



ELECTORAL PROCESS AS A NECESSITY BUT NOT SUFFICIENT FOR SUCCESSFUL DEMOCRATIZATION: A CONSPECTUS OF THE RULE OF LAW IN BRAZIL, MEXICO, NIGERIA AND GHANA

¹MARCUS TEMITAYO AKINLADE ,

²M.O. IBITOYE (PH.D)

³BRIGHT OSAS OSAMWONYI

^{1,2,3}Department of Political Science and International Diplomacy, Bamidele Olumilua University of Education, Science and Technology, Ikere-Ekiti, Ekiti State, Nigeria.

ABSTRACT

This paper argues that it is not enough to hold elections because democracy goes beyond elections but more importantly, certain basic principles and/or ingredients of democracy must be incorporated and respected. However, there is a disagreement among the scholars in the field of democratization about the role of election in democratization process, hence, the need to establish the effect of repeated multi-party elections on democratization in those countries under investigation. Data was collected from secondary sources and qualitative method of analysis was applied while power of election theory was adopted as the theoretical framework of analysis. The study revealed that repeated multi-party elections have the capacity to affect positively the application of the rule of law in any democratic setting, hence, the paper advocated for a credible multi-party elections as it promotes democratic rule of law and works towards stable democratization.

KEYWORDS: Democratization, Multi-party Elections and Rule of law.

INTRODUCTION

Electoral process is unarguably one of the most critical factors necessary for successful democratization, apparently not the only ingredient needed for successful democratization. An election is seen by many scholars as the hallmark of democracy without which a democratic government will be impossible. Former United States President, Abraham Lincoln gave the most popular definition of democracy as the “government of the people, by the people and for the people”. The principle of democracy, therefore suggest the idea that majority of the people rule with minority interest provided the government is formed with the consent of the people, operated in line with the principles established by the people



and the people ultimately possess sovereignty. Again, Schumpeter as cited in Huntington (1984) defined democracy in simple institutional and procedural terms which centred on competitive elections. That is, an election is a medium through which popular sovereignty is translated into working institutions of government. Edgell, Mechkova, Altman, Bernhard, & Lindberg (2018) asserted that elections, when competitive, free, and fair is the essence of democracy. It is important to mention at this point that as much as electoral process is a necessary factor for democratization, elections are not exclusive to regimes that are democratic alone, especially with the contemporary classifications of regimes such as the electoral autocracies that according to V-Dem report of 2020 is the most prominent regime classification. To know the differences between elections in democratic and hybrid regimes, Levitsky & Way(2015) posited that the gap between elections in democratic and hybrid regimes is in the imbalances associated with the playing grounds of elections while in the former it is free and fair in the latter it is not. Some scholars have also argued that elections are not sufficient for successful democratization paying attention to other factors like freedom of expression/association, the availability of an alternate source of information (Dahl, 1971), civil liberties (Diamond, 1996), separation of power between the executive and legislature (Alvarez, Jose, Fernando, &Przeworski, 1996), vertical/horizontal and diagonal accountability (Mechkova, Lührmann, & Lindberg, 2017) and the rule of law (O'Donnell, 1998). On the other hand, some scholars are pessimistic about the role of election in democratization process. Mueller (1992) asserted that democracy is a responsive government, with or without elections. In the same vein, Schedler (2006) gave an insight on how elections can stabilize authoritarian regime since authoritarian leaders can manipulate elections without risking to lose power as they have advanced from the obviously seen electoral fraud to systematic electoral fraud like vote-buying e.t.c. Scholars in the field of democratization have established the importance of repeated multi-party elections on democratization (Lindberg, 2005; Edgell, Mechkova, Altman, Bernhard, & Lindberg, 2018; Huntington, 1984). However, little research has been done on the specific effect repeated multi-party election has on proper application/strengthening of the rule of law. Hence, this paper seeks to know how repeated multi-party elections has affected the rule of law in Brazil, Mexico, Nigeria and Ghana.

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to avoid conceptual stretching and increase differentiation, it is pertinent to clarify the concept of democracy and the rule of law. Democracy is, to say the least, is a



utopia ideal as scholars have said that no nation-state has achieved democracy in the strict sense of the word. Therefore, in order to differentiate a democratic regime and autocratic regime without overstressing the concept of democracy. The concept of polyarchy as coined by Dahl (1971) was adopted by paying attention to the eight essential attributes which involve (i) universal suffrage (ii) all adults citizens have the right to vote (iii) all adults citizens are eligible for public office (iv) political leaders have the right to compete for vote (v) elections are free and fair, (vi) all citizens have freedom of association, (vii) all citizens have freedom of expression, (viii) alternative sources of information about politics exist and are protected by law and government policies depend on votes and other expressions of preference (Coppedge, 2012). These attributes of polyarchy are what will serve as our parameter for measuring electoral democracy. We will also be using the V-Dem data set and paying attention to the Electoral Democracy Index (EDI) and Rule of Law Index. We have chosen the concept of polyarchy because democracy in the strict sense of the word is utopia and polyarchy is concerned with imperfect approximations (radial) rather than (classical) ideals of democracy. Thus, the concept of polyarchy is limited to the most basic institutional requirements for democracy. The concept of polyarchy corresponds to Sartori's strategies for achieving differentiation and avoiding conceptual stretching, which he explained through the ladder of generality (Sartori, 1970).

