issues dominating present-day Sudanese politics. The protracted nature of the crisis raises serious doubts with regard to the feasibility of Darfur participating in the elections (BBC News, 2005). Further to this, a section of academicians argue that it is generally good to lay down transparently legislative framework for electoral processes, but remain skeptical of the practice as noted by Collier (2009), in his book, *Wars, Guns and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places* by stressing that: “competitive elections in themselves do not provide an easy way out for low income countries that are experiencing protracted political violence. He warns against the simplistic assumption that they offer a ‘quick fix’ and subsequently attempts to refute the hypothesis that “where people have recourse to the ballot, they don’t resort to the gun”. Zeeuw (2009), supports this argument and notes that Collier’s message is clear and has previously been referred to by others while debating

the viability of democratization in impoverished, conflict-ridden countries (such as Sudan). The provision of the Article of Elections Acts of 2008 on terms of appointment of the Commission members, where the Chairman and the Deputy Chair are appointed to serve on full time basis while the other seven members serving on part – time basis, subject the Chairman and the Deputy to incline or lean towards the ruling party’s compromised deliberate position in favors of contentious issues that pushes the ruling party against the wall, leave alone the fact that the commissioners on part – time basis are deprived of their utmost time and effort to run smooth and flexible elections. In addition, the omission of the criterion to determine the limit of expenditure for parties’ and candidates’ electoral campaigns in the electoral act is a gap that cannot be ignored (NEC report, 2010: 53).

## **2.5 Electoral Supervision and Democratic Elections**

According to a comparative experience report of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in electoral administration (UNDP, 2011), the full range of responsibilities of electoral authorities – whether an electoral management body or the executive or some other model – in a given country would normally include most or all of the following: legal initiative or advisory role on electoral matters, and self-regulatory powers; election planning both strategic and operational; voter registration; political party and candidate registration; Control over party finance and campaign expenses; media access for parties and candidates; conducting the voting operations, and the tabulation of votes; announcement of preliminary and final results; voter and civic education; Accreditation of domestic and international observers; and adjudication of electoral grievances (claims and complaints directly related to election issues, procedures, and results). The Electoral supervision then is monitoring and overseeing these activities and responsibilities in totality, by the

election management body (EMB). Diehl and Druckman (2010) agree with this but maintain that election supervision involves the supervision of democratic elections including, quite often the voter registration process as well as monitoring polling sites on the day of elections in order to ensure that those elections are free and fair.; and that related to the mission of election supervision is the task of promoting democratization – which involves more than monitoring electoral processes that are specified in any peace agreement, but extends to ensuring that democratic processes in terms of political participation and completion are present in society.

According to Massicotte, Louis, Andr'e and Antoine (2004), and Wall et al (2006:5) The electoral management bodies are the institutions dedicated to the management of the electoral processes, such institutions have assumed responsibility for a number of key functions including determining who is eligible to vote, managing the nominations of parties and /or candidates, conducting the polling, counting the votes, and tabulating the results. The electoral management bodies also promote fairness, openness and transparency, and have contributed to legitimacy of the democracy and the enhancement of the rule of law. Electoral management bodies have played a prominent role in the process of democratic design and consolidation in the third-wave democracies. On the other hand, Wall et al. (2006) assert that despite having a number of common functions, electoral management bodies differ in their structure, and globally, three main types or models of institution can be identified. 1) The electoral management bodies are independent of the executive branch of government and have full responsibility for the administration of elections. Often, they have responsibility for developing policy and making decisions that relate to the electoral process. They are composed of members who are outside the executive while in electoral management bodies' office and are more often accountable to legislature, 2) The EMBs are headed by a minister or a

civil servant who is accountable to a cabinet minister. The elections are organized and managed by the executive branch of government either through a Ministry (such as Ministry of the Interior) and/ or local authorities; and 3) EMB combines the elements of the Independent and the governmental models, where elections are organized and implemented through a ministry and/or through local authorities, as in the governmental model, but there is a second body, independent of the executive, which assumes the responsibility for overseeing and supervising the election, and which, in some instances, has the power to develop a regulatory electoral framework under the law. According to Andrew Ellis (2009), electoral processes are an essential element of democracy, consolidation and stability but in the early stages of transition in particular, they can be flashpoints with the potential to encourage the re-emergence of conflict, and if badly designed, can entrench forces that do not promote democratization

