

**ELECTORAL PROCESSES AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN SUDAN**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

I, **AMOS JUMA OCHIENG**, hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original piece of work and has not been submitted for any degree or examination in another University or any other Institution of Higher Learning. In all cases where other people's ideas have been used, they have been duly acknowledged by complete references.

Signature..... Date.....

## **APPROVAL**

This dissertation has been prepared under my supervision and submitted under my approval.

Supervisor: **DR. DORIS KAKURU (PhD)**

Signature: ..... Date:.....

## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved wife, **GRACE AKONGO**, and my brother, **KENNETH OCHIENG**, for the tireless efforts they put in to support me. I also dedicate this piece of work to my lovely children.

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## ABSTRACT

The study examined the influence of electoral processes and democratic elections in the Republic of Sudan. This research was prompted by the fact that despite the provision in the National Elections Act of 2008 to ensure free and fair elections, what actually happens during election periods is different from guidelines; intimidation and violence in some areas of Sudan undercut inclusiveness; the NEC is seen insufficiently transparent and lacked full independence from the central government, which undermine trust; the legal framework for elections failing to provide effective means for contestants seeking redress; and most importantly electoral process seemingly lacking sufficient safeguards and transparency.

The study applied questionnaire and interview guides for the research survey; data was collected from 211 respondents using questionnaires and few questionnaire guides. Simple random sampling and purposive sampling were used. Simple charts, regression analysis and Pearson's Correlation coefficient was done to analyze results of findings. Findings revealed that there was strong positive correlation between all the independent variables: electoral mass sensitization, electoral legal framework and electoral supervision; and the dependent variable: democratic elections in the Republic of Sudan. There existed a positive and statistically significant (.000) relationship between electoral processes and democratic elections, as portrayed by the strong positive relationships between the variables.

The study concluded that in all, electoral processes in the Republic of Sudan translate into much needed free and fair elections although ignorance of the legal framework is much prevalent among the electorates.

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Introduction**

This study investigated the influence of electoral processes on democratic elections in Sudan. The independent variable was 'electoral processes' and the dependent variable were 'democratic elections' while the moderating variable was electoral legal framework. The dimensions which the study considered under the independent variable was electoral sensitization and electoral supervision. The dimensions under the dependent variable were; 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) report 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) point out that “elections are the lifeblood of democracy” (p.5). They further stress 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, 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 in affairs of their country were secured. The same happened in other European countries, as well as in the Americas (Nohlen, 2009). After the 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**

This study underpinned by the social choice theory (commonly referred to as the voting theory), started by Kenth Arrow, who originated the study following his introduction of the impossibility theorem in 1951. Using different metrics such as interests, values and welfare, social choice theory aims to determine the optimal rules of structuring a fair voting framework (Investopedia, n.d). Social choice theory or voting theory is a theoretical framework for analysis of combining individual opinions, preferences, interests, or welfares to reach a collective decision or social welfare in some sense (Arrow, 1951).The Social theory defines the voting system or electoral system, which consists of the set of rules which must be followed for a vote to be considered valid, and how votes are counted and aggregated to yield a final result. The voting or electoral system is a method by which voters make a choice between candidates, often in an election or on a policy referendum. Common voting systems are majority rule, proportional representation or plurality voting system with a number of variations and methods such as first-past-the-post or preferential voting.

The Social Choice theory was applied to explain the mixed electoral systems approach in use in the Republic of Sudan, 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

social choice theory 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 incorporate 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) argue 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 election 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 terms 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 honour 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 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 seeks 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 for 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 to exercise their right to vote. However, despite this provision, what actually happens during election periods is different from guidelines. Although the election process is 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). The researcher felt that if nothing done to stop these corrupt practices, the National Elections Commission would lose its credibility to conduct free, fair and transparent elections and also it would undermine crucial elements in the election process and had unfortunate effect of squandering an opportunity to build confidence in the electoral process among the Sudanese and other stakeholders.. 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**

This study was guided by the following objectives:

- 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.

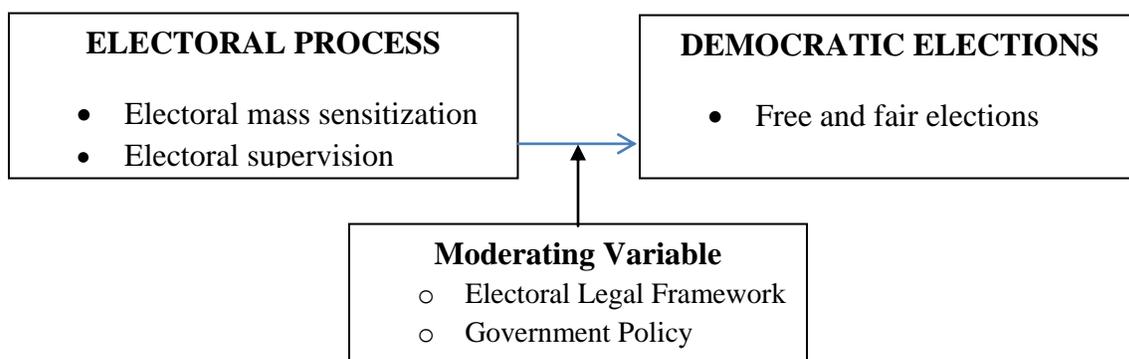
## 1.8. Conceptual Framework

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 variables were electoral legal framework and Government policy. The dependent variable on the other hand is democratic elections whose dimension is free and fair elections. This is illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 1.1 below:

**Figure 1.1: 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 Key Operational 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 behaviour, 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 to 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 underpinned by the social choice theory (commonly referred to as the voting theory), started by Kenth Arrow, who originated the study following his introduction of the impossibility theorem in 1951. Using different metrics such as interests, values and welfare, social choice theory aims to determine the optimal rules of structuring a fair voting framework (Investopedia, n.d). Social choice theory or voting theory is a theoretical framework for analysis of combining individual opinions, preferences, interests, or welfares to reach a collective decision or social welfare in some sense (Arrow, 1963).

Pioneered in the 18th century by Nicolas de Condorcet and Jean-Charles de Borda and in the 19th century by Charles Dodgson (also known as Lewis Carroll), social choice theory took off in the 20th century with the works of Kenneth Arrow, Amartya Sen, and Duncan Black. Its influence extends across economics, political science, philosophy, mathematics, and recently computer science and biology. The two scholars most often associated with the development of social choice theory are the Frenchman Nicolas de Condorcet (1743–1794) and the American Kenneth Arrow (born 1921). Condorcet (1785) anticipated a key theme of modern social choice

theory: “majority rule is at once a plausible method of collective decision making and yet subject to some surprising problems. Resolving or bypassing these problems remains one of social choice theory's core concerns.” While Condorcet had investigated a *particular* voting method (majority voting), Arrow, introduced a general approach to the study of preference aggregation. Arrow considered a class of possible aggregation methods, which he called social welfare functions (Suppes, 2005).