RULE OF LAW.

The concept of the rule of law is actually a broad concept as it entails the totality of a country's legal system. At the very basic (thin) level, the rule of law simply means equality before the law. Flores & Himma (2013) as cited in Stephen (2014) asserted that the rule of law must be created by authorized institutions, be generalized and apply equally to all. This basic definition of the rule of law explains the barest minimal traits that the law possesses but says little or nothing about what is embedded in the content of the law. Looking at a more deeper (thicker) definition of the rule of law as provided by the United Nations as cited in Stephen (2014) defined the rule of law as the principle of governance in which all persons, institutions, entities both public and private, including the state itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly made, equally enforced and independently adjudicated in a way that is consistent with international human rights, norms and standards. Hayek (2010) posited that rule of law means that the government, in all its activities, is bound by rules fixed and announced beforehand. These rules obviously enable the government to forecast events by



objectively utilizing state power in events when the need arises and plan citizens' affairs on the basis of the knowledge of the law. Stephen (2014) sees the rule of law from a deeper level as well, seeing rule of law beyond the application of the rules to how these rules are made, how administrative, political or bureaucratic discretion is used and how the laws are interpreted and adjudicated. These deeper (thick) definitions of rule of law, unlike the basic (thin) definitions, provide more insights on the process of making, applying, using discretion and adjudicating the law. Obviously, both strands of definitions of the rule of law is set out to limit state power and emphasis the need for the application of the law to all legal individuals without recourse to economic status, ethnicity, race, class amongst others. Hence, the deeper definition of the concept of the rule of law lay emphasizes on the boundaries of protecting fundamental freedom, private ownership, separation of powers, human rights, accountability, and responsiveness within intergovernmental relations.

In order to address the issue raised in this paper, we will be utilizing the concept of 'democratic rule of law' as coined by O'Donnell where he emphasizes the aspect of the rule of law that ensures political rights, civil liberties and mechanisms of accountability (vertical, horizontal and diagonal) which in turn affirm political equality of all citizens and constrain potential abuses of state power (O'Donnell, 2004). Furthermore, he asserted that the rule of law in a democratic sense is that which the government shall be ruled by law and subject to it and that the creation of the law is itself legally regulated. This implies that the legal system is an aspect of the overall social order that in principle brings definition, specificity, clarity and predictability into human interactions. Democratic rule of law includes (i) laws that upholds the political rights, freedoms and guarantees of a democratic regime (ii) law that upholds the civil rights of the whole population (iii) law that establishes networks of responsibility and accountability which entails that all public and private agents, including the highest state officials, are subject to appropriate, legally established controls on the lawfulness of their acts (O'Donnell,2004). Many scholars have agreed that there is no state in the world today, that has totally achieved democratic rule of law, the difference is in the levels of success recorded so far, while the advanced democracies of the world have recorded tremendous success, nascent and transitional democracies has not.

Power of Election theory is used to illuminate this study, this theory has one of its major proponents as Lindberg (Lindberg, 2005).The theory, in a nutshell, examines the power of election and the role it plays in democratization. Mechkova, Lührmann, & Lindberg (2017) asserted that if elections encourage actors to believe that democracy is the way to go, the



incentives to obey democratic ethics increases, including holding the government to account and invariably boosting the confidence of the opposition parties and independence of actors in the horizontal and diagonal sub-types of accountability. Lindberg (2005) further asserted that the first multi-party election of a state might not increase the democratic qualities of that state significantly, but with repeated multi-party elections which improves with experience and institutionalization, democratic qualities of states improves significantly and he proved this theory with a large quantitative study of elections in Africa (self-reinforcing power of elections). Although, he tested this theory in Africa, which is the continent for two of our cases, the theory is also applicable to Latin America because of the common history of colonialism it has with Africa.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are several academic literatures that have discussed separately elections and rule of law and its implications on the quality of democracy. Schumpeter (1976) asserted that democracy is centred on competitive election. In the same vein (Edgell, Mechkova, Altman, Bernhard, & Lindberg, 2018) argued in their paper that multi-party elections, when repeated frequently, can maximally inspire incremental improvements in the democratic qualities of regimes. Thus, invariably creating a balance in vertical, horizontal and diagonal forms of accountability (opposition party becomes better at co-ordination, mobilizing and minimizing electoral frauds, increases citizens level of participation and demand more vertical accountability and Civil Society Organisations/Media also learn how to inform better and influence government decisions (Mechkova, Lührmann, & Lindberg, 2017). The power of election theory that has one of its contemporary advocates as Lindberg (Lindberg, 2005). Linberg, in a nutshell explains the role of repeated multi-party elections in improving democratic qualities of regime which he proved with a large study of elections in Africa. This theory was further tested in the works of (Edgell, Mechkova, Altman, Bernhard, & Lindberg, 2018) and it reveals a strong positive correlation between repeated multi-party election and liberal and deliberative components of democracy. Although, we also have some scholars that believe that elections are not that important for a regime to be democratic, some scholars have argued that election is used by authoritarian leaders to continue with authoritarian rule (Mueller, 1992 & Schedler, 2006).