## **2.6 Summary of Review**

The literature review above confirms that different scholars have conducted several studies to establish the correlation between electoral processes and democratic elections. However a lot needs to be dug into to satisfy the great need for a more participatory political system which allows citizens the opportunity to exercise their direct or indirect will in the electoral process of Sudan in deciding the choice of leadership. The electoral processes in regards to democratic elections, though seen from a global perspective as well, has also tried to point out situations in the Republic of Sudan, which is transforming from a single to multiparty political dispensation.

According to Alina Rocha Menocal (n.d) publication on the Overseas Development Institute website, analysis of electoral systems helps to highlight several lessons about electoral systems

that international development actors ought to keep in mind as they attempt to deepen their understanding of the different contexts in which they work. These include among others, understanding how electoral systems work to develop a more nuanced understanding of the interests, opportunities and constraints that drive political actors and the institutional environment within which they operate; the notion that Electoral systems do not exist in isolation but are part of a broader set of institutions and structures - context matters for the consequences of the choice of a particular electoral system (e.g. nature of societal cleavages, federal vs. unitary system, nature and quality of political parties, etc.); Choices of electoral design are not technical but political; effects of changes to electoral systems are not likely to become manifest over the short-run; and there may be unintended consequences in the long term; (Changes in) electoral systems should not be viewed as a panacea for all ills but their influence should not be underestimated either: changes are likely to be incremental, but can be quite important. (Horowitz, 2003); No electoral system is perfect – there are always trade-offs involved (e.g. candidate/personal influence vs. party coherence; and accountability to voters vs. accountability to the party; short-term advantage vs. long-term stability, minority representation and ensuing fragmentation of party systems vs. government coherence and durability; incentives for pork barrel vs. corruption; the provision of public goods vs. the provision of more targeted ones; etc.). This means that the design of constitutional structures and electoral rules is a balancing act that has produced a wide range of both problems and solutions (Kunicová and Rose-Ackerman, 2005).

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the methodology that will be used in the study. Specifically, it presents the research design, study population, sample size and sampling techniques, data collection methods, data collection instruments, validity and reliability approaches, procedure for data collection, data analysis techniques, and how the measurement of variables will be conducted.

### **3.2 Research Design**

A cross sectional research design (Neuman, 2011) will be used. The research approaches that will be used under this design are mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative methods). Mixed methods are chosen because they bring out the qualitative and quantitative findings of a study, Russell (2011).

### **3.3 Study Population**

Population consists of the entire items/units to which the study result is intended to be generalized. Parahoo (1997) defines population as the total number of units from which data can be collected such as individuals, air facts, events or organizations, while target population, as the total area of concern to the study from where the study result will be generalized. The population of registered voters in Sudan was 19,576,242 (National Election Report, 2010).

#### **3.3.1 Target Population**

The target population is “the entire aggregation of respondents that meet the designated set of criteria” (Burns & Grove 1997:236). The target population in this study will constitute all adult from 18 years of age and above living in the Republic of Sudan; in areas the researcher will select

to conduct the study. The study population will include electoral commissioners, Commission staff, some selected ordinary voters, and stakeholders in Sudan elections. The population will be accessed from organizational records such as human resources staffing list, electoral commission registration records databases, and from some of the periodical organization reports and minutes of meetings. All the participants in the population live in Sudan.

### 3.3.2 Accessible Population

Jensen & Rodgers (2001) define accessible population as the number of potential respondents that the researcher is able to reach in the specified period of time using the available resources without affecting the intended outcome. The accessible population for this study is 424 people from which a sample of 307 respondents will be selected.

### 3.4 Sample Size

The sample size in this research was carefully selected based on respondent’s experience, age and knowledge of the subject or expertise. In explaining expertise, Brockoff (1975), argues that expert knowledge `can be proven by demonstration, or by resources to confirmation through third parties. From the elements of the study population that included electoral commissioners, Commission staff, some selected ordinary voters, and stakeholders in Sudan elections, appropriate samples will be selected using Krejice& Morgan tables (Krejice& Morgan, 1970) as detailed in the table below.