The theory of social choice considers the problem of aggregating the preferences of the members of a given society in order to derive a social preference that represents this society or community. The social preference is to express the general will, the common good as it were. The general will can be viewed as the basis for the very existence of any society. Economists argue that the common good finds its expression in a so-called social welfare function which, described more mundanely, represents a compromise among divergent interests of those who belong to society. The market mechanism cannot be taken as a social welfare function since it is not guided by moral or ethical principles in any deeper sense. A market allocation heavily depends on the initial endowments of the individuals. These possessions determine the power or weakness of the individual agents. This implies that Social choice theory depends upon the ability to aggregate, or sum up, individual preferences into a combined social welfare function. Individual preference can be modeled in terms of an economic utility function. The ability to sum utility functions of different individuals depends on the utility functions being comparable to each other; informally, individuals' preferences must be measured with the same yardstick. Then the ability to create a social welfare function depends crucially on the ability to compare utility functions. This is called interpersonal utility comparison. Following Jeremy Bentham, utilitarians have argued that preferences and utility functions of individuals are interpersonally comparable and may therefore

be added together to arrive at a measure of aggregate utility. Utilitarian ethics call for maximizing this aggregate (Burns, 2005).

Robbins (1935) questioned whether mental states, and the utilities they reflect, can be measured and, a fortiori (a *Latin* expression meaning for an even stronger reason), interpersonal comparisons of utility as well as the social choice theory on which it is based. Consider, for instance, the law of diminishing marginal utility, according to which utility of an added quantity of good decreases with the amount of the good that is already in possession of the individual. It has been used to defend transfers of wealth from the "rich" to the "poor" on the premise that the former do not derive as much utility as the latter from an extra unit of income. Robbins (1935: 138–40) argues that this notion is beyond positive science; that is, one cannot measure changes in the utility of someone else, nor is it required by positive theory.

Apologists of the interpersonal comparison of utility have argued that Robbins claimed too much. Harsanyi (1987) agrees that full comparability of mental states such as utility is never possible but believes, however, that human beings are able to make some interpersonal comparisons of utility because they share some common backgrounds, cultural experiences, etc. In the example from Sen (1970: 99), it should be possible to say that Emperor Nero's gain from burning Rome was outweighed by the loss incurred by the rest of the Romans. Harsanyi (1987) and Sen (1970), thus argue that at least partial comparability of utility is possible, and social choice theory proceeds under that assumption. Sen (1970) proposes, however, that comparability of interpersonal utility need not be partial. Under Sen's theory of informational broadening, even complete interpersonal comparison of utility would lead to socially suboptimal choices because mental states are malleable – for example, a starving peasant may have a particularly sunny

disposition and thereby derive high utility from a small income. This fact should not nullify, however, his claim to compensation or equality in the realm of social choice. Social decisions should accordingly be based on immalleable factors. Sen (1970) proposes interpersonal utility comparisons based on a wide range of data. His theory is concerned with access to advantage, viewed as an individual's access to goods that satisfy basic needs (e.g., food), freedoms (in the labour market, for instance), and capabilities. We can proceed to make social choices based on real variables, and thereby address actual position, and access to advantage. Sen's method of informational broadening allows social choice theory to escape the objections of Robbins, which looked as though they would permanently harm social choice theory.

The Social Choice theory was used to explain mixed electoral systems approach in use in the Republic of Sudan by combining 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).

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

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% use 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).

In addition, 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 Watterberg'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 per cent 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) per cent of seats were designated for single-member geographical constituencies, and forty (40) per cent were elected from closed party lists of which 25 per cent were reserved for Women and 15 per cent 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 favours 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 interchangeably. 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 programem (IDEA, 2006).

Voter Education/Awareness (more accurately referred to as Voter Awareness or Information Programmes) happens just before electoral events – 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, (i.e. 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 programmes 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 programme is most often provided by election authorities and civil society organizations. Civic Education which is broader – (can and should include electoral education) is a continual and long-term process and is usually embedded in the education curriculum and other programmes. 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 and 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 endeavours. 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).

However, according to 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 among 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 a 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, 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). However, given the complexity of the polling process, the absence of recent democratic tradition, and the high level of illiteracy in Sudan, the

need for Civic and voter education was relevant to this election.- a gap this study in NEC endeavoured to fill.

#### **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 include: the protection of human rights and fulfilment 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 a realistic electoral calendar that allows adequate time to successfully implement all aspects of the elections, among others (The Carter Center, 2009).

Sudan is considered an undemocratic nation despite its presidential election held recently. On the contrary, from the position of the Sudanese government, the 2010 general elections is just a symbol of an emerging democracy, where it can be argued that 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 are necessary prerequisites for democratic elections to be realized (IDEA, 2006). According to the 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 a 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*. Collier (2009) stressed that: "competitive elections in themselves do not provide an easy way out for low income countries that are experiencing protracted political violence. He further 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 are serving on part-time basis, subject the Chairman and the Deputy to incline or lean towards the ruling party's compromised deliberate position in favour of contentious issues that push 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 the 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.

Though the election regulations and code of conduct for electoral supervision was in place, the administration of Sudan's general elections suffered a lack of clear procedures, inconsistency in the application of procedures across states, and poor communication. That these problems had a negative impact on important stages of the process is a gap that cannot be ignored (Carter Center Observer's report, 2010:66)

## **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 making the choice of leadership. Though the electoral processes with regard to democratic elections has been seen from a global perspective, the review 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 survey design was adopted for this study because it provides a systematic description that is as factual and as accurate as possible (Ezeani, 2009:98). Using a cross sectional survey, data was collected from a cross section of respondents at a single point in time. Across sectional survey is less time consuming and easy to apply. The study applied both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Creswell (2009: 65) notes that quantitative methods are more objective and help to investigate the relationships between the identified variables. This study also applied qualitative approaches which involved in-depth probe and application of subjectively interpreted data. According to Earl-Babbie (2013:45), qualitative researchers aim to gather an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern such behaviour. Quantitative approaches were adopted in sampling, collection of data, data quality control and in data analysis. Mixed methods were 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 constituted of all adults from 18 years of age and above living in the Republic of Sudan; in areas the researcher selected to conduct the study. The study population included electoral commissioners, Commission staff, some selected ordinary voters, and stakeholders in Sudan elections. The population was 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 were selected using Krejcie & Morgan tables (Krejcie & 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 were used in this study, as indicated in Table 1 above.

### **3.5.1. Simple Random**

Simple random sampling was used in this study to target employees and ordinary voters. This method was 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 was used is because it minimises the bias on the side of the researcher while selecting respondents (Maxwell, 2005). In agreement with the above author, Babbie (2007) emphasizes that random sampling must be free of bias yet meeting the needs of the researcher. This method was used to target beneficiary and staff categories of respondents.

### **3.5.2. Purposive Sampling**

The study used purposive sampling to target commissioners, directors and heads of department, 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, and Corbin (2007) assert that purposive sampling is especially necessary in technical and investigative studies, the reason why it was used.

## **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 used questionnaire survey and interviews according to Russell (2011) questionnaire surveys are less time-consuming and give the respondents the freedom to answer the way they feel most comfortable. The study used

interviews to collect data since they give opportunity to probe further for in-depth information (De Vaus, 2001).

### **3.6.1. Questionnaire Survey**

Data was 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 added that in case of questionnaire survey, the researcher must ensure that self-administered and guided questionnaires are easy to understand by the respondent and are not too long. In agreement, Nardi (2006) argues that questionnaires should be concise yet comprehensive.

### **3.6.2. Interviews**

Data was 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 reviewed 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 were 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 were used to avoid subjectivity that results from close contact between researcher and respondent. The questionnaire was also 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 was a list of key themes and question areas on which the face to face interviews focused. An interview guide was used to help the interviewer remained 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 was developed. It contained relevant pamphlets, newspaper articles, organizational magazines, the organizational website, minutes for meetings, and reports from Sudan electoral commission.