O'Donnell (1998) asserted that the rule of law without any reasonable doubt is very important in the stability of polyarchy, and that democratic rule of law when properly applied



upholds political freedom, upholds the civil rights of the whole population and establishes responsibility and accountability between the elected officials and judiciary (vertical and horizontal accountability). In the same vein, Stephen (2014) also asserted that rule of law and corruption, amongst other factors, affects the quality of a democratic regime. He posited categorically that the abuse or non-adherence of the rule of law is often what is defined as corruption in most cases. Thus, emphasizing the importance of rule of law in increasing the qualities of a democratic regime.

METHODOLOGY

This part of the paper describes the procedures adopted in the study. It contains the case selection, sources and methods of data collection. This study relied on secondary data and qualitative data analysis by making use of the comparative case study. We equally got our data from credible and reliable V-Dem data set by looking at the Electoral Democracy Index (EDI). See Appendix A to know the level and quality of multi-party elections of our cases and the Rule of Law Index. See Appendix B together with data from Freedom House. The comparative case study provides a detailed examination of an aspect of a historical episode to develop or test historical explanations that may be generalized to other similar events but not to be generalized universally as this is one of the weaknesses of the approach. Comparative case studies can be used to develop or test existing theory (Huberman & Miles, 2002). However, this paper is set out to do the latter.

STUDY AREA/CASE SELECTION

In selecting our cases, we used the loose application of the 'Most Similar System Design' (MSSSD). That is, the countries we have chosen appear similar in as many background attributes as possible (Anckar, 2011). While Brazil and Mexico are Latin American countries, Nigeria and Ghana are West African countries. All four countries experienced colonialism and have being classified at one point in time as Electoral Democracy by V-Dem.



Discussion on Repeated Multi-party Elections and Its Effects on Democratic Rule of Law

Brazil and Mexico

Brazil had a long history of elections, from the Brazilian empire (1822-1889), the old republic (1889-1930), the populist republic (1945-1964), Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regime (1964-1985) (Mark & Joel, 2013). During these periods in Brazil, there were elections but this elections was without democracy (Leslie, 2000) and these elections were not multi-party elections. Looking at Appendix C, the EDI of Brazil hits the highest in 2011 (EDI-0.89) and 1991 (EDI-0.87), which was the same year the Rule of Law Index hits the highest as well 2011(RLI-0.76) and 1993 (RLI-0.71). In 2010, Brazil elected the first woman as President (Dilma Rousseff) in an election that was deemed free, fair, and competitive. This invariably led to a high level of adherence to the rule of law, separation of power, and individual liberty. Thus, the former promoted the latter. The events that led to the high index in 1991 was also as a result of the first direct multi-party elections that was conducted which brought in Fernando Collor as president and was latter impeached in 1992 after being charged for corruption and abuse of office. This impeachment further strengthens Brazil democracy, and this could happen basically because the president was elected in a direct competitive, free and fair election that invariably affected positively other components necessary for successful democratization (liberal, deliberative, media etc). Brazil in total had nine(9) direct presidential multi-party elections, repeated multi-party elections affected democratic rule of law significantly in Brazil after the second multi-party elections in 1989 that brought in Collor as president and he was later impeached in 1992 due to corruption and inability of being responsive and responsible to the people. Thus, upholding the principle of democratic rule of law. This significant democratic development made Brazil to be classified as a free country scoring two (2) on both political rights and civil liberties (democratic rule of law) in 1990 and 2011 (Freedom House,2019).

Mexico on the other hand had a long history of one- party domination (Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party- IRP) the party dominated the political landscape of the country from (1934-2000), although during the hegemony of this party, there was other parties that existed but the party continued to win elections through electoral fraud and clientelism (Mark & Joel, 2013). Looking at Appendix D during this period, the EDI of Mexico did not experience significant increase. This also affected the democratic rule of law



adversely. During the period of IRP dominance, all other arms of government (judiciary and legislature) were politically but not constitutionally subordinate to the executive arm of government. Most cases before the courts, where the power or integrity of the government or president was questioned, the court always rule in favour of the president. For example, the 1988 election results was challenged by the opposition party, due to the supposedly clear electoral fraud by the ruling party (as votes were being counted, the tabulation system mysteriously shut down) even at that the electoral tribunal still ruled in favour of the ruling party (Stephen, 2014). Although, President Zedillo's administration (1994-2000) (IRP) tried to change the situation by emphasizing the importance of the rule of law over privileged rights of powerful individuals, the party structure (IRP) did not allow this to take full effect as the party lacks internal democratic quality, candidates that eventually emerged as IRP flag bearer in elections were selected and not elected by the party leaders. Thus, for the reason, during dominance of this party in Mexico, the democratic rule of law was grossly undermined, and this is easy to understand as the party could not give what it did not practice at the party level.

