

## The Inhumanity of Human Cloning: An Ethico-Theological Evaluation

**P. O. O. Ottuh**

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### **Abstract**

*This paper examines human cloning and some arguments advanced against it (reproductive cloning in particular). The aim is to evaluate human reproductive cloning within ethical and theological paradigms in order to show its morality and implications for human society, and to stimulate sound governmental policy on it. The methods employed are the descriptive, narrative and evaluative. The paper discovers that human cloning has grave consequences; human reproductive cloning is anti human and anti society; therapeutic cloning invokes strong potentiality to yield fundamental new insights to the treatment of most devastating illnesses such as kidney deficiencies, breast cancer, etc; the mystical, protective, and prophetic functions of religion are pointer factors supporting human therapeutic cloning; and that religious and ethical values and paradigms are important factors in understanding human cloning. The paper recommends that more objective debates should be encouraged; and that reproductive cloning should be outlawed, while therapeutic cloning should be allowed in the future.*

**Keywords:** Therapeutic Cloning; Reproductive Cloning; Human Cloning; Ethical Objections; Theological Objections.

### **Introduction**

Human cloning is one of the subjects of much debate around the world today. The debate involves a variety of ethical, religious, legal, and medical issues. Most debates on human cloning; especially on its medical and moral aspects examine issues of scientific conduct and human-subjects protection. Opponents of human cloning would like to see in all its forms criminalized in all nations. This may not happen, since some countries have legalized the technology either in part or *intoto*. Britain, for instance, has laws in place that allow therapeutic cloning and Canada is about to have such legislation (Department of Health, 2000).

Most people who support research cloning do not support reproductive cloning. Only few people and corporate bodies do support both therapeutic and reproductive cloning. To take a contrary position against human cloning looks easy, but sounds like science fiction, and the ethical problems associated with changing reproduction and subsequently, the nature of life. Such fundamental ways are to some extent obvious. With the possibility of human cloning becoming a reality, several arguments against and for human cloning have been advanced. This paper therefore, evaluates from an ethico-theological paradigm issues involved and arguments advanced against it.

### **What is Human Cloning?**

The term “clone” is from the Greek word, “*Klon*” meaning “to twig” or “to slip” in plants (Varga, 1980). In botanical science, the word “clone” implies “cuttings” in plants. It is a botanical process of asexual reproduction (vegetative propagation) in plants (Stone & Cozens, 1975). In this sense, a “clone” is an organism produced from a single parent. In nature, clones are found in organisms capable of asexual reproduction that is, in certain plants and bacteria. “Cloning” therefore, is a scientific technique that involves creation of a genetic duplicate of an already existing animal or plant (Varga, 1980). It can also mean the creation of a genetic copy or duplicate of a DNA (Deoxyribonucleic Acid) sequence, a cell, not just the entire organism. In its simplest definition, cloning is the production of multiple identical offspring. There are three types of cloning: animal, plant and human cloning.

There are three types of human cloning: embryonic, reproductive, and therapeutic cloning. Embryonic or natural cloning is a medical technique which produces monozygotic (i.e. identical) twins or triplets (Annon, 2004). In this type of cloning, scientists duplicate the process that nature uses to produce twins or triplets. In this typology, one or more cells are removed from a fertilized embryo and encouraged to develop into one or more duplicate embryos. Thus, twins or triplets are formed with identical DNA.

In Therapeutic (biomedical or research) cloning, the initial stages are identical to reproductive cloning. In therapeutic cloning, the stem cells are removed from the pre-embryo with the intent of producing tissues or a whole organ for transplant into the person who supplied the DNA. The pre-embryo in this process dies in order to produce new ones. The goal of therapeutic cloning is to produce a healthy copy of human tissues or organs for human medication.

Reproductive cloning on the other hand, is the implantation of an embryo created via Somatic Cell Nuclear Transfer (SCNT) into a woman's uterus (surrogate mother) with the intention to produce a baby. Most people who oppose human cloning refer to this typology. In this technique, the DNA from an ovum is removed and replaced with the DNA from a cell removed from an adult animal. Then, the "fertilized" ovum, now called a "pre-embryo," is implanted in a womb and allowed to develop into a new animal (clone). Generally, a cloning process is begun when an enucleated oocyte receives a complete set of genetic material from one adult of the same species, and then develops. The resultant cloned embryo is genetically identical to the adult supplying the DNA. Thus, cloning differs from sexual reproduction in which half the genetic material of the fertilized egg is supplied from the oocyte itself and half from the sperm. It is also different from "twinning," in which an egg once fertilized sexually, splits into two genetically identical zygotes, each of which may develop into an embryo.