## **3.8. Validity and Reliability**

This section explains how the study ensured research instruments were 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 used 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 was evaluated. The reviewers rated each item as either relevant or not relevant. Validity was 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 yielded a CVI above 0.7 were within the accepted ranges. Further, the instruments were 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 was 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 was subjected to a pretest where 10 respondents from the population, who were not part of the sample size, were 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;

$s^2$  = 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, was 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 indicated 0.7 and this is considered reliable.

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

Successful defence of the proposal was followed by getting a letter of introduction to the field for data collection. Data collection was done over a period of one month. A team of research assistants were led by the researcher in data collection. In the first week data collection instruments were developed and pre-tested for validity and reliability before full application. Still in the first week, contacting and making appointments with respondents were done. In the second week, questionnaires were administered to selected respondents. This was done by two research assistants whose minimum qualification was a university degree. In the second week, interviews with key respondents were conducted. In the third week, all collected data was 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 was 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 it was applied in 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 were transcribed, sorted and classified. The analysis was done manually and responses were summarized in a narrative form of presentation of the major findings of the study. The technique for qualitative data analysis was content analysis.

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

Quantitative data analysis refers to a systematic approach to investigations during which numerical data was collected and/or the process through which the researcher transforms what was collected or observed into numerical data (Yin, 2008). Quantitative data was coded and entered into Statistical Programme for Social Scientists (SPSS) data editor and analysed using SPSS version 21. Descriptive statistics such as measures of central tendency was used to describe and summarize data. These included the mean, mode, and median. Relational statistics; correlation coefficient, regression, and cross tabulation was used to establish the strength of the relationship between variables.

### **3.11. Measurement of Variables**

Data on beneficiaries' views was 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 was used to tap respondents perception of their engagement. The questions were adjusted accordingly to match

the targeted information by the researcher. Data generated from open-ended questions was used in the qualitative analysis. The information was studied and categorized according to context; the responses were grouped according to the current issues. Direct questions from the interviews were 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 were: consent of respondents being sought from each respondent prior to engagement so that they should not feel coerced. Confidentiality is important to fuller interaction with respondents (Russell, 2011). Thus, all information given by respondents was handled with confidentiality. All addresses and contacts as well as names of respondents remained anonymous.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

#### 4.1. Introduction

The study examined the relationship between electoral processes and democratic elections in the Republic of Sudan. This chapter presents the analysis and interpretation of the results according to the objectives of the study. The chapter is divided into three parts: response rate; demographic characteristics; and presentation and analysis of empirical findings of the study. The objectives of the study were as hereunder:

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

#### 4.2. Response Rate

The response rate is the percentage of people who responded to the study, and was calculated using the formula:

$$\frac{\text{Actual no. of responses}}{\text{Targeted Response}} \times 100\%$$

If the response rate is 50% or less, it shows that the data is inadequate for analysis, but if the response rate is 60%, it indicates that the data is good for analysis. If the rate is 70% and above, then the data is very good for analysis. The researcher should use all means to increase the

response rate in order to have a representative sample for meaningful generalization (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003, p.83).

The results for the targeted and actual sample from which data was taken are shown in Table 4.1 below.

**Table 4.1: Target sample and Response Rate**

<b>Category of Respondents</b>	<b>Population Size</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>Response Rate (%)</b>	<b>Non Response</b>
Commissioners	9	9	8	88.9	11.1
Directors & Heads	15	14	11	78.6	21.4
Other Commission	150	108	85	78.7	21.3
Stakeholders	50	44	27	61.4	39.6
Ordinary voters	200	132	80	60.6	39.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>424</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>68.7</b>	<b>31.3</b>

*Source: Primary data from the field*

Out of a targeted sample of 307 respondents, only 211 provided information, giving a response rate of 68.7% which is good for analysis as per Mugenda & Mugenda (2003). This implies therefore that data was collected from a reasonable percentage of the study population and can be generalized for the community.

### **4.3. Demographic characteristics of respondents**

The demographic characteristics that were discussed include gender, age, marital status, educational background and the job title of the respondent. Table 4.2 below shows the distribution of these demographic characteristics.

**Table 4.2: Distribution of the bio data characteristics of the respondents**

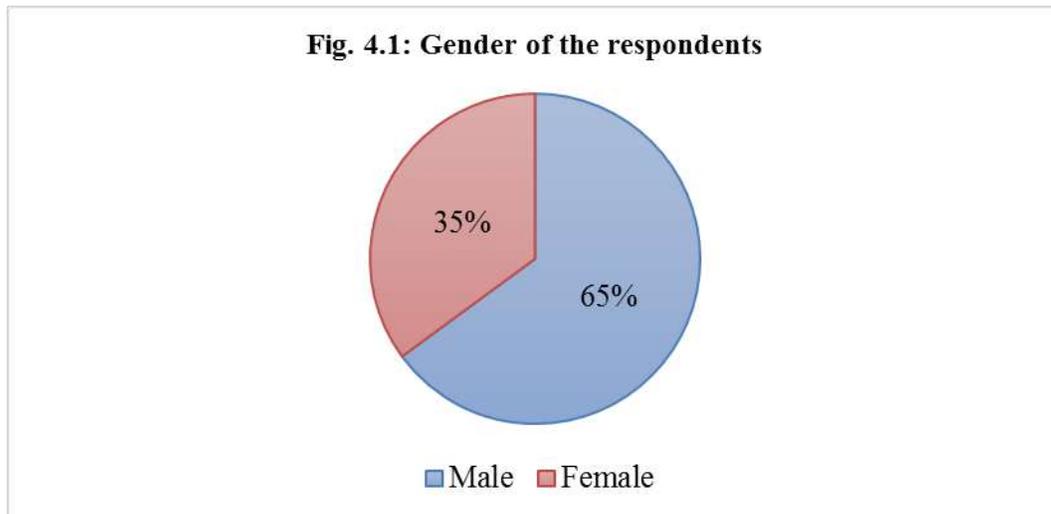
<b>Variable</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	137	65
Female	74	35
<b>Total</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Age of respondents</b>		
18-28	44	21
29-39	78	37
40-50	43	20
51 – 61	29	14
Above 61	17	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Relationship with Sudan Electoral Commission</b>		
Commissioner/staff	9	4
Manager/Director	14	7
Voter	88	42
Partner	40	19
Others	60	28
<b>Total</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>100</b>

*Source: Primary data*

#### **4.3.1. Gender of the respondents**

The study examined the distribution of respondents by gender to establish whether respondents captured views from all categories of gender and the findings further shown in the pie-chart (4.1) below.