Looking at the appendix D, the Rule of Law Index of Mexico hits the highest in 2000 and 2001 respectively (0.65 and 0.67) and this was because of the impact of repeated multi-party election that finally brought in a new party for the first time in modern Mexico history as the president in person of Vicente Fox of NAP(The National Action Party). Upon assumption of office, Vicente Fox adhered to upholding judiciary independence which in turns strengthens democratic rule of law in Mexico. This increase in the Rule of Law Index continued significantly when compared to the period of dominance by the IRP. In Mexico, the Freedom House measure for the rule of law following the alternation of power (repeated multi-party election) shows progress in both civil liberties and political liberties (Freedom House, 2019). Under the modern Mexico history (1934- till date), the country had fourteen(14) multi-party elections. Although, these elections where multi-party elections, but it was dominated by one-party till 2000. Thus, it took Mexico eleven (11) repeated multi-party elections to have significant effect on democratic rule of law.

NIGERIA AND GHANA

Nigeria, just like Brazil, has a relatively long history of election. Election was introduced in Nigeria by the British colonial administrator under the leadership of Clifford in 1922. However, the elections during the colonial administration (indirect rule) was not a



multi-party election. The 1979 multi-party election ushered in the 2nd republic with Alhaji Shehu Shagari of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) emerging as the first executive president of Nigeria. This multi-party election in Nigeria also affected her democratic rule of law, thus increasing the rating of the Rule of Law Index when compared to the previous years as seen in appendix E. In 1983, there was another election; the National Party of Nigeria(NPN) captured absolute majorities in both state and national elections through massive fraud and violence (Mark & Joel, 2013). This led to another military takeover by Major-General Muhammadu Buhari to forcefully take power, thus looking at appendix E from 1983-1992; EDI and Rule of Law Index were decreasingly stable. Looking at the appendix E closely in 1993, there was a slight increment in EDI, but this increment did not produce a corresponding increase in Rule of Law Index. This is because there was an election in 1993, but this election was not a multi-party election, but a two-party election organized by the military government. The result of this election was annulled; hence there was no corresponding increment in the Rule of Law Index in 1993.

One of the major highlights of the current 4th republic of Nigeria is the 2015 general election that led to the EDI and rule of law to hit the highest so far 0.63 and 0.41, respectively. For the first time, the presidential candidate of the opposition party (Muhammadu Buhari Rtd of APC) defeated the incumbent president (Goodluck Jonathan of PDP) in an election that was deemed free, fair, and competitive. Nigeria nascent democracy in her present 4th republic (1999-till date) has conducted six(6) uninterrupted/repeated multi-party elections. However, it was after the 5th multi-party elections that the democratic rule of law was affected positively by repeated multi-party elections with the Rule of Law Index moving from 0.33 in 2014 to 0.41 in 2015. This increase was sustained till 2018 according to V-Dem. In 2019, there was a reversal in the growth of the Rule of Law Index and that was as a result of electoral malpractices that characterized the presidential election and executive aggrandizement which in turn undermined the democratic rule of law (Bermeo, 2016). Thus, leading V-Dem to classify Nigeria as an electoral autocracy in the year 2019.

Ghana just like Nigeria, a former British colony and she has experienced long rule of military dictatorship (military coups occurring in the following years 1966,1972,1979,1981) most notably was between 1981-1992 under the leadership of Flight Lieutenant J.J Rawlings (Mike, 2000). Ghana's uninterrupted fourth republic started in 1992 with the first multi-party election that brought the former military dictator as a civilian democratically elected president (J.J Rawlings) of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), this election being the



first in the fourth republic was marred with some irregularities but still was a milestone election that contributed to the EDI and Rule of Law Index in 1993 looking at appendix F. Looking at appendix F, Ghana hits the highest in EDI in 2009 (0.76) and this was as a result of the remarkable 2008 elections that made it the second time in the fourth republic where the incumbent party hands over power to an opposition party after winning elections, the first was in 2000. In 2008, the fact that the incumbent party NPP (New Patriotic Party) handed over power to the opposition party NDC after having taken the lead in the first round of the election, and thereafter losing in the presidential run-off election by a margin of less than 0.5% was an incredible turn around point in the democratic quality of Ghana (Abdul-Gafaru & Gordon, 2010). Although, this started in 2000, when the ruling party NDC (J.J Rawlings) accepted defeat and peacefully transferred power to the opposition NPP (John Kufuor). These repeated multi-party elections in Ghana further strengthened the application of democratic rule of law as the parties and candidates understands the importance of the democratic rule of law in bringing them to power and hence they continue to uphold and promote democratic rule of law which is an important democratic quality. Hence, leading to V-Dem classifying Ghana as a Liberal Democracy (with a minus sign meaning not a full liberal democracy) and a free state by freedom house (Freedom House, 2019; V-Dem Institute, 2020). Ghana just like Nigeria is a nascent democracy, that has recorded tremendous growth in her democratic quality. Ghana has also conducted seven (7) repeated multi-party elections in her uninterrupted fourth republic. However, it was after the third(3rd) multi-party election that democratic rule of law was positively affected.