**Table 1: Showing Sample Size by Population Categories**

Population category	Population (N)	Sample (n)	Sampling technique
Commissioners	9	9	Purposive

Directors & Heads of Departments	15	14	Purposive
Other Commission Staff	150	108	Simple Random
Stakeholders	50	44	Purposive
Ordinary voters	200	132	Simple Random
Total	<b>424</b>	<b>307</b>	

**Source:** *This data was generated based on files at Sudan electoral commission head offices, and guided by Krejcie and Morgan Table (1970).*

### **3.5 Sampling Techniques**

Simple random and purposive sampling techniques will be used in this study, as indicated in table 1 above.

#### **3.5.1 Simple Random**

The study will use simple random sampling to target employees and ordinary voters. This method is selected because it gives equal chance for any individual in the population to be picked to take part in a study (Sarantakos, 2005). The reason why simple random sampling will be used is because it minimises the bias on the side of the researcher while selecting respondents (Maxwell, 2005). In agreement with the above authors Babbie (2007) emphasizes that random sampling must be free of bias yet meeting the needs of the researcher. This method will be used to target beneficiary and staff categories of respondents.

### **3.5.2 Purposive Sampling**

The study will use purposive sampling to target commissioners, Directors and Head of departments, and stakeholders. According Neuman (2006) purposive sampling is when the researcher specifically targets certain people due to their knowledge about the research subject. Purposive sampling aims to ensure that the researcher finds and engages resourceful respondents to enrich the study (Berg, 2008). In agreement, Strauss & Anselm & Corbin (2007) assert that purposive sampling is especially necessary in technical and investigative studies, the reason why it was used. This method will be used to target commissioners, Directors and Head of departments and stakeholders.

## **3.6 Data Collection Methods**

Data collection methods are ways through which the researcher gets data needed from the respondents (Patten & Mildred, 2001). This study will use questionnaire survey and interviews. According to Russell (2011) questionnaire surveys are less time consuming and give the respondent the freedom to answer the way they feel most comfortable. The study will use interviews to collect data since they give opportunity to probe further for in-depth information (De Vaus, 2001).

### **3.6.1 Questionnaire Survey**

Data will be collected through questioning of respondents using self-administered questionnaires. According to Guppy & Gray (2008) successful surveys depend on carefully executed data collection method. The authors add that in case of questionnaire survey, the researcher must ensure that self-administered and guided questionnaires are easy to understand by the respond and are not

too long. In agreement, Nardi (2006) argues that questionnaires should be concise yet comprehensive.

### **3.6.2 Interviews**

Data will be collected through face to face interviews. Wengraf (2001) reveals that interviewing is an essential and simple way of data collection. In agreement, Amin (2005) argues that the advantage of using interview is that, it allows on spot explanations, adjustments and variation could be introduced during the data collection process and through respondent's incidental comments, use of facial and body expressions, tone of voice, gestures, feelings and attitudes (Amin, 2005).

### **3.6.3 Documentary Review**

Creswell (2008) indicates that documentary review focuses on documents that are internal and relevant to the organization that is being researched on. The author adds that documentary review should focus on finding supporting information that is specific to the organization under investigation in line with the study subject. The researcher will review books, relevant pamphlets, articles, magazines, the website, minutes for meetings, and reports which particularly talk about Sudan electoral commission and elections in the country.

## **3.7 Data Collection Instruments**

This section contains the various data collection instruments that will be used in the study. Each of the instruments is explained in detail below.

### **3.7.1 Questionnaires**

According to Mildred (2001) a questionnaire is a tool containing a set of questions which, if answered, helps the researcher get varied data about a specific subject under investigation. For a questionnaire to produce good data it must be valid (Patten & Mildred, 2001). Questionnaires will be used to avoid subjectivity that results from close contact between researcher and respondent. The questionnaire will also be used because it helps collect necessary information over a short time period less expensively (Fowler, 2008).

