

**ELECTORAL COMPETITION IN GHANA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC: A CASE STUDY  
OF ODODODIODIOO AND AKWATIA CONSTITUENCIES 2000-2012**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

I hereby solemnly declare that this Master of Philosophy thesis submitted to the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana is my own independent research work, to the best of my knowledge it contains no material previously published by another person or material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree. References made to other people's work have been acknowledged through citations.

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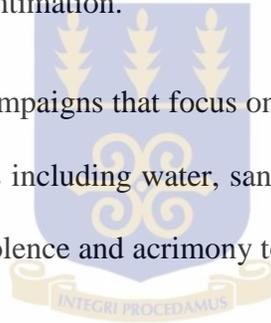
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## ABSTRACT

Since 1992, Ghana has engaged in competitive elections that have produced interesting results. However, violence has characterized most of the elections which have undermined their competitiveness. The two constituencies, Odododiodioo and Akwatia have been cited to notorious election violence areas.

Relying on the empirical data from these constituencies, the study found that the two dominant political parties, the NPP and NDC have demonstrated persistence intolerance. The parties have resorted to ethnic mobilization in their campaigns. The NDC has appealed to the minority settlers of the northern descent whilst the NPP has appealed to the Akan natives. As a result, campaigns have evinced tension, acrimony and intimidation.

The study noted that only political campaigns that focus on issues of economic conditions, poverty alleviation, and development projects including water, sanitation, and decongestion of settlements would bring tension, intimidation, violence and acrimony to a halt. But this requires cooperation of all the stakeholders.



## DEDICATION

I humbly but proudly dedicate this study to my Parents Yaw Adu Poku and Akua Nyarko. Although they fell into the pit of abject poverty during my infancy, they toiled through the drudgeries of difficult life of Asante Bekwae to educate six children including me who always felt sick and frightened them with imminent death. “Agya ne Ena meda mo ase” I am proud to be a progeny of you! Thank You.



**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AC:</b>	Accra Central
<b>ADEMA:</b>	Alliance Pour La Democratique du Mali
<b>AM:</b>	Accra Metropolis
<b>ANC:</b>	African National Congress
<b>ATR:</b>	African Traditional Religion
<b>BVM:</b>	Biometric Voter Machine
<b>BVR:</b>	Biometric Voter Register
<b>CDD:</b>	Centre for Democratic Development
<b>CDO:</b>	Civil Defence Organization
<b>CPDM:</b>	Cameroun Peoples Democratic Movement
<b>CPP:</b>	Convention Peoples Party
<b>CS:</b>	Civil Society
<b>CW:</b>	Cold War
<b>EC:</b>	Electoral Commission
<b>ECG:</b>	Electoral Commission of Ghana
<b>EISDA:</b>	Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa
<b>GC:</b>	Gold Coast
<b>GCDL:</b>	Ghana Consolidated Diamond Limited
<b>ID:</b>	Identity Card
<b>IDEG:</b>	Institute of Democratic Government
<b>IMF:</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>INEC:</b>	Interim National Electoral Commission
<b>IPAC:</b>	Inter-Party Advisory Committee



<b>MALCO:</b>	National Association of Local Council
<b>MDP:</b>	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
<b>NCD:</b>	National Commission for Democracy
<b>NLM:</b>	National Liberation Movement
<b>NPP:</b>	New Patriotic Party
<b>PG:</b>	Pressure Groups
<b>PM:</b>	Prime Minister
<b>PNC:</b>	Peoples National Convention
<b>PNDC:</b>	Provisional National Defence Council
<b>PP:</b>	Political Parties
<b>SDF:</b>	Social Democratic Front
<b>SPSS:</b>	Statistical Package for social Sciences
<b>SWAP:</b>	South-West Africa People's Organisation
<b>UP:</b>	United Party
<b>UPC:</b>	Cameroun Union des populations du Cameroun
<b>WB:</b>	World Bank
<b>ZANU-PF:</b>	Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front

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Gratitude is the least of virtues, but ingratitude the worst of vices- a proverb.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Electoral competition forms an essential element of the democratic politics in Africa prior to independence and post-independence politics (Duvenger, 1954; Mainwaring, 1995; Randall, 2002; Oquaye, 2006). The history of elections in most African countries pre-dates the era of colonial regime. In electoral history of Africa, the Senegalese communes for example as far as 1787, black Africans were qualified to vote, the same was the case of Ghana in the 1925, Kenya, Zambia and Sierra Leone where the elective principle was introduced in the 1925. Elections were organized in most post-colonial African states at the historic moment of independence. These elections received popular attention as the masses saw it as a sign of good happenings. Post-independence elections saw mass participation, political parties' competition, political leadership nurturing and an active role played by the opposition parties (Hayward, 1987; Gyimah-Boadi, 2004).