SUMMARY/ CONCLUDING AND REMARKS

It is pertinent to mention that all our cases (Brazil, Mexico, Nigeria and Ghana) all had in theory democratic rule of law entrenched in their constitutions. One of the key attributes of a democratic regime is to have a constitution that contains democratic rule of law as explained below. The democratic rule of law makes it possible for multi-party elections to take place with universal adult suffrage and with the help of an independent electoral management body. However, application of this democratic rule of law is seldomly or minimally done in reality or practice. Hence, this study is able to know how many repeated multi-party elections each of our cases conducted before a visible and clear application of democratic rule of law was achieved.



Countries	No of multi-party elections in their contemporary history.	No of multi-party elections before democratic rule of law was positively affected.	Regime classification by V-Dem 2020
Brazil	9	2	Electoral Democracy
Mexico	14	11	Electoral Democracy
Nigeria	6	5	Electoral Autocracy
Ghana	7	3	Electoral Democracy

Source: V-Dem, 2020

Brazil had nine (9) multi-party elections from when she transited into democratic regime (1974-till date) and a visible application of democratic rule of law was achieved after the 2nd multi-party elections that manifested from the impeachment of Collor after being found guilty of corruption charges, including other cases that happened afterwards that shows upholding the democratic rule of law in Brazil (the case with Lula and Dilma Rouseff). It took Brazil two multi-party elections to achieve this feat because of her long history of elections, though the elections before 1984 were indirect elections during the bureaucratic authoritarian regime (1968-1985) (Mark & Joel, 2013). Prior to the first multi-party election that brought the first civilian government in 1984, there was a large protest in Brazil (by Brazilians) demanding 'Direct Elections Now' (DiretasJa) although, the military government still conducted the elections indirectly but the impact of the protest and subsequent elections after that were directly conducted with a multi-party system.

Mexico, in her modern democratic history (1934- till date) has conducted fourteen (14) multi-party elections not until after the eleventh(11th) multi-party elections was conducted, the political landscape of Mexico was dominated by one-party. Although, elections were held but the IRP continued to dominate the political space through electoral fraud and political patronage (clientelism) and this undermined the application of the democratic rule of law for a very long time. However, after the eleventh (11th) multi-party election was conducted that brought in a new party what was noticed was an improvement application of the democratic rule of law recorded by both V-Dem and Freedom House. However, this success was short-lived. In 2013-2018, Mexico experienced a decline in democratic quality which manifested in form of criminal violence most notably with the mysterious disappearance of forty-three 43 students in Iguala, Guerrero in 2014 (Freedom



House, 2019). With the multi-party elections that brought Lopez Obrador in 2018 as president minimal improvements in the democratic quality of Mexico is being recorded.

Nigeria, a nascent democracy has conducted six (6) multi-party elections in her uninterrupted fourth republic (1999-till date). After the fifth (5th) multi-party election was conducted that brought in a new party for the first time since 1999, there was an improvement in the application of democratic rule of law but this improvement was not sustained as the election that took place after the fifth (5th) election was marred with electoral malpractices and gross undermining of the democratic rule of law. For example, the chief justice of Nigeria was arbitrarily removed from office by the President due to alleged affinity with the opposition party backed up with alleged non-adherence to declaration of assets as required of a public servant by the constitution. Also, there were numerous cases of executive aggrandizement which resulted to V-Dem classifying Nigeria as an Electoral Autocracy.

Ghana, in her political history has conducted seven (7) uninterrupted multi-party elections (1992-till date) in her fourth republic. It took Ghana three (3) multi-party elections to have a visible application of democratic rule of law in reality. The year 2000 and 2008 was unprecedented in Ghana's democratic history, as incumbent parties handed over power successfully to the opposition that won elections, and this was also the turning around for the application of democratic rule of law in Ghana. When the former President of the United States of America (Barrack Obama) was asked why he picked Ghana as one of the countries in Africa to visit in 2009, he responded 'Amongst other countries in Africa, Ghana has recorded remarkable success in improving her democratic quality'. With the remarkable democratic success recorded in Ghana, and with the consistency in this success, Ghana is most likely to be the first country in West Africa to attain the status of a full liberal democracy by V-Dem.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the above discussion, what is noticed is that in all our cases for repeated multi-party elections to affect positively the application of democratic rule of law, there must be an alternation or change in the ruling party that is not one-party dominating the political landscape. Hence, the reason why Mexico took so long (despite the number of multi-party elections conducted) to achieve improvements in the application of democratic rule of law.