### **3.7.2 Interview Guide**

According to Osborne (2008) an interview guide is list of thematic areas or issues that the research focuses on while engaging respondents during an interview. This will be a list of key themes and question areas on which the face to face interviews focused. An interview guide will be used to help the interviewer remain systematic and focused on relevant issues (Sarantakos, 2005).

### **3.7.3 Documentary Review Checklist**

A documentary review checklist contains a record of the various documents reviewed for specific information about a research case (Yates, 2004). Prior to the study a documentary review checklist of documents about the Electoral processes and democratic elections will be developed. It will contain relevant pamphlets, newspaper articles, organizational magazines, the organizational website, minutes for meetings, reports from Sudan electoral commission.

## **3.8 Validity and Reliability**

This section explains how the study will ensure research instruments are valid and data reliable.

### 3.8.1 Validity

Validity is the extent to which research instruments measure what they are intended to measure (Russell, 2011). The researcher will use expert judgment of the supervisors and other reviewers to confirm the validity of the instruments. The relevance of each item in the research instruments to the research objectives will be evaluated. The reviewers will rate each item as either relevant or not relevant. Validity will be determined using Content Validity Index (C.V.I). C.V.I = Items rated relevant by both judges divided by the total number of items in the questionnaire as shown below.

$$\text{CVI} = \frac{\text{No. of items rated relevant}}{\text{Total no. of items}}$$

The instruments that will yield a CVI above 0.7 will be within the accepted ranges. Further, the instruments will be discussed with the supervisor and experts and also pre-tested using part of the study sample respondents to ensure construct and content validity.

### 3.8.2. Reliability

To ensure reliability of quantitative data, the Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficient for Likert-Type Scales test will be performed. In statistics, Cronbach's alpha is a coefficient of reliability (Russell, 2011). It is commonly used as a measure of the internal consistency or reliability of a psychometric test score for a sample of examinees. The instrument will be subjected to a pretest where 10 respondents from the population, who are not part of the sample size, will be used to test the reliability of the questionnaire.

$$\text{The Cronbach's Coefficient of Alpha} = \frac{n}{n-1} \left( 1 - \frac{\sum s^2}{S^2} \right)$$

Where n = Number of questions;

s<sup>2</sup> = Variance of Scores in Each question;

$S^2$  = Total variance of overall scores (not %'s) on the entire test.

And that  $s^2$  =  $p*(1-p)$

Where  $p$  = Percentage of class who answers correctly;

And  $s^2$  = Varies from 0 to 0.25

The Cronbach Alpha Coefficient with a measure of equal or greater than 0.70, will be taken as an acceptable for the instrument after the pilot study.

According to Sekaran (2003) a reliability of 0.70 or higher (obtained on a substantial sample) is required before an instrument is used. Upon performing the test, the results should be 0.7 and above to be considered reliable.

### **3.9 Procedure for Data Collection**

Successful defence of the proposal will be followed by getting a letter of introduction to the field for data collection. Data collection will be done over a period of one month. A team of research assistants will be led by the researcher in data collection. In the first week data collection instruments will be developed and pre-tested for validity and reliability before full application. Still in the first week, contacting and making appointments with respondents will be done. In the second week, questionnaires will be administered to selected respondents. This will be done by two research assistants whose minimum qualification will be a university degree. In the second week, interviews with key respondents will be conducted. In the third week, all collected data will be organized and sorted for correctness.

### **3.10 Data Analysis**

Analysis of data is a process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming, and modelling data with the goal of discovering useful information, suggesting conclusions, and supporting decision-making (Gorard, 2003). According to Grbich (2007) analysis refers to breaking a whole into its separate components for individual examination. Data analysis is a process for obtaining raw data and converting it into information useful for decision-making by users. Data is collected and analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS Version 21) to answer questions, test hypotheses or disprove theories (Grbich, 2007). SPSS has been commonly and reliably used to analyse social data and this can be applied to this study.