### **Purpose of Human Cloning**

The purpose of human cloning can be classified into two basic groups: liberal and eugenic. The liberal and eugenic purposes of human cloning are recognizable and defensible within the context of "core values". For example, reproductive cloning may enable infertile or gay couples to

produce children without the use of a surrogate, or couples with inherited genetic disorders to avoid passing genetic disease to their children (Qiu, 1997). Other purposes of cloning include replication; immortality; prevention; treatment and cure of human inheritable diseases; production of human spare parts for transplantation; protection of endangered species; amelioration of suffering, etc. For instance, therapeutic cloning will produce cells and organs that may be grafted and transplanted into a patient that needs them; and insulin producing pancreatic cells may be used to treat diabetes, replacement nerve cells may be used to treat Parkinson disease, etc (Appleyard, 1998).

### **Why Human Cloning is Inhuman**

There are much heated debates on the subject of human cloning, whether or not human beings should be cloned. Interestingly, proponents of each side have produced sound and valid arguments on the issues involved. However, this paper limits its discussion to the arguments against human cloning.

### *Medical Scientific Objections*

Medical scientists argue that cloning generally offer numerous negative effects to human life. The biggest problem associated with human cloning is that of limitation in genetic diversity (Appleyard, 1998). This means that, if a population of organisms has the same genetic information, then the disease would wipe out the entire population, thus, creating a decline in genetic diversity. This is because; there is no one organism that has the advantage of fighting disease over the other (Appleyard, 1998). Scientists also argue that human cloning is full of inevitable errors which are fatal. For instance, it took 277 attempts to clone Dolly successfully (Hefley, 1998). According to Wilmut's actual statistics, 277 nuclear fusions led to 29 embryos which were implanted in 13 ewes, out of which only one gave birth (Hefley, 1998). This suggests that 12 out of the 13 ewes died in the process. Because of the imperfection involved, cloning of endangered species will result to possible elimination of the last females integral to the survival of species. To this extent, some scientists whose objections are nearly universal agree that the use of Nuclear Transfer to produce a child should not be

allowed at present (National Academies, 2001). Human cloning is not medically safe because embryonic stem cell transplantation carries the risk of tumor formation such as “teratoma” (muster tumor) (National Academies, 2001). This is as a result of abnormal growth; cell division; and specialization due to artificially genetic programming.

#### *Ethico-Religious Objections*

Most religious leaders and thinker’s voice mixed reactions on the attempt to clone human beings. However, within different religions there is disagreement as to the morality of cloning humans. Generally, objections to cloning from organized religions stem from a belief that humans should not take over “the divine power to create life.” The head of the Catholic Church from the Vatican called cloning “a crime against humanity” (Weiss, 1997). The Hindu religion questions whether a cloned person would possess a soul? This is because; the Hindus believe that a pre-existing soul is reincarnated into a new embryo when a man and woman have intercourse (Ramsey, 1996). Most religions oppose human cloning especially reproductive cloning, because they believe in the uniqueness and sacredness of human life, and that life should be naturally conceived as this is what has been intended by the deities of all religions. Their arguments suggest that it is important for scientists to consider religious authority as a means for providing a societal conscience.

Sunni Islamists forbid cloning for many reasons. According to Abdelmo’ti Bayyumi, “it is a grave sin” (*Agence France Press*, 1997). In contrast to the opinions of their peers, some Jewish and Muslim religious leaders testified before the National Bioethics Advisory Committee that, “they feel that embryo and cloning research might provide discoveries that would lead to an appropriate way to counter human infertility” (*Time*, 1997). According to a *Time Magazine* (1997) poll conducted among religious adherents in the United States of America., March 1997, 74% of the respondents believed that human cloning is against God’s will.

#### *Sociological Objections*

Sociologists envisage that human cloning will destroy the integrity of the family system. On the alternative, a humanitarian stance would argue that

adoption should be considered as an alternative treatment for infertility, rather than an artificial birth for the sake of the furtherance of bloodline (Pellegrino, 1994). Human cloning will alter parenthood. Clones will become increasingly inferior, as more copies of the individual will be produced. This would amount to obtaining "Licenses" to become parents, the implication would be that government or opportune bodies would assume dictatorial powers over human procreation. Another objection to human cloning is rooted on the fact that wealthy people will misuse the technology by cloning themselves repeatedly to have "human spare parts" banks.