While Brazil, Ghana and Mexico seems to be on the path to the right direction democratically at least when compared to Nigeria. Nigeria has a lot more to do to stay on the right path of



democracy. Although, she has the least number of repeated multi-party elections six (6), which one can argue that with more repeated multi-party elections progress might be made. However, progress was made with the 2015 elections in Nigeria, but this progress was not sustained and hence the reason for her being classified as electoral autocracy. With more credible multi-party elections in Nigeria, which will in turn affects the democratic rule of law Nigeria will be back on track towards stable democratization.

Further research can also be carried out on how already established democratic rule of law can strengthen the credibility of multi-party elections or to what extent does violation of democratic rule of law by the state officials affects turnout during multi-party elections or to put differently-To what extent does violations of democratic rule of law undermines the essential democratic quality of multi-party elections? This will add incredibly to the existing literature in the field of democratization paying attention to the repeated multi-party elections and democratic rule of law.

REFERENCES

- Abdul-Gafaru, A., & Gordon, C. (2010). *Consolidating Democracy in Ghana: Progress and Prospects. Democratization*, 26-67.
- Alvarez, M., Jose, A., Fernando, L., & Przeworski, A. (1996). Classifying Political Regimes. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 31(2), 3-36.
- Anckar, C. (2011). On the Applicability of the Most Similar Systems Design and the Most Different Systems Design in Comparative Research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11(5), 389–401. .
- Bermeo, N. (2016). On Democratic Backsliding. *Journal of Democracy*, 5-19.
- Coppedge Michael. (2012). *Democratization and Research Methods. The Methodology of Comparative Politics*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press. .
- Dahl, R. (1971). *Polyarchy*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Diamond, L. (1996). Is the Third Wave Over? *Journal of Democracy*, 7(3), 20-37.
- Edgell, A. B., Mechkova, V., Altman, D., Bernhard, M., & Lindberg, S. I. (2018). Edgell, A. B., Mechkova, V., Altman, D., BerWhen and where do elections matter? A global test of the democratization by elections hypothesis, 1900–2010. *Democratization*; 25(3). , 422-444.



- Freedom House. (2019, June 01). *Freedom House*. Retrieved from www.freedomhouse.org:
<http://www.freedomhouse.org/reports#.UyR16c7Hiro>
- Hayek, F. (2010). *The Road to Serfdom*. Chicago: University Chicago Press.
- Huberman, M. A., & Miles, M. (2002). *The Qualitative Researcher's Companion*. London: Sage Publications.
- Huntington, S. P. (1984). Will More Countries Become Democratic. *Political Science Quarterly*.
- Leslie, B. (2000). Politics in Brazil: From Elections without Democracy to Democracy without Citizenship. *American Academy of Arts and Sciences.*, 1-17.
- Levitsky, S., & Way, L. (2015.). The Myth of Recession. *Journal of Democracy* 26(1), 45-58.
- Lindberg, S. I. (2005). The Power of Elections. In C. Nic, A. M. David, & A. Scheibler, *Routledge handbook of African Politics* (pp. 238-251). New york: Routledge.
- Mark, K., & Joel, K. W. (2013). *Introduction to Comparative Politics: Political Challenges and Changing Agendas*. Washington.: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Mechkova, V., Lührmann, A., & Lindberg, S. I. (2017). The Accountability Sequence: From De-jure to De-facto Constraints on Governments. *Studies in Comparative International Development.*, 1-31 .
- Mike, O. (2000). The Process of Democratization in Contemporary Ghana. *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics.*, 53-78.
- Mueller, J. (1992). Democracy and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery: Elections, Equality, and the Minimal Human Being. *American Journal of Political Science*, 36(4)., 984–990.
- O'Donnell, G. (1998). Polyarchies and the (un) Rule of law in Latin America. *Latin American Studies Association*.
- O'Donnell, G. (2004). The Quality of Democracy: Why the Rule of Law Matters. *Journal of Democracy. Volume 15, Number 4.*, 32-46.
- Sartori Giovanni. (1970). Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics. *APSR* 64(4), 1033-1053 .
- Schedler, A. (2006). The Logic of Electoral Authoritarianism. *Democratization*, 1-23.
- Stephen, M. D. (2014). Corruption, Rule of Law and Democratization in Mexico: Concepts and Boundaries. *International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association*.
- V-Dem Institute. (2020). *Autocratization Surges- Resistance Grow: Democracy Report*. Gothenburg: GU Intertryckeri.



Appendix A

Electoral Democracy Index: "The electoral principle of democracy seeks to embody the core value of making rulers responsive to citizens, achieved through electoral competition for the electorate's approval under circumstances when suffrage is extensive; political and civil society organizations can operate freely; elections are clean and not marred by fraud or systematic irregularities; and elections affect the composition of the chief executive of the country. In between elections, there is freedom of expression and an independent media capable of presenting alternative views on matters of political relevance. In the V-Dem conceptual scheme, electoral democracy is understood as an essential element of any other conception of representative democracy — liberal, participatory, deliberative, egalitarian, or some other" (Coppedge et al., 2018:38).