**Figure 4.1: Gender of the Respondents**



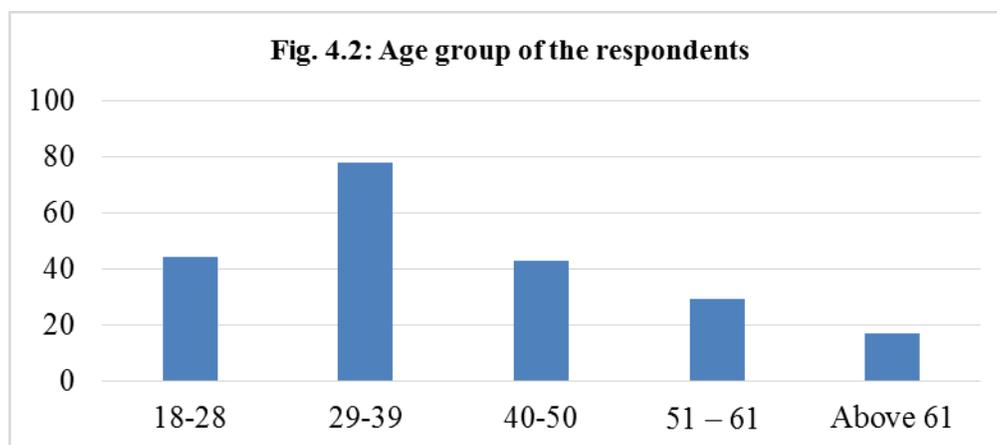
*Source: primary data*

The results indicate that 65% of respondents were male, while the rest were female (35 per cent). This implies that there are more males than females who engaged in election-related and democratic processes in Sudan. However, it also shows that the results represented the views of both the males and females, hence eliminating total gender bias from the study.

#### **4.3.2. Age of the respondents**

The study also investigated the age distribution of the respondents to determine whether the respondents were old enough to understand the study variables and findings are broken down according to the ages of the respondents as further illustrated in the bar graph (Fig 4.2) below.

**Figure 4.2: Age group of the respondents**



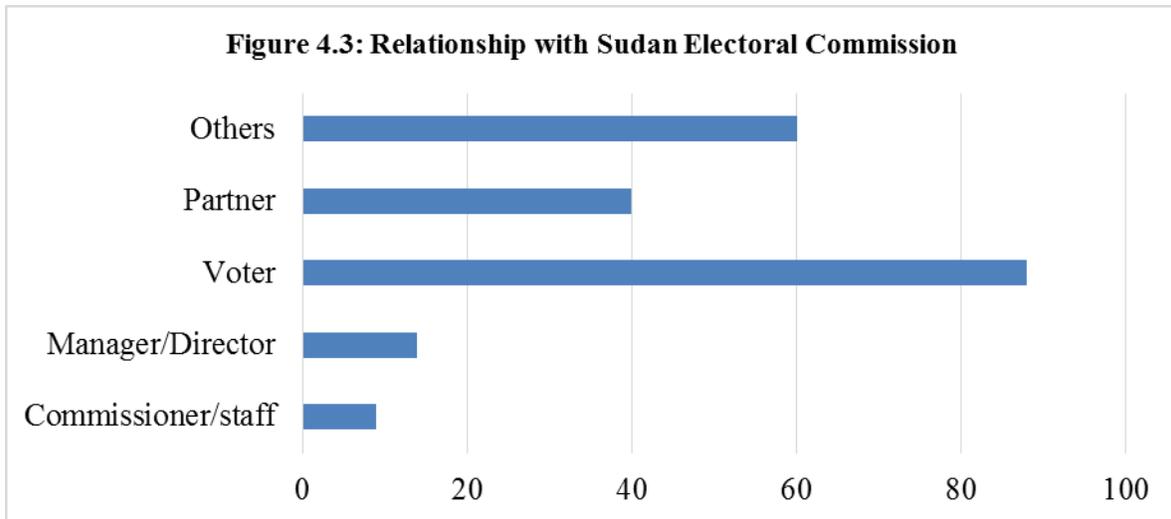
*Source: Primary data*

The results in Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2 also show that most of the respondents (78), representing 37% are in the 29-39 years age group. These were followed by 44 (21%) of the respondents who are in the 18-28 years age group. This implied that the young people and the middle-aged are the ones who mostly comprise those who engage in the electoral processes and mass sensitization in Sudan.

#### **4.3.3. Relationship with Sudan Electoral Commission**

The study also sought to ascertain the relationship between the respondents and the National Electoral Commission (NEC) of the Republic of Sudan. Results are shown in Table 4.2 above and the bar-graph Figure 4.3 below.

**Figure 4.3: Relationship with Sudan Electoral Commission**



*Source: Primary data*

Further results as in Fig. 4.3 above indicate that most of the respondents (88) representing 42% are voters followed by 60 (28%) in the others group, then partners who comprise 40 (19%).

#### **4.4. Empirical Findings**

The empirical findings are presented using descriptive statistics and Spearman's Correlation coefficient to test the overall variables in the study. The findings are presented objective by objective. The items in the questionnaire were anchored such that; 1 - Represents Strongly Agree, 2 – Agree, 3 – Not Sure, 4 – Disagree and 5 – Strongly Disagree. Under descriptive statistics, means close to 1 or 2 represent agreement, while means close to 4 or 5 show disagreement.

On the other hand, with hypotheses testing, the two variables were compared to analyze the degree of correlation. The Pearson correlation is a measure of the linear correlation (dependence) between two variables  $X$  and  $Y$  (in this case electoral process and democratic elections) giving a value between  $+1$  and  $-1$  inclusive, where  $1$  is total positive correlation,  $0$  is no correlation. It is interpreted using the rating level of;  $0$  to  $+0.3$ = Weak Relationship,  $+0.4$  to  $+0.6$ = Moderate/Average Relationship and  $+0.7$  to  $+0.9$ = Very Strong Relationship.

#### **4.4.1. The effect of electoral mass sensitization on democratic elections in Sudan**

Under study objective number one: To find out the effect of electoral mass sensitization on democratic elections in Sudan, the researcher used a total of seven (7) dimensions on the questionnaire, to which the respondents were required to show their level of agreement or disagreement .

##### **4.4.1.1. Descriptive statistics**

Table 4.2 below shows descriptive statistics for each of the items assessed by the mean, maximum, minimum and the standard deviation.

**Table 4.3: Descriptive Statistics of the electoral mass sensitization in Sudan**

	<b>N</b>	<b>Minimum</b>	<b>Maximum</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
Sudan government has a national framework for citizen sensitization	211	1.00	5.00	3.2085	1.23986
Sudan electoral commission has a functional strategy for electoral sensitization	211	1.00	5.00	3.0142	1.26295
I am familiar with electoral processes in Sudan	211	1.00	5.00	3.2038	1.47719
I am aware of my right to vote	211	1.00	5.00	2.6398	1.48103
As a voter, I am familiar with the voting calendar	211	1.00	5.00	3.1801	1.20150
As a voter, I am familiar with the requirements for running for office	211	1.00	5.00	2.7488	1.09041
I know what to do in case my electoral rights are violated	211	1.00	5.00	3.0095	1.25732
Valid N (list wise)	211				

*Source: primary data*

The results in Table 4.3 show that on average most of the respondents were not sure about the questions regarding electoral mass sensitization and democratic elections in Sudan and the values of standard deviation show consistency in responses. Also, results show that in all questions, there was one respondent or more who strongly disagreed (min=1) and one or more who strongly agreed (max=5).

Respondents were unsure whether Sudan government has a national framework for citizen sensitization (mean=3.01, SD=1.23), which implies that the country may not be having a national framework for citizen sensitization.

Results also indicate that respondents were unsure that Sudan electoral commission has a functional strategy for electoral sensitization (mean=3.01, SD=1.26), which shows little confidence in the Electoral Commission as a body charged with electoral sensitization as a core function and purpose for its existence.