#### *Feminist Objections*

Samson (2000), a feminist, wrote on cloning and its impact on women's rights. According to her, cloning is particularly important to consider in relation to women's rights. In her objection, cloning and genetic manipulation particularly threaten groups that have been historically targeted and disempowered, that women will be the possible targets of unethical mass cloning experimentations, and that cloning will evoke the commercialization of women's lives (Samson, 2000; Annas, 2002). The obvious effect of cloning on women and children includes the physical danger to which they would be exposed to. For instance, eggs must be taken from women, embryos must be gestated by women, and the resulting children are the subject of the scientific experimentations

#### *Objections from Legal and International Community*

Opinion Research Corporations International conducted a public opinion poll on behalf of the Coalition for Advancement of Medical Research (CAMR). It has spearheaded the political campaigns to opposing a ban on therapeutic cloning. The poll asked the opinions of about 1,012 adult Americans on March 6, 2003 (Kimbrough, 2003). Among those sampled, 67% favoured the continuation of therapeutic cloning; 55% want congress to ban reproductive cloning but allow therapeutic cloning; 30% want a ban on therapeutic and reproductive cloning; 12% want no ban on either form of cloning; and 3% remained neutral (Kimbrough, 2003). This is surprising to some observers who had believed that the flurry of hoaxes regarding reproductive cloning would confuse the public so that they would

confuse therapeutic cloning with reproductive cloning, and thus oppose both.

Recently, a report by the United Nations claimed that more than 60 scientists have demanded that the cloning of humans should be banned worldwide because it is unsafe. Currently there are two competing proposals to ban human cloning – one developed by France and Germany and the other by the United States (Annas, 2002). The French - German proposal calls for a total ban on reproductive cloning immediately and a second round of negotiations to follow on cloning research. Most member states of the United Nations appear to agree that a total ban should be passed on reproductive cloning only. The proposal by United States and others included a complete ban on all forms of cloning.

However, there are other international efforts that have been made to address the issue including the one by United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), World Health Organization (WHO), and the International Planned Parenthood Federation to mention but few (*The Guardian*, 1998; WHO, 2007; UNESCO, 2004)). Also, the European Parliament has made several affirmations of its stance against cloning.

### *Psychological Objections*

From a psychological standpoint, it could be argued that mental and emotional problems would result if a clone finds out that he or she was cloned. The sense of “inferiority complex” and “non-originality” will be present in clones. All these will affect the social and mental attitudes of a clone. The question of the moral rights of a clone also posed an objection to cloning humans. Cloning would deprive someone to have any perception of uniqueness. This will happen, because clones lack genetic variation unlike in natural reproduction. It is believed that cloning humans will amount to the existence of unnatural or artificial “twins” or “triplets” – a “generation apart” that may be psychologically harmful to the society (Nisbet, 2005).

### **Ethico-Theological Evaluation**

Religion and science have never been good friends. In the pre-medieval period, it is alleged that critics grew in their numbers to attack religious

leaders whom they believed have made unscientific assertions (Barbour, 1971). On the other way round, religious leaders have always been hostile to scientists to the extent that some of the scientists were beginning to wonder if they were right in some of the things they did. However, religious traditions have reserved some areas of knowledge for divine interpretation and postulation insisting that only God can act in such areas, for instance, human reproduction. However, modern sciences, especially, the biomedical sciences have completely invaded this area of which human cloning is one of them.

It is possible to identify four overlapping time frames in which theologians and philosophers have engaged the scientific prospects and ethics of human cloning. The first phase of discussion took place in the 1960s (Childress, 1970). This early debate was occasioned by a context of expanded choices and control of reproduction, for example, availability of the birth control pill, the prospects of alternative, technologically assisted reproduction like *in Vitro* fertilization (IVF) (Childress, 1970). The second time frame began in 1978, which was notable for two distinctive events: The birth of the first IVF baby-Louise Brown and the publication of David Rorvik's *In His Image* (1978) an account alleging the creation of the first human clone. The third era was in 1993 after the blast-mere separation of human embryos at George Washington University sparked off mixed reactions (McCormick, 1993). The fourth and most recent stage came in the wake of the successful cloning of Dolly the Sheep in 1997.