#### **3.10.1 Qualitative Data Analysis**

Qualitative data analysis is the range of processes and procedures from the qualitative data that have been collected into some form of explanation, understanding or interpretation of the people and situations under investigation. Qualitative data analysis is usually based on an interpretative approach (Neuendorf, 2002). Qualitative data responses will be transcribed, sorted and classified. The analysis will be done manually and responses will be summarized in a narrative form of presentation of the major findings of the study. The technique for qualitative data analysis will be content analysis.

#### **3.10.2 Quantitative Data Analysis**

It is a systematic approach to investigations during which numerical data is collected and/or the researcher transforms what is collected or observed into numerical data (Yin, 2008). Quantitative data will be coded and entered into Statistical Program for Social Scientists (SPSS) data editor and analysed using SPSS version 21. Descriptive statistics such as measures of central tendency will be

used to describe and summarize data. These included the mean, mode, and median. Relational statistics; correlation coefficient, regression, and cross tabulation will be used to establish the strength of the relationship between variables.

### **3.11 Measurement of Variables**

Data on beneficiaries' views will be obtained using a scaled questionnaire A 5 point likert scale of 1=strongly disagree 2=disagree 3=not sure 4=agree and 5=strongly agree will be used to tap respondents perception of their engagement. The questions will be adjusted accordingly to match the targeted information by the researcher. Data generated from open ended questions will be used in the qualitative analysis. The information will be studied and categorized according to context; the responses will be grouped according to the current issues. Direct questions from the interviews will be offered as illustrations in some areas. The Likert scale is chosen because it is easier to use compared to other methods (Amin, 2005).

### **3.12 Ethical Considerations**

Ethical considerations in research concern moral values and rules that must guide the research process. It is a motivation based on ideas of what is wrong and what is right (Glicken, 2002). Some of the ethical considerations in this research are:; consent of respondents will be sought from each respondent prior to engagement so that they don't feel coerced. Confidentiality is important to fuller interaction with respondents (Russell, 2011). Thus, all information given by respondents will be handled with confidentiality. All addresses and contacts as well as names of respondents will remain anonymous.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

#### ELECTORAL PROCESSES AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN SUDAN

##### SECTION A: Personal Data (circle or tick only as appropriate to you)

1. Gender: a) Male b) Female
2. Age: a) 18 - 28 b) 29 - 39 c) 40 – 50 d) 51---61 e) Above 61
3. Your Relationship with Sudan Electoral Commission
  - a) Commissioner/Staff b) Manager/Director c) Voter d) Partner e) Others
4. Years of relationship with Sudan Electoral Commission a) less than 1 year b) 1-3 years  
c) 4-6 years d) 7 years and above
5. Education Level: a) Never studied b) Primary c) Secondary d) University

##### SECTION B:

Totally Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Totally Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

Using the scale below please tick the box you think is most appropriate

#### ELECTORAL MASS SENSITIZATION AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

<b>S/N</b>	<b>Parameter</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>1</b>	Sudan government has a national framework for citizen sensitization					
<b>2</b>	Sudan electoral commission has a functional strategy for electoral sensitization					
<b>3</b>	I am familiar with electoral processes in Sudan					
<b>4</b>	I am aware of my right to vote					
<b>5</b>	As a voter, I am familiar with the voting calendar					
<b>6</b>	As a voter, I am familiar with the requirements for running for office					
<b>7</b>	I know what to do in case my electoral rights are violated					

### **ELECTORAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS**

<b>S/N</b>	<b>Parameter</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>1</b>	Election laws are functional in Sudan					
<b>2</b>	Sudan electoral commission follows stipulated electoral laws					
<b>3</b>	Sudan electoral laws are free and fair					
<b>4</b>	Sudan government does not interfere with electoral laws					
<b>5</b>	Sudan electoral commission has competent staff who understand the law					
<b>6</b>	As a voter, I have trust in the electoral laws					
<b>7</b>	As a voter, I have trust in the overall laws of the country					
<b>8</b>	Sudan follows international legal frameworks on election					

<b>9</b>	Sudan Electoral Commission is familiar with international legal frameworks					
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**ELECTORAL SUPERVISION AND ANNOUNCEMENT AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS**