Appendix B

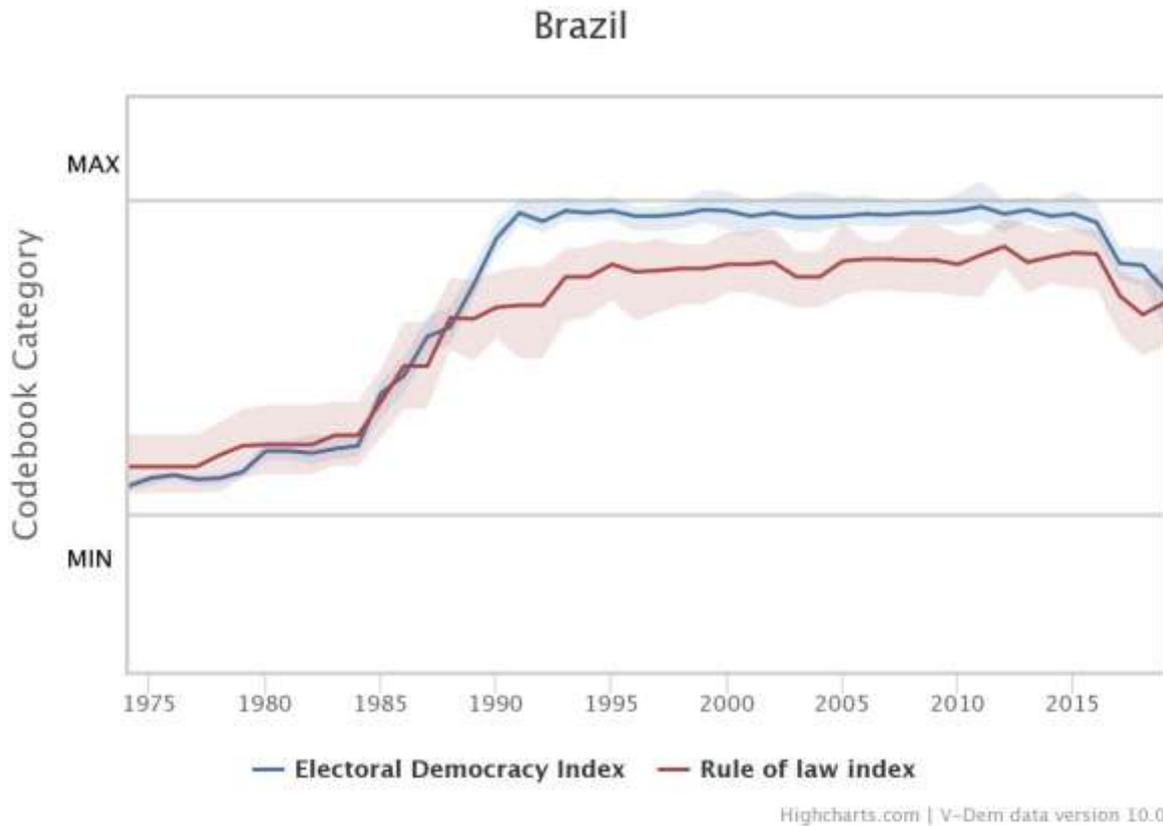
Rule of Law Index: "Question: To what extent are laws transparently, independently, predictably, impartially, and equally enforced, and to what extent do the actions of government officials comply with the law?" (Coppedge et al., 2018:232)

"The index is formed by taking the point estimates from a Bayesian factor analysis model of the indicators for compliance with high court (v2juhccomp), compliance with judiciary (v2jucomp), high court independence (v2juhcind), lower court independence (v2juncind), executive respects constitution (v2exrescon), rigorous and impartial public administration (v2clrspct), transparent laws with predictable enforcement (v2cltrnslw), access to justice for men (v2clacjstm), access to justice for women (v2clacjstw), judicial accountability (v2juacct), judicial corruption decision (v2jucorrdc), public sector corrupt exchanges (v2excrptps), public sector theft (v2exthftps), executive bribery and corrupt exchanges (v2exbribe), executive embezzlement and theft (v2exembez)" (Coppedge et al., 2018:233).