Theological and moral themes invoked from human cloning on which we wish to base our evaluation are human personhood, parenthood, dignity, co-creatorship, freedom, destiny and eschatology. Some conservative thinkers believe that human personhood starts at conception (Verhey, 1995) meaning that, the pre-embryo produced from a woman is a potential human person. Others believe that the embryo or pre-embryo is not a human person, but simply a collection of cells containing DNA, which is not different from other cells in the human body (Montagu, 1997). Contrary to this view, C.O. Isiramen argued that humanization of any degree must be counted as sufficient to constitute a human person, and that the fetus or embryo is already a person because, pregnant mothers can influence the behavioural patterns of their unborn children (Isiramen & Akhilomen, 1998).

Most theologians and philosophers have argued that cloning is a “revelation of the human situation and that in cloning, man is only addressing himself” (Hefner, 1997). The issue of personhood and authentic humanity is commonly described and explained in the context of theology with reference to the theological theme of the image of God (*Imago Dei*). Normative humanity is theologically rooted in the creation of human beings in the image of God. The interpretations of the moral meaning of the *Imago Dei* depends, in part, on prior convictions about the nature of God and those characteristics of God, which human beings are believed to be possessing His image. Moreover, reproductive technology and genetic interventions that culminate in cloning may be interpreted as a responsible exercise of human and divine creativity.

Significant to this theological discourse on human cloning is the notion of “partnership” of human beings with God in caring for and improving upon creation. As participants in the act of creating with God, human beings can actively engage in furthering the overall well-being of humanity by intervening in the works of nature, including the early stages of embryonic development to improve human health (Campbell, 2002). The natural world in this view is inherently malleable, and can be shaped in several different forms in service of divine and human goals. This model holds the potential for seeing cloning research, and perhaps some forms of human cloning, as using human creative potential for good. Another point of theological reflection is the notion that humans are “co-creators” with God. This claim recognizes that humans are created beings, dependent upon God and finite and fallible in their existence. Thus, simultaneously, humans assume a role of co-creator to envision and implement knowledge for the betterment of humanity and the world. Human beings are called to play humans through their freedom and responsibility in creating an essentially open human future (Peters, 1997).

Human dignity is another point in this evaluation. It is inherent in every human person. It is concerned with the respect for the human personhood. Human dignity is sacred since human beings themselves are sacred beings having assumed the *Imago Dei*, the image of God. Human dignity therefore, is the absence of maltreatment of the human person. One of the arguments against human cloning is that it negates the dignity of human personhood.

Immanuel Kant's (1959) conception of human dignity through his principle of "categorical imperative" which he contrasts with hypothetical imperative revealed that human dignity is internalized in humans and not bestowed. For Kant, all imperatives, with the exception of the supreme principle of morality are hypothetical in nature. Kant's principle offers one ethical formulation thus: "Act so that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or in that of another as an end and never as a means" (Kant, 1959). Kant's principle appeals primarily to our conception of human dignity in relation to human cloning.

Buddhist theologians generally agree that the process by which children are born into the world makes no difference, for according to them, "individuals can begin their lives in many ways, including but not limited to human sexuality (Keown, 1995). Buddhist Theologians believe that throughout history due to *Karma* (Law of retributive Justice), the chances of being born as a human being are rare and remote, hence, they believe that cloning is a precious opportunity to escape from perpetual *Karma-Samsara* (circle of rebirth) in line with *Dharma* (teachings) of the Buddha (Keown, 1995). Hindu theology may offer the community analogues to human cloning. Hindu creation narratives are replete with references to the creation of a person, a deity, or social groups through cells of skin or drops of blood (Desai, 1988). Some Hindus may permit human cloning under very circumscribed or exceptional circumstances. The continuation of generation lineage may take place through several different methods of having a son as offspring, including a "son by artifice" (Campbell, 2002).

### Suggestions and Conclusion

From the foregoing, we recommend that caution be applied in supporting or opposing human cloning. If we must clone humans, it must strictly be for the enhancement of human well-being and communal good. This must be done without compromising the human goods and values. Diversity in religious views on cloning implies that there is no consensus on the issue. Hence, we further recommend that more objective ethical, religious and theological debates should be encouraged in order to inform the general public on the positive and negative impact of human cloning. The paper posits therefore, that reproductive cloning should be outlawed, while

therapeutic cloning should be allowed, developed, regulated and practiced in the future on the grounds of amelioration, medication, modernity and compassion (Ottuh, 2008).