The study shows that the respondents are also unsure whether they are familiar with electoral processes in Sudan (mean=3.20, S. D=1.47), which implies the possibility that they may not be familiar with the electoral processes in the country.

To further support the implication in the above question, results further show that respondents are also unsure that they are aware of their right to vote (mean=2.63, SD=1.48). This lends force to the implication that there may be low sensitization of the masses and the citizens on their rights and civic duties.

Results also indicate that the respondents are not sure if they are familiar with the voting calendar (mean=3.18, SD=1.20). Furthermore, they are not sure (mean=2.74, SD=1.09) if they are familiar with the requirements for running for office. Not surprisingly, the results indicate that the respondents are not sure if they know what to do in case their electoral rights are violated (mean=3.00, SD=1.25). If they do not know their rights, they would not know if they have been violated in the first place and what steps to take in order to remedy the situation.

Similarly, during the interviews on this theme of the study, most of the interviewees agreed that they are aware of the electoral mass sensitization and their right to vote though they were not sure of their familiarity with electoral processes in Sudan or what to do in case their electoral rights are violated; although a section of the Civil Society group point out that attitudes of voters as a result of popular representation due to the nature of social compositions may compel voters

not to participate in sensitizations campaigns. This could be evidenced from the comment from a Director of a Civil Society as quoted here, when he said:

“The issue of popular participation is important and sensitive because Sudan still holds tribal representation central to any democratic election processes – there is no way elections can be held in Sudan without popular representation because of the nature of social composition; and this goes along with the response to sensitization campaigns.”

Going by these findings, electoral mass sensitization should ordinarily be reflected in response of voters in voter turnout to reflect a free and fair election.

#### 4.4.1.2. Hypothesis Testing

Table 4.4 below shows the Pearson correlation between the electoral mass sensitization and democratic elections in Sudan.

**Table 4.4: Pearson’s Correlations between mass sensitization and democratic elections**

		Mass Sensitization	Democratic Elections
Mass Sensitization	Pearson Correlation	1	.949**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	211	211
Democratic Elections	Pearson Correlation	.949**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	211	211

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The results show a correlation of 0.949 which indicates that the two variables are strongly and positively correlated. This implies that mass sensitization leads to democratic elections which is a positive relationship between the variables. Therefore, this finding agrees with the first

hypothesis that electoral mass sensitization has significant effect on democratic elections in Sudan.

#### 4.4.2 The influence of electoral legal framework on democratic elections in Sudan

The second objective of the study was: to examine the influence of electoral legal framework on democratic elections in Sudan. The study sought to find out how the electoral legal framework influences democratic elections in Sudan. The researcher used a total of nine (9) dimensions on the questionnaire as shown in Table 4.5.

##### 4.4.2.1 Descriptive Statistics

The results in Table 4.5 below show the outcome of the descriptive analysis on the study objective with the questions listed in the survey questionnaire. The researcher used a total of nine dimensions to which the respondents were required to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement.

**Table 4.5: Descriptive Statistics the electoral legal framework in Sudan**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Election laws are functional in Sudan	211	1.00	5.00	3.3365	1.16109
Sudan electoral commission follows stipulated electoral laws	211	1.00	5.00	3.1659	1.16536
Sudan electoral laws are free and fair	211	1.00	5.00	3.2417	1.16838
Sudan government does not interfere with electoral laws	211	1.00	5.00	3.3791	.90939
Sudan electoral commission has competent staff who understand the law	211	1.00	5.00	3.3081	1.16082
As a voter, I have trust in the electoral laws	211	1.00	5.00	3.2891	1.08532
As a voter, I have trust in the overall laws of the country	211	1.00	5.00	2.2701	1.14560
Sudan follows international legal frameworks on election	211	1.00	5.00	2.5498	1.33493

Sudan Electoral Commission is familiar with international legal frameworks	211	1.00	5.00	1.9905	1.07345
Valid N (list wise)	211				

*Source primary data*

The results in Table 4.5 above show that, on average most of the respondents were not sure about questions regarding electoral legal framework on democratic elections in Sudan and the values of standard deviation show consistency in responses. Also results show that in all questions, there was one or more respondents who strongly disagreed (min=1) and one or more who strongly agreed (max=5).

When asked whether election laws were functional in Sudan, respondents were not sure (mean=3.33, S. D=1.16) which implies that the laws may exist though their functionality remains a matter of doubt according to the respondents.

Results show that respondents were not sure if Sudan electoral commission follows stipulated electoral laws (mean=3.16, SD=1.16) which is another indication of the possibility that the laws are in existence but may not be enforced or adhered to.

Respondents were also not sure if Sudan electoral laws were free and fair (mean=3.24, SD=1.16) in addition to the fact that they were not sure (mean=3.37, SD=0.90) if Sudan government did not interfere with electoral laws.

The results indicate that respondents were also not sure if Sudan electoral commission had competent staff who understood the law (mean=3.30, SD=1.16) which was also an indicator that ignorance of the laws on elections may not only be among the population but also may exist where it was least expected, namely the Sudan Electoral Commission.

The results show that respondents were not sure if they had trust in the electoral laws as shown by the mean of 3.28 and SD of 1.08. This implies that there existed some level of distrust in the electoral laws. In fact, the results on this variable show that some respondents strongly agreed while others strongly disagreed through most tended to be unsure.

However, in contrast to possible distrust of the electoral laws, the study shows agreement from respondents that they have trust in the overall laws of the country (mean=2.27, SD=1.14), which is a reflection of confidence in the legal framework of the country.

However, respondents were not sure that Sudan follows international legal frameworks on elections (mean=2.54, SD=1.33), which implies a possibility that the international legal frameworks on elections may or may not be adhered to. This is despite the results indicating that Sudan Electoral Commission was familiar with international legal frameworks according to the respondents as shown by the mean of 1.99 and SD of 1.07.

The result from interviews confirms skepticism on the part of electoral commission's adherence to the electoral legal framework. A senior member of a Civil Society Organization observed thus: "In Sudan, so far the electoral system is synonymous to electoral monopoly; and although the constitution provides space for multiparty political play, the ruling party controls the election commission and thus is likely to impose hurdles in the way of other political parties – hence, the importance of having an independent electoral commission to enable fair opportunities for all political players in terms of election funding, media coverage, election monitoring, protection of candidates and focus on political programmes rather than personalities and parties."

#### **4.4.2.2. Hypothesis Testing**

Table 4.6 below shows the Pearson correlation between the electoral legal framework and democratic elections in Sudan.

**Table 4.6: Correlations between electoral legal framework and democratic elections in Sudan**

		Legal Framework	Democratic Elections
Legal Framework	Pearson Correlation	1	.928**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	211	211
Democratic Elections	Pearson Correlation	.928**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	211	211

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The results show a correlation of 0.928 which indicates that the two variables are strongly and positively correlated. This implies that the electoral legal framework strongly influences democratic elections, which is a positive relationship between the variables. Therefore, this finding agrees with the second hypothesis that the electoral legal framework has significant positive influence on democratic elections.

#### **4.4.3 The influence of electoral supervision on democratic elections in Sudan**

The third objective of the study was to ascertain the influence of electoral supervision on democratic elections in Sudan. The data for this theme was also gathered using the survey questionnaire with various questions as listed below.