<b>S/N</b>	<b>Parameters</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1	Sudan electoral commission has capacity to supervise election process					
2	Sudan electoral commission independently supervises electoral process					
3	Sudan electoral commission effectively manages any electoral malpractice					
4	Sudan electoral commission counts cast votes in the stipulated manner and places					
5	Sudan electoral commission announces winners within agreed time					
6	Sudan electoral commission is neutral while coordinating elections					

**DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN SUDAN**

<b>S/N</b>	<b>Parameters</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
1	Elections in Sudan are democratic					
2	As a voter am free to cast my votes					

3	Sudan Electoral Commission is transparent during the election process					
	Sudan Electoral Commission provides all information to the general public during election seasons					
4	Sudan Electoral Commission engages all key stakeholders in the electoral process					
5	The government does not interfere in the electoral process					
6	As a voter I am not intimidated					

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## **APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

### **Section One: Bio- Data**

**Please circle as appropriate whichever applies**

- 1) Gender: A. Male B. Female
- 2) Ages: A. 18 - 28 B. 29 - 39 C. 40 – 50 D. 51-61 E. Above 61
- 3) Career/Stakeholders: A. Politicians B. Civil Society Organizations C. NEC officials  
D. Others
- 4) Educational Qualification: A. Secondary School Certificate B. Diploma  
C. Bachelor D. Doctorate Degree E. Others

### **Section Two**

- 1) Could you describe in a few sentences how you understand the concept “Democracy” in a political system?
- 2) In what way do you think that electoral system can bring about change to democratic process in Sudan?
- 3) Could you identify any improvement in the Sudan electoral system during the last past ten years of democratic process?
- 4) How do you think that the electoral system have improved on the level of participatory democracy in Sudan?
- 5) Do you think popular participation is important for the sustenance of democracy in Sudan and why?

- 6) In what area of political and electoral system in Sudan would you wish to see more improvement and why?
- 7) In accessing Sudan's democratic journey, what role do you think the electoral stakeholders have played in creating political awareness and the sensitization of the masses? (a) Civil society (b) Media (c) Political Parties
- 8) What kind of impact would you say; the mass sensitization has had on democratization in elections?
- 9) In what way do you think that NEC has controlled the supervision of electoral processes?

**END – THANK YOU**

**APPENDIX III: KREJCIE & MORGAN (1970) TABLE FOR DETERMINING SAMPLE  
SIZE FOR FINITE POPULATION**

N= Population, S= Sample size

N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N	S
10	10	100	80	280	162	800	260	2,800	338
15	14	110	86	290	165	850	265	3,000	341
20	19	120	92	300	169	900	269	3,500	346
25	24	130	97	320	175	950	274	4,000	351
30	28	140	103	340	181	1,000	278	4,500	354
35	32	150	108	360	186	1,100	285	5,000	357
40	36	160	113	380	191	1,200	291	6,000	361
45	40	170	118	400	196	1,300	297	7,000	364
50	44	180	123	400	201	1,400	302	8,000	367
55	48	190	127	440	205	1,500	306	9,000	368
60	52	200	132	460	210	1,600	310	10,000	370
65	56	210	136	480	214	1,700	313	15,000	375
70	59	220	140	500	217	1,800	317	20,000	377
75	63	230	144	550	226	1,900	320	30,000	379
80	66	240	148	600	234	2,000	322	40,000	380
85	70	250	152	650	242	2,100	327	50,000	381
90	73	260	155	700	248	2,200	331	75,000	382
95	76	270	159	750	254	2,300	335	100,000	384

**Source:** Amin (2005).

#### APPENDIX IV: STUDY TIMEFRAME

<b>Time Frame</b>	<b>Activities</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> March – 2 <sup>nd</sup> April 2016	Research Proposal and final submission
3 <sup>rd</sup> April – 30 <sup>th</sup> April 2016	Development of research tools
1 <sup>st</sup> May – 14 <sup>th</sup> June 2016	Data Collection
15 <sup>th</sup> June – 30 <sup>th</sup> June 2016	Data entry
1 <sup>st</sup> July – 14 <sup>th</sup> July 2016	Report writing
15 <sup>th</sup> July – 31 <sup>st</sup> August 2016	Review and submission of dissertation
August 2016	Viva