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## A Comparative Study of Globalisation and Democratic Consolidation in Ghana and Nigeria (1990-2008)

**David Omeiza Moveh**

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### **Abstract**

*The implications of globalisation for the developing world continue to attract the attention of scholars across the globe; yet, scant attention is paid to the dynamics of its political consequences. This paper is a comparative study of the external linkages and regime trajectories of Ghana and Nigeria; within the period 1990-2008. Evidence gathered on both countries substantiates the proposition that: the more a peripheral state derives huge revenues from commodity export, the more it will be able to exercise a significant degree of independence by resisting external pressure to imbibe liberal democratic values and vice versa. Similarly, the higher a peripheral country's aid per capita from the core, the more such a country is likely to consolidate its transition to democracy. Thus, while the low level of democratic consolidation in Nigeria can partly be explained by the huge revenues from oil and very little aid dependency, the comparatively higher level of democratic consolidation in Ghana is partly explained by the relatively lower revenue from cocoa and timber exports and the higher aid dependency.*

**Keywords:** Globalisation, Democratic Consolidation, Ghana, Nigeria, Comparative Study

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*David Omeiza Moveh, Departemnt of Political Science  
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, email: [damoveh@yahoo.com](mailto:damoveh@yahoo.com)*

## **Introduction**

Ghana and Nigeria are two countries in the West African sub-region that were colonised by the British. Both countries are culturally diverse societies that experienced political and economic crisis from the 1970's through the 1980s. With the global democratisation process, particularly, in the post cold war era, Ghana and Nigeria successfully made the transition to civil rule in 1992 and 1999 respectively. However, with almost twenty years of uninterrupted civil rule and the successful transfer of power from the ruling party to the opposition party in 2000 and 2008; Ghana's democracy, unlike in the Nigerian situation, is largely seen to be consolidated. While internal factors; such as corruption, the nature of election administration, lack of political will and even the Rawlings factor have been employed in explaining the differences in democratic consolidation in Ghana and Nigeria, the external factors determining democratic consolidation in these two countries is very often taken for granted. Yet, given the fact that the process of transition to civil rule in most of the developing world, was in part a response to the globalisation process, the fact that consolidating these new regimes may also be connected to such external forces cannot be ruled out.

This paper compares the nexus between the external linkages and the regime trajectories of Ghana and Nigeria. It is an attempt to find - within the context of contemporary globalisation, the factors that may account for the reason why Ghana has been able to consolidate its democracy and Nigeria has not.

The paper is divided into six parts. Following this introduction is an examination of the linkages between globalisation and democratic consolidation. The third and fourth parts present an overview of the regime trajectories of Ghana and Nigeria respectively. The fifth part compares data on the external linkages of the Ghanaian and Nigerian economies and, finally, the sixth part is the summary and conclusion.

### **The Linkage between Globalisation and Democratic Consolidation**

Originally, the idea of globalisation resulted from the rapid integration of the world through the ascendancy of international capitalism. According to Barber (2001), globalisation has three overlapping dimensions: ethical,

political-economic and cultural. The ethical dimension is concerned with the question of citizenship in the international laws. The political-economic deals with trans-nationalisation of capitalist market forces; in which there is a global interconnectedness in trade and commerce and culturally, globalisation has largely been embodied in the promotion of western values. In another submission, Beck (2000) refers to globalisation as the multiplicity of linkages and interconnectedness between states and societies which make up the modern world system. It describes the process by which events, decisions and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe. Held (1996) observes that globalisation entails two phenomenal issues: firstly, it entails networks of political, economic and social activities that are becoming inter-regional and inter- continental in scope. Secondly, it entails a more intensification of the degree of interaction between states and societies. Indeed, the process of democratisation which reached an unprecedented level by the "third wave" is in itself globalisation, because it accentuated the transformation of a global political economy in which hitherto closed economies dictated by authoritarian regimes were brought into a mutual interdependence through economic and political interconnectedness.

The intensification and interconnectedness of states and societies especially from the early 1990s have been conditioned by the sophistication of international capitalism and the rapid development of communication technologies. The globalisation of capitalist forces through the activities of Multi-National Corporations (MNCs), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, World Trade Organisation (WTO), the United Nations (UN), and other international organisations (bilateral and multi -lateral) have invariably made it relatively easier for the spread of democracy. Indeed, democracy is the system of governance through which smooth, effective, efficient and harmonious global interaction is possible. Hence, the emphasis on democratisation as one crucial element in the interactions of states (core/periphery) within the globalisation process.