#### 4.4.3.1 Descriptive statistics

In order to ascertain whether the Republic of Sudan has the necessary capacity for electoral supervision to achieve a free and fair democratic elections, the study gauged the attitudes and perceptions of the respondents on the issue of electoral supervision and democratic elections in Sudan using a total of six (6) dimensions on the questionnaire, to which the respondents were required to show their level of agreement or disagreement as summarized in Table 4.7 below. The results in Table 4.7 show the outcome of the analysis of the influence of electoral legal framework on democratic elections in Sudan by items as they were answered by the respondents.

**Table 4.7: Descriptive statistics on electoral supervision in Sudan**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Sudan electoral commission has capacity to supervise election process	211	1.00	5.00	2.5735	1.29764
Sudan electoral commission independently supervises electoral process	211	1.00	5.00	2.7393	1.31776
Sudan electoral commission effectively manages any electoral malpractice	211	1.00	5.00	2.8768	1.16455
Sudan electoral commission counts cast votes in the stipulated manner and places	211	1.00	5.00	2.7536	1.28949
Sudan electoral commission announces winners within agreed time	211	1.00	5.00	2.4218	1.24108
Sudan electoral commission is neutral while coordinating elections	211	1.00	5.00	3.6635	1.30038
Valid N (list wise)	211				

*Source: primary data*

The results in Table 4.7 above also show that, on average, many of the respondents were not sure about the influence of electoral supervision on democratic elections in Sudan. Also, results show that in all statements, there was one or more respondents who strongly disagreed (min=1) and one or more who strongly agreed (max=5).

When asked whether the Sudan electoral commission has capacity to supervise the election process, respondents were not sure (mean=2.57, SD=1.29) which implies the possibility that the commission may not be capable of supervising the election process of the country. In addition to that, the results show that respondents were not sure if the Sudan electoral commission independently supervises electoral process (mean=2.74, SD=1.32) which is another indication of the possibility that the independence of the Sudan electoral body is questionable.

Respondents were also not sure if the Sudan electoral commission effectively manages any electoral malpractices (mean=2.87, SD=1.16) which may put to question the capability of the body to handle violations of electoral laws. Furthermore, the results indicate that they are not sure if the Sudan electoral commission counted cast votes in the stipulated manner and places (mean=2.757, SD=1.29), which may put to question the methods used in counting votes.

The results show that respondents agreed that the Sudan electoral commission announces winners within the agreed time as shown by the mean of 2.42 and SD of 1.24. This implies that there may be adherence to this aspect of the electoral laws which limits the time within which election results must be announced.

However, in contrast to the above, the study shows disagreement from respondents that the Sudan electoral commission is neutral while coordinating elections (mean=3.66, SD=1.30), which is a reflection of possible perception of bias in the institution.

The respondents interviewed using the interview guide, confirmed lack of interference from state machineries in elections conducted before 2010 when the country was divided into 26 states; although in 2010, general elections did not provide for local elections in the actual sense, and leaders were simply appointed.

#### 4.4.3.2 Hypothesis Testing

Table 4.8 below shows the Pearson correlation between electoral legal supervision and democratic elections in Sudan.

**Table 4.8: Correlations between electoral supervision and democratic elections**

		Electoral Supervision	Democratic Elections
Electoral Supervision	Pearson Correlation	1	.934**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	211	211
Democratic Elections	Pearson Correlation	.934**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	211	211

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The results show a correlation of 0.934 which indicates that the two variables are strongly and positively correlated. This implies that electoral supervision strongly and positively influences democratic elections in the Republic of Sudan. Therefore, this finding agrees with the third hypothesis as stated that electoral supervision influences democratic elections.

#### 4.5 Concluding Summary

The analysis of data and hypothesis testing on all the three independent variables: electoral mass sensitization, electoral legal frame work, and electoral supervision show strong positive relationships with the dependent variable (democratic elections in the Republic of Sudan) – well above 0.92 at a 0.01 level of significance (2-tailed). Therefore, these findings agrees with the all the three hypotheses.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

This chapter is organized in four sections. The first section deals with summary of the findings, which is followed by the discussion in relation to the research objectives, and conclusions. The third section focuses on conclusions while the final section presents recommendations followed by areas for further research.

The study examined the effect of electoral mass sensitization on democratic elections in Sudan, the influence of electoral legal framework on democratic elections in Sudan, and the influence of electoral supervision on democratic elections in Sudan. Data was collected using a survey questionnaire and an interview guide. The data was also analyzed in relation to the three hypotheses of the study.

#### **5.2 Summary of the findings**

##### **5.2.1 Electoral Mass Sensitization and Democratic Elections in Sudan**

The empirical findings are presented using descriptive statistics and Spearman's Correlation coefficient to test the overall variables in the study. The results show that on average most of the respondents were not sure about the questions regarding electoral mass sensitization and democratic elections in Sudan and the values of standard deviation show consistency in responses. Also, results show that in all questions, there was one or more respondents who strongly disagreed (min=1) and one or more who strongly agreed (max=5). The results also show a correlation of 0.949 which indicates that the two variables are strongly and positively correlated.

### **5.2.2 Electoral Legal Framework and Democratic Elections in Sudan**

The empirical findings are presented using descriptive statistics and Spearman's Correlation coefficient to test the overall variables in the study. The results further show that, on average, most of the respondents were not sure about the questions regarding electoral legal framework on democratic elections in Sudan and the values of standard deviation show consistency in responses. Results also show that in all questions, there was one or more respondents who strongly disagreed (min=1) and one or more who strongly agreed (max=5). Furthermore, the results show a correlation of 0.928 which indicates that the two variables are strongly and positively correlated. This implies that the electoral legal framework strongly influences democratic elections which is a positive relationship between the variables.

### **5.2.3 Electoral Supervision and Democratic Elections in Sudan**

The empirical findings are presented using descriptive statistics and Spearman's Correlation coefficient to test the overall variables in the study. The results in respect to this theme of the

study also show that, on average, many of the respondents were not sure about the influence of electoral supervision on democratic elections in Sudan. In all statements, there was one or more respondents who strongly disagreed (min=1) and one or more who strongly agreed (max=5). The correlation of 0.934 indicates that electoral supervision strongly and positively influences democratic elections in the Republic of Sudan, a finding which agrees with the third hypothesis as stated, that electoral supervision influences democratic elections.

### **5.3. Discussion of findings**

This section discusses the findings according to the study objectives.

#### **5.3.1. Electoral Mass Sensitization and Democratic Elections in Sudan**

The study problem included an aspect of insufficient efforts on the part of the Sudan Electoral Commission to ensure mass sensitization as well as carry out civic voter education as noted by the Carter Center Observers' Report (2010). Indeed, IDEA (2006) reports that voter education should be one component of a broader civic education programme in order to ensure mass sensitization.

However, findings from the survey indicate that respondents were unsure whether Sudan government has a national framework for citizen sensitization, which implies that the country may not be having a national framework for citizen sensitization. Results also indicate little confidence in the Electoral Commission as a body charged with electoral sensitization as a core function and purpose for its existence. The study shows that the respondents were also unsure whether they were familiar with electoral processes in Sudan which implies the possibility that they may not be familiar with the electoral processes in the country.

Results further show that respondents were also unsure that they were aware of their right to vote, which lends force to the implication that there may be low sensitization of the masses and the citizens on their rights and civic duties. The issue of limited information on voter rights is a matter of concern to some scholars such as Nohlen et al (2009) who note that while elections are not new, they have always existed but participation only permitted at a limited level, which denotes a degree of lack of democracy.