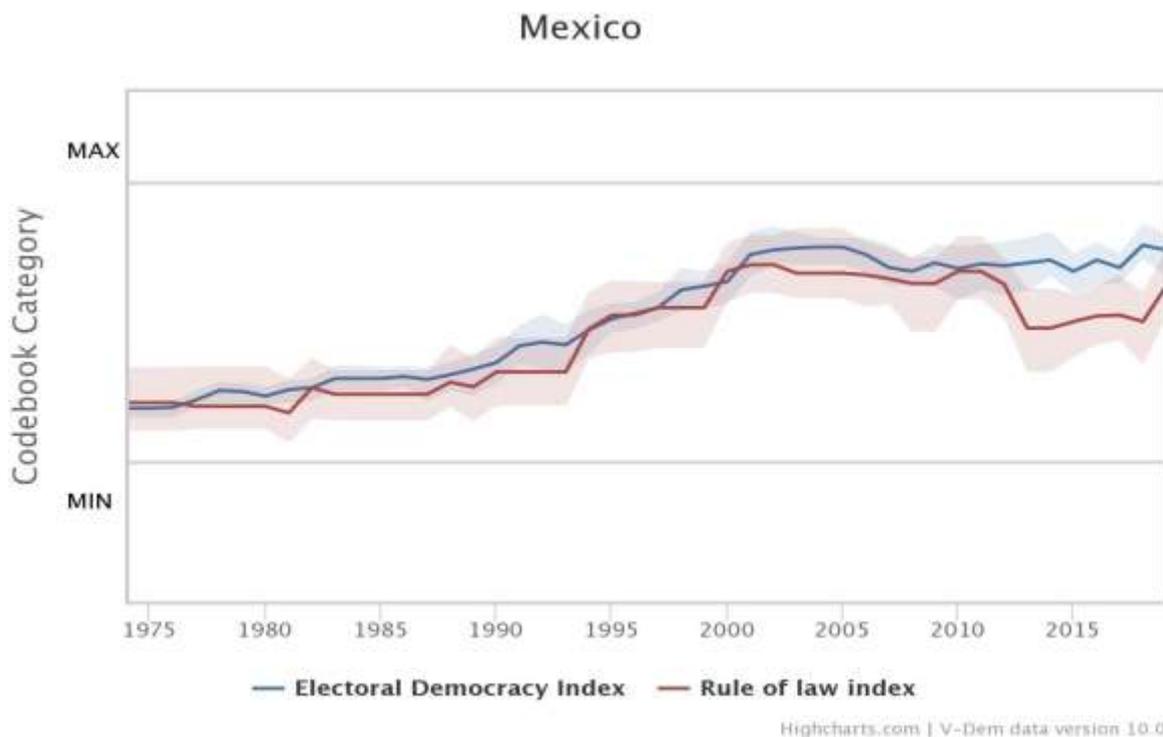


Appendix

C

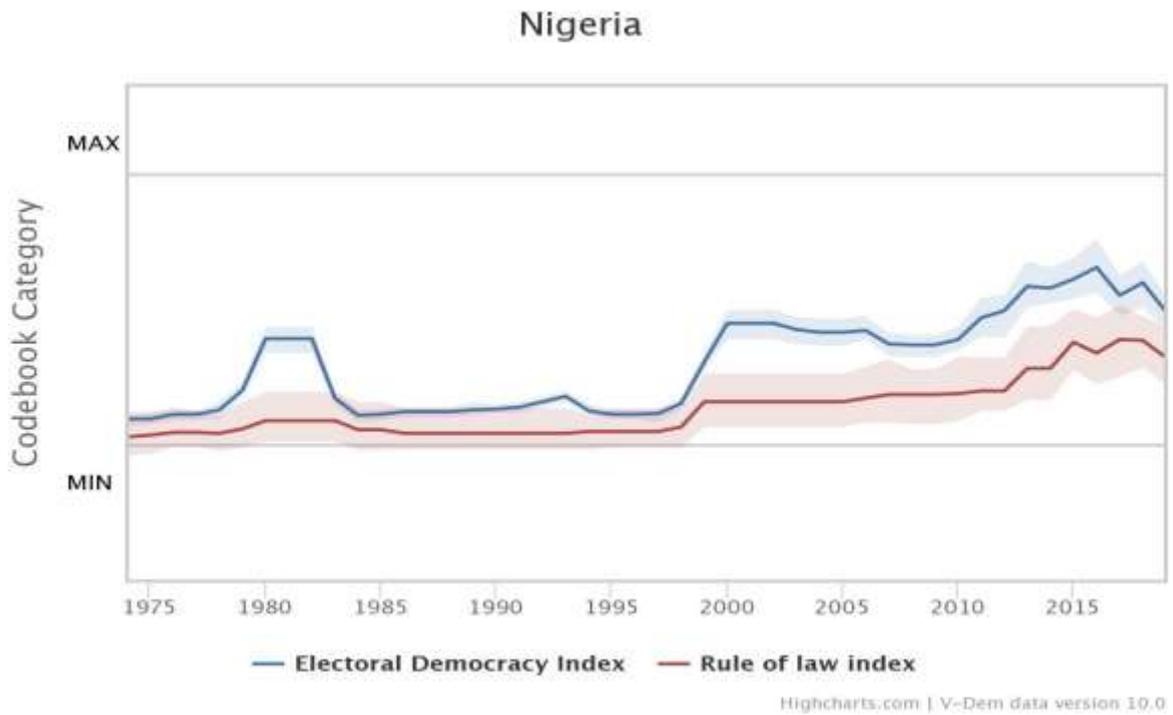


Appendix D





Appendix E



Appendix F