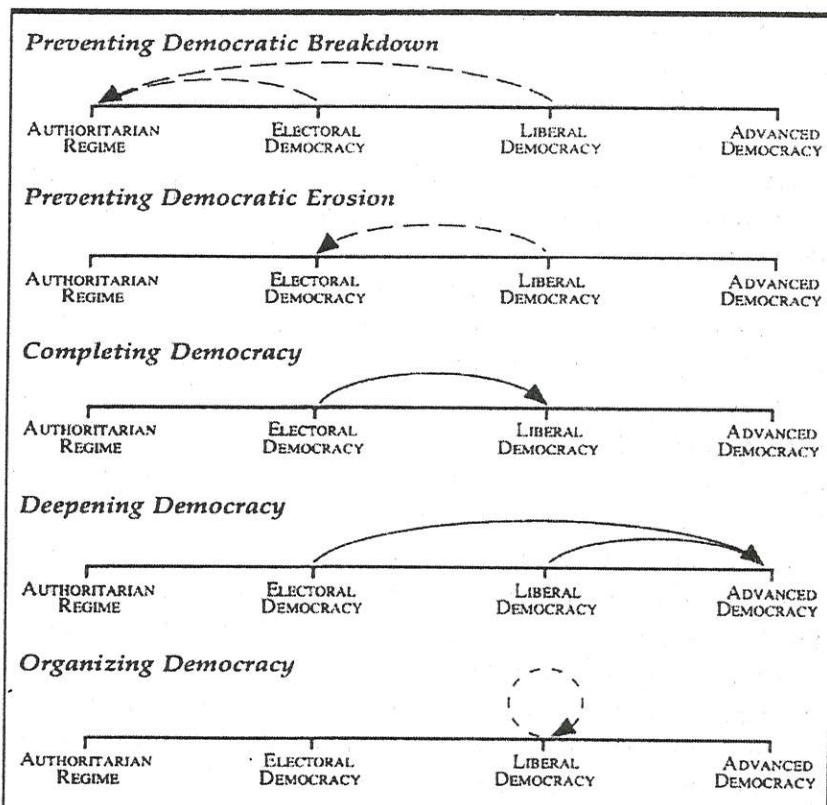
With the political manifestation of globalisation (i.e. transition to civil rule) completed in most parts of the world, political scientists in the new democracies have been increasingly focusing on what has come to be

known as democratic consolidation. Originally, the term democratic consolidation was meant to describe the “challenge of making new democracies secure, of extending their life expectancy beyond the short term, of making them immune against the threat of authoritarian regression, of building dams against eventual reverse waves (Schedler 1998). To this original mission of rendering democracy “the only game in town”, countless other tasks have been added. Democratic consolidation has come to include such divergent issues as popular legitimisation, the diffusion of democratic values, the neutralisation of anti- system actors, civilian supremacy over the military e.t.c.. Indeed, while democratic consolidation may have been a nebulous concept since its very inception, the conceptual fog that veils the term has only become thicker and thicker the more it has spread through the academic and political world (Schedler, 1998).

In the light of the bewildering range of issues that complicates the study of democratic consolidation, Schedler (1998) has ordered the multiple usages and meanings of the term. From a four-fold classification of regime types – authoritarianism, electoral democracy, liberal democracy and advanced democracy – along a one-dimensional continuum of “democraticness”, Schedler (1998) demonstrates how the conceptual confusion that surrounds the term democratic consolidation can be overcome by looking at the concrete realities as well as the practical tasks the term is meant to address. Thus, the meaning ascribed to the “notion of democratic consolidation depends on where we stand - our empirical viewpoints- and where we aim to reach - our normative horizons” (Schedler, 1998).

From the classification of regime types, as in fig. 1, the consolidation of democracy may therefore involve the positive task of deepening a full liberal democracy or completing a semi-democracy (electoral democracy). Or it may respond to the negative challenges of impeding the erosion of a liberal democracy or avoiding the breakdown of whatever minimal kind of democracy a country has in place (Schedler, 1998). For the purposes of this paper, democratic consolidation is seen in its original context- i.e. as the avoidance of authoritarian regression; particularly, through the institutionalisation of a credible electoral administration process.

In sum, central to the notion of globalisation – as in the world system theory- is the idea that developments within individual societies can be understood within the context of the entire world system. Consequently, realities in the larger modern world system in itself have significant consequences for the internal structures of areas incorporated within it. Thus, in order to make the argument about the divergent trajectories of democracy in Ghana and Nigeria, one has to look not only from within; but also from the nature of these countries incorporation in the modern world system; which can be determined by measuring their economic characteristics.