Results indicate that the respondents were not sure if they were familiar with the voting calendar. Furthermore, they were not sure if they were familiar with the requirements for running for office. The respondents were not sure if they knew what to do in case their electoral rights were violated. One would understandably get the inference that if they do not know their rights, they would not know if they had been violated in the first place and what steps to take in order to remedy the situation.

The findings indicate that the Electoral Commission of Sudan does not carry out voter education yet it should be a component of a broader civic education programme as supported by IDEA (2006) and Transparency International (2012). Indeed, the NEC Report (2010) was in support of this position that Sudan fell short of the minimum requirements for mass sensitization.

The researcher is therefore of the position that the uncertainty of respondents is evidence in support of the scholars who pointed out the deficiencies of the Electoral Commission of Sudan in mass sensitization. The researcher notes that each of the elements of mass sensitization as put to the respondents is very important and, that notwithstanding, has been recognized as so, though when it comes to implementation it has been ignored by the Sudan Electoral Commission. As a result and in support of the correlation findings, since there has been little or no mass

sensitization which has led to ineffective democratic elections, the above discussion appears to be in support of the hypothesis that electoral mass sensitization has a significant effect on democratic elections. The researcher also agrees with this position.

### **5.3.2 Electoral Legal Framework and Democratic Elections in Sudan**

The study found evidence, especially from Golder (2005), who pointed out that the legal framework for elections in Sudan has failed to provide effective means for contestants seeking redress. It is also noted that despite a legal framework being in place, the situation on the ground is far from the guidelines of the law, yet the Carter Center (2009) strongly argues that a legal framework is important for democratic elections to be held.

To this end, when asked whether election laws are functional in Sudan, respondents were not sure, which implies that the laws may exist though their functionality remains a matter of doubt according to the respondents. Results show that respondents are not sure if Sudan electoral commission follows stipulated electoral laws, which is another indication of the possibility that the laws are in existence but may not be enforced or adhered to.

Findings show that respondents are also not sure if Sudan electoral laws are free and fair in addition to the fact that they are not sure if Sudan government does not interfere with electoral laws. The results also indicate that respondents are also not sure if Sudan electoral commission has competent staff who understand the law which is also an indicator that ignorance of the laws on elections may not only be among the population but also may exist where it is least expected, namely the Sudan Electoral Commission. The results show that respondents are not sure if they have trust in the electoral laws. This implies that there exists some level of distrust in the electoral laws. In fact, the results on this variable show that some respondents strongly agreed while others strongly disagreed, though most tended to be unsure.

However, in contrast to possible distrust of the electoral laws, the study shows agreement from respondents that they have trust in the overall laws of the country, though respondents are not sure that Sudan follows international legal frameworks on elections, which implies a possibility that the international legal frameworks on elections may or may not be adhered to. This is despite the results indicating that the Sudan Electoral Commission is familiar with the international legal frameworks according to the respondents.

The findings seem to feed the suspicions of scholars such as Banks (2005) who noted that elections themselves have been and can be abused to maintain power and frustrate the very purpose of their existence in a nation. In the light of the views of the respondents, Banks (2005) is more likely to state that Sudan uses non-credible elections to promote dictatorship rather than democracy.

The researcher hereby notes that the findings are consistent with the literature which stated that the Sudan electoral system as established by the National Elections Act (2008) is highly complex, which has led to public confusion as well as challenges in implementation. It is these legal complexities that breed manipulation of the system and promote undemocratic tendencies among the implementers of the laws. This situation that has undermined the democratic systems of the Republic of Sudan. To the researcher, the above discussion is therefore in support of the hypothesis that electoral legal framework has a significant positive influence on democratic elections but only if the legal framework has ‘teeth’ and can be effectively applied rather than having the authorities simply recognize it only to do the opposite.

### **5.3.3. Electoral Supervision and Democratic Elections in Sudan**

When it was put to respondents that the Sudan electoral commission has capacity to supervise election process, they were not sure; which implies the possibility that the commission may not be capable of supervising the election process of the country. In addition to that, the results show that respondents are not sure if the Sudan electoral commission independently supervises the electoral process which is another indication of the possibility that the independence of Sudan's electoral body is questionable.

Respondents are also not sure if Sudan's electoral commission effectively manages any electoral malpractice, which may put to question the capability of the body to handle violations of electoral laws. Furthermore, the results indicate that they are not sure if the Sudan electoral commission counts cast votes in the stipulated manner and places, which may put to question the methods used in counting votes. The results show that respondents agree that the Sudan electoral commission announces winners within the stipulated time. The study shows disagreement from respondents that the Sudan electoral commission is neutral while coordinating elections, which is a reflection of possible perception of bias in the institution. This seemingly feeds the averment of IDEA (2006) that Sudan is an undemocratic nation.

These findings seem to contradict the tenets of a proper election as identified by Huntington (1991, cited in Donnell 2001) that it should be fair, honest, and periodic. The findings imply that the electoral commission of Sudan is not as dedicated as expected as regards management and supervision of the country's electoral processes. This is in contrast with Massicotte et al (2004) as well as Wall et al (2006) who strongly posit that electoral management bodies are institutions dedicated for that purpose. The findings generally concur with the position of Lindberg (2006), Lawrence and Norris (2002) as well as Hadenius & Teorell (2007) who opine that elections increase the likelihood of democratization, though in this case little is being done as regards

supervision. Indeed, in the literature, the study pointed out that electoral supervision in Sudan is weak despite the importance attached to supervision by such scholars and institutions as UNDP (2011), Diehl & Druckman (2010), Massicotte et al (2004) and Wall et al (2006).

To the researcher, the seemingly mixed findings imply that there may be adherence to some aspects of the electoral laws, such as the provision which stipulates the time within which election results must be announced. For that matter, the researcher recognizes that appropriate and competent supervision of elections is the only way to ensure that they are free and fair, and can be legitimately accepted as part of the democratic process of any country. The findings also support the third hypothesis of the study that electoral supervision influenced democratic elections.

## **5.4. Conclusions**

### **5.3.1. Electoral Mass Sensitization on Democratic Elections in Sudan**

Sudan has done little to ensure mass sensitization of the people, hence compromising the democratic processes of the country. This is despite the finding in agreement of the hypothesis that electoral mass sensitization has a significant effect on democratic elections. The electoral commission only appears to pay lip service to various aspects of mass sensitization but nothing is done beyond that.

### **5.4.2. Electoral Legal Framework and Democratic Elections in Sudan**

From this study, it is true and unassailable that elections have been an integral part of African politics since independence and will continue to be. Sudan has a legal framework in place to regulate the conduct of democratic elections. However, implementation is not easy given the complexity and ambiguity of the laws in place which baffle even the most seasoned legal minds.

As seen in the study, democracy in Sudan does not do away with supreme authority, but only appears to enable it through popular suffrage. From the discussion, one can conclude that elections in Sudan are a mere enabler but not a guarantee for democracy because, as observed, anyone can say anything to get elected after which they then turn back on their promises knowing they cannot possibly be de-elected, except in the most extreme circumstances. Indeed, elections increase the likelihood of democratization, though they are not a guarantee of the same.

### **5.4.3. Electoral Supervision on Democratic Elections in Sudan**

Since electoral processes are prone to abuse to further negative ends, one can understand why the relationship between electoral processes and democratic elections in Sudan is moderate as seen by the study; yet in theory it would be much stronger. This is because much more needs to be done to streamline the electoral supervision and democratic elections in the country. It is true that no electoral system is perfect, but in the light of this study one can safely conclude that the Sudan electoral system is far from ideal perception of democracy.