**Fig 1: A Graphic Representation of The Empirical Contexts and Normative Horizons of Democratic Consolidation.**  
**Source:** Schedler (1998)

### An Overview of Regime Trajectory in Ghana

Ghana's post independence history began in March 1957 with a civilian regime which soon degenerated into a quasi dictatorship; and as a result, the first military coup of 1966 (Gyimah, 2000:2). In the subsequent one and a half decades, Ghana made two other brief attempts at liberal democracy between 1969 -1972 and 1979-1981, but each was overthrown after twenty seven months. In the later instance, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, who assumed the reins of power for a hundred and twelve days in 1979 and handed over to the civilian administration of President Hilla Liman and his People's National Party (PNP) staged a comeback on the Christmas eve of 1981. The new ruling group- the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) also under Rawlings Chairmanship; in spite of its name, stuck to power for eleven years until 7th January 1993 when the country embarked on the current democratic experiment.

Indeed by 1993, the pro -democratic trend of the post cold war – globalisation era had begun to have contagious effects across Africa (Ninsin, 1998: 14). The leader of the outgoing military regime - Rawlings contested the Presidential election with the ruling junta- the PNDC metamorphosing into a political party- the National Democratic Congress (NDC) to provide him with the means for the contest (Frempong, 2006). With the victory of the NDC in the Presidential poll of 1992, the opposition parties insisted the elections had been rigged and as a result boycotted the subsequent parliamentary elections. The sources of acrimony in the elections of 1992 included a perceived bloated electoral register and the PNDC's deliberate and systematic appropriation of state resources in favor of the NDC (Ninsim, 2006:64). The general impression was that the military government plotted to entrench its rule through the backdoor provided by the new democratic set up (Boafo, 2006: 36). It was from such shaky foundation that Ghana's current dispensation blossomed. The subsequent elections of 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008 were largely described as peaceful and generally free and fair. In 2000 there was a peaceful alternation of power from the ruling NDC to the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP). By 2008 the NPP also successfully handed over power in a peaceful election to the opposition- NDC.

With over fifteen years of uninterrupted democratic rule and the peaceful transfer of power to the opposition on two occasions, Ghana's electoral successes have since been described as a "paragon of good governance and peaceful co-existence in the West African sub-region" (Frempong, 2006:157). Indeed, as indicated in the categorisation of democratic regimes in Africa, in table 1, Ghana's democracy is seen to have been consolidated.

**Table 1: Categories of Democratic Regimes in Africa as at the end of 2003**

Old Democracies	Consolidators	Setbacks	Stillbirths	Others
Botswana	Benin	CAR	Angola	Kenya
Mauritius	Cape Verde	Comoros	Burkina-Faso	Lesotho
Senegal	Ghana	Rep of Congo	Burundi	Sierra-Leone
	Madagascar	Gabon	Cameroon	
	Malawi	Gambia	Chad	
	Mali	Guinea-Bissau	DRC	
	Mozambique	Niger	Cote d ivoire	
	Namibia	Zambia	Djibouti	
	Sao Tome		Eq guinea	
	Seychelles		Eritrea	
	South Africa		Ethiopia	
			Guinea	
			Liberia	
			Mauritania	
			Nigeria	
			Rwanda	
			Somalia	
			Sudan	
			Swaziland	
			Tanzania	
			Togo	
			Uganda	
			Zimbabwe	

**Note:** Old democracies are countries which were democratic before 1990; Consolidators are formerly non-democratic countries with an increase of at least two points in the 1990s and a subsequent sustained performance above a score of 4 on the political right index of freedom house; Setbacks are

*formerly non-democratic countries with an increase of at least two points in the 1990 in the political right index, but subsequent return to values below 4; Still births are countries that never sustainably reached past a score of 4. Others are countries difficult to categorize because of high volatility in the data (Lesotho, Sierra Leone), or recent dramatic change over previous pattern (Kenya).*

**Source:** Adapted from Englebert and Boduszynski (2005)

### **An Overview of Regime Trajectory in Nigeria**

Unlike in the Ghanaian situation; and as captured in table 1, Nigeria's democratic experience since the enthronement of a civilian regime in 1999 has been shrouded in controversy. Having gained political independence on the 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1960, Nigeria's first republic lasted only till January 1966 when the first military coup took place. From 1966, the military remained in power until 1979 when the second republic came into being. However, the second republic was short lived. By 1983, following a highly contested general election, another military coup ousted the Shagari administration and the military remained in power until 1999.

Since the end of military rule in 1999, Nigeria according to many observers, has only added to its history of fraudulent elections; as opposed to making any significant progress towards the consolidation of democracy. The 1999 elections that brought Olusegun Obasanjo to power were said to have been marred by such widespread fraud that observers from the US-based Carter Center concluded that "it is not possible for us to make an accurate judgment about the Presidential elections" (Carter Center & National Democratic Institute, 1999: 12). Nigeria's next round of general elections in 2003 were also widely seen as a test of Nigeria's progress towards more open and accountable governance after four years of civilian rule under Obasanjo. However, the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) described the 2003 elections thus:

*While the voters waited and persevered in the polling stations to cast their votes, the political class and the political parties had different ideas. The voters wanted their*

*votes to determine the winner of the elections, while the political class wanted to corrupt the process and rig their way into elective office...on the whole, the result can be said to marginally reflect the choice and will of the Nigerian people (TMG 2003, in Agbaje & Adejumobi, 2006:39).*

In the same light, Nigerian's 2007 general elections were widely regarded as a crucial barometer of the federal governments' commitment to the notion of democratic consolidation, but according to Human Rights Watch:

*The polls marked a dramatic step backwards, even when measured against the dismal standard set by the 2003 election. Electoral officials alongside the very government agencies charged with ensuring the credibility of the polls were accused of reducing the elections to a violent and fraud ridden farce (Human Rights Watch: 2007).*

Indeed, the view "that the history of election administration in Nigeria is a history of electoral fraud and violence" (Ajayi, 2007) is widespread. Suffice it to say that given the historicity of problematic and controversial election administration; Nigeria's democracy is yet to be consolidated. What differences therefore account for Ghana's ability to consolidate its democracy and Nigeria inability to do the same?

### **The External Linkages of Ghana and Nigeria: Implications for Democratic Consolidation**

From table 2 it is evident that while Ghana's average revenue from export trade in the period: 1987 to 2007 is 2,611 million dollars, Nigeria's average revenue from exports in the same period was 36, 557.8 million dollars. With an increase of over one thousand four hundred percent in export revenues, Nigeria is more likely than Ghana to resist external pressure to consolidate.

**Table 2:** Total Revenue Accruing from Export in Ghana and Nigeria (1987-2007)

Ghana				Nigeria				
Year	Cocoa	Timber	Manufacturers	Total Exports US\$ Millions (Feb)	Fuel	LNG	Manufacturers	Total Exports US\$ Millions (Feb)
1987	495	90	77	824	6,994	-	-	7,532
1997	470	172	129	1,810	14,850	-	40	15,539
2006	1002	207	323	3,685	53,113	4,602	-	59,113
2007	1,000	255	405	4,125	64,047	6,110	-	64,047

**Source:** World Bank Indicators, 2008

Similarly, from table 3, it is evident that the average aid per capita to Ghana in the period: 1990- 2008 is 37.474 million dollars while in the case of Nigeria, the average aid per capita for the same period is 8.947 million dollars. Thus, with a higher degree of dependency Ghana is more likely than Nigeria to yield to external pressure to consolidate.

**Table 3:** Aid per Capita of Ghana and Nigeria (1990-2008)

CONUTRY	GHANA	NIGERIA
Year	Aid per capita US \$	Aid per capita US \$
1990	36	3
1991	55	3
1992	37	3
1993	37	3
1994	31	2
1995	36	2
1996	35	2
1997	26	2
1998	36	2
1999	31	1
2000	30	1
2001	31	1
2002	31	1
2003	45	2
2004	64	4
2005	51	45
2006	51	79
2007	49	14
2008	---	---

**Source:** World Bank Indicators, 2008

### **Summary and Conclusion**

After about two decades when the global democratisation process broke on Africa's shores, there is ample evidence that the extent to which African states have imbibed democratic principles is mixed. Within the context of the intersection of contemporary globalisation and the "third wave of global democratisation", this paper has attempted to provide an alternative explanation to the reason why Ghana has been able to consolidate its democracy and Nigeria has not. Evidences depicted in this paper confirms the proposition that the more a peripheral state derives huge revenues from commodity export, the more it will be able to exercise a significant degree of independence by resisting external pressure to imbibe liberal democratic values and vice versa. Similarly, the higher a peripheral country's aid per capita from the core, the more it will be able to consolidate its transition to democracy. Hence, just as the transition to civil rule was engendered significantly by external stimuli, democratic consolidation is also not unconnected to external factors.

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