## **5.5 Recommendations**

From the study findings, discussions and conclusions of the study the following recommendations are made:

### **5.5.1 Electoral Mass Sensitization on Democratic Elections in Sudan**

There is need for the Sudan Electoral Commission to enable mass sensitization of the people of Sudan on the electoral laws through voter information, voter education and civic education. This education should be emphasized and also incorporated in the national education curriculum. It will go a long way to promote democratic elections in the country.

### **5.5.2. Electoral Legal Framework on Democratic Elections in Sudan**

As noted in the study, a sound legal framework is key for democratic elections to be realized. In the long-term, a review of the Sudan National Elections Act (2008) is needed. This should be done in the light of best practices in exemplary democracies in Africa such as Ghana. Amendments may need to be made in view of recent experience and findings of this study in order to clear out the grey areas which are a source of confusion to many an ordinary citizen. What needs to be done immediately, however, is to enforce the law as it is. This will take the country a few steps further on its path to ensuring democratic elections.

The Government of the Republic of Sudan should revisit the appointments of the National election Commissioners. Instead of appointing Commissioners through the State Governors, the use of Local Electoral Cycle and management could be developed and exercised to redress this concern.

The Government of the Republic of Sudan should portray the will to implement the electoral laws on the ground and not merely leave them on paper.

### **5.5.3 Electoral Supervision on Democratic Elections in Sudan**

There is need to enable better supervision of the electoral process. It is true that some aspects of supervision are adhered to but more needs to be done and more can be done through facilitating the Sudan Electoral Commission with sufficient resources to allow it carry out its constitutional duties.

There is also need to enable independence and total elimination of political influence from the government in all election-related matters in the country. This independence is at the core of democracy and the Electoral Commission must not only supervise well; it needs to be seen that it is supervising well.

## **5.6. Limitations to the study**

The researcher faced resource constraints during the process of data collection in terms of financial and time restrictions, but these were managed by prior planning and budgeting for the available resources in order not to compromise the purpose of the study.

There was lack of cooperation from the respondents who feared to freely express themselves to the researcher but this was offset by early testing of the questionnaire in order to acquaint the respondents with its contents and what was required of them in the actual study. The researcher also assured them of utmost confidentiality and academic nature of the endeavour.

### **5.7 Contribution of the study**

This study will contribute knowledge especially in the application of Social Choice theory in electoral processes in an emerging democracy in a country like Sudan. The electoral management body (EMB) of Sudan can use the findings and recommendations of this study to improve its electoral processes.

Researchers and other stakeholders interested in the elections field and democracy can use the study to further their understanding on electoral processes. The academicians can use this study for further research studies in the electoral processes.

The study will be an eye-opener to the voters who seem not to be sure of electoral process; it may also change their attitude on mass sensitization effort, legal framework in place and stakeholders' role in electoral supervision.

Policy-makers can use this study to propose and improve government policies on elections and pass good and timely electoral laws.

### **5.8. Areas for further study**

More research needs to be done on continuous appraisal of elected leaders to ensure that they keep promises they made which got them elected in the first place. A democratic mechanism which keeps them in check needs to be devised.

There is need to study how democratic elections promote dictatorships in African countries. This is because the researcher has noted a trend among African governments to legitimize dictatorial or undemocratic regimes by abusing the electoral processes.

The current study took a cross-sectional approach. However, a longitudinal study may need to be done in order to provide a broader insight into trends in electoral processes and democratic elections in Sudan over a longer period of time, say 10 years.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX I: CERTIFICATE OF PROOF OF EDITED DISSERTATION

**MUKOTANI RUGYENDO**

**P.O. BOX 31178**

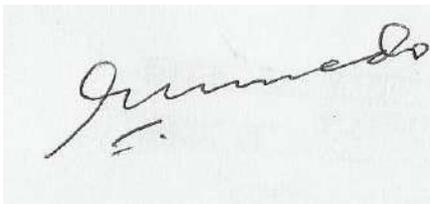
**KAMPALA**

**TEL: 0701707093**

**21 September 2016**

#### **CERTIFICATE OF PROOF THAT DISSERTATION HAS BEEN EDITED**

This is to certify that the Master's Degree dissertation entitled, **Electoral Processes and Democratic Elections in Sudan by Amos Juma Ochieng**, has been reviewed and corrected in order to ensure clarity of expression and consistency regarding key style aspects like general grammar, sentence structure to ensure logical flow and effectiveness of meaning, all-round punctuation, use of articles, use of tenses in methodology and reporting, citation and referencing.

A handwritten signature in black ink on a light-colored background. The signature is cursive and appears to read 'Mukotani Rugyendo'.

**Mukotani Rugyendo**

**Professional Editor**

## APPENDIX II: 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:

StronglyDisagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	StronglyAgree
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>

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

#### ELECTORAL MASS SENSITIZATION

S/N	Parameter	1	2	3	4	5
<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					

3	I am familiar with electoral processes in Sudan					
4	I am aware of my right to vote					
5	As a voter, I am familiar with the voting calendar					
6	As a voter, I am familiar with the requirements for running for office					
7	I know what to do in case my electoral rights are violated					

### **ELECTORAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK**

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

## ELECTORAL SUPERVISION

S/N	Parameters	1	2	3	4	5
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

S/N	Parameters	1	2	3	4	5
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					

## **APPENDIX III: 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 IV: 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 V: 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

**MUKOTANI RUGYENDO**

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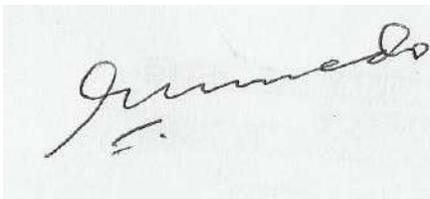
**KAMPALA**

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**26 September 2016**

**CERTIFICATE OF PROOF THAT DISSERTATION HAS BEEN EDITED**

This is to certify that the Master's Degree dissertation entitled, **Procurement Practices and Service Delivery in the Public Sector: A Case Study of Ministry of Transport, Roads and Bridges, South Sudan by Kenneth Ochieng Kaunda**, has been reviewed and corrected in order to ensure clarity of expression and consistency regarding key style aspects like general grammar, sentence structure to ensure logical flow and effectiveness of meaning, all-round punctuation, consistency in citation and referencing.

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**Mukotani Rugyendo**

**Professional Editor**



## APPENDIX VI: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION



28<sup>th</sup> June 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

**RE: OCHIENG ODEK AMOS JUMA - REG. NO. JAN16/MPAM/003X**

This is to introduce Mr. Amos Juma Ochieng Odek who is a student in the School of Business and Management pursuing a Masters in Public Administration and Management (MPAM) of Uganda Technology And Management University (UTAMU).

As part of the course, he wishes to undertake a research study on  
**"ELECTORAL PROCESSES AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN SUDAN"**

Any assistance rendered to him will highly be appreciated. In case you need any further information, do not hesitate to contact the undersigned.

Sincerely,

Dr. Dick N. Kamuganga  
**Ag. Dean, School of Business and Management**

Cc. Dean, Graduate School, UTAMU  
Director, Academic Affairs, UTAMU