In Ghana the elective principle was introduced in 1925 to provide the inclusion of the masses in the decision process of the state. Although this was criticized by the nationalists of the time, as not being the total desire of their people, it was a step that was deemed toward the liberation of the political milieu. With the introduction of the elective process, it facilitated the forward march for further electoral reforms with the significant one being the drafting of the 1951 Constitution which led to the appointment of Nkrumah as the head of Government business and in 1952, he being appointed as the Prime Minister. The emergence of Nkrumah and the establishment of the Convention People's Party led to the pressuring for a constitutional reform which led to the

introduction of universal adult suffrage under the 1954 constitution. The introduction of the universal adult suffrage enables all adult citizens in the then Gold Coast to contest and vote in an election. And gain all seats in the legislature had to be contested for, in a general election. (Buah, 1998).

It is based on the usefulness of elections on the political environment that Huntington wrote in the Third Wave of Democratization that with the conduct of elections it marks the collapse of the authoritarian and undemocratic regime (Huntington, 1999). However this view by Huntington is not shared by Smyth, to her the introduction of election does not end the authoritarian process but it marks the beginning of the rebuilding the political process, as it was the case of Ghana (Smyth, n.d).

In Ghana, the post 1960 period marked the reverse in electoral competition owing to the reason that most African states including Ghana opted for one party system and subsequently military coups hence declining or collapsing the enthusiasm in electoral competition. The importance of elections was challenged by the post-independence leaders in Africa (Smyth, n.d; Hayward, 1987; Bogaards, 2007). The deficiency of election in Africa politics compared with other parts of the world can best be explained by the widespread establishment of one party system in some parts of Africa in 1960s. In Ghana for example, the change in the democratic process to a single party system lead to the overthrow of Nkrumah in the 1966 coup (Ziorklui, 1993). The reasons adduced by the post-colonial leaders in support of one party system were that one party system was appropriate for nation building especially for states emerging from colonialism and challenged multi-partisanship as resulting in ethnic conflict and division while others proponents supported it saying it was a prerequisite for economic development (Adejumobi, 2000; Azevedo, 1995; Horowitz, 1985; Nyerere, 1967).

It is worth mentioning that elections have constituted a major role in autocratic regimes in Africa (Goldery and Wantchekon, 2004). Autocratic leaders in Africa organized elections, constituted legislature and formed Political parties. The reason for the conduct of this election is obvious; legitimacy. In the said elections, parties are not given the fair grounds to compete, electorate choice is predetermined and the legislature is a rubber stamp (Gandhi, 2004). There is the suppression and intimidation of the opposition party or parties that render it electorally weak, fractionalized and uncompetitive. The ruling regimes manipulate the electoral rules to gain advantage over its opponent (Adejumobi, 2000; Oquaye, 2004).

However, it is important to mention that the 1990s forms the era of the a wave of political liberalization comprising a shift from authoritarian rule to a democratic system as the 1960s represents a period of political independence that swept across the African continent (Jebuni and Oduro, 1998 and Boafo-Arthur, 2007). The African continent which was under the captivity of autocratic rule was gradually moving towards democracy in the early 1990s as a result of the third wave of universal democratization (Diamond and Plattner, 1999). It is worth mentioning that there are both external and internal factors that led to the process of democratization from authoritarian regime in Ghana and Africa in general. Among these are the collapse of the Berlin Wall which led to the end of the Cold War and the rise of vibrant Civil Society groups in some Countries in Africa. This led to Constitutional Reforms in sub Saharan African states (Boafo-Arthur, 2008 ; Starr, 2004; Gyimah- Boadi, 2004).

In Ghana for instance the military junta that was in power during the collapse of the Cold War; the Provincial National Defense Council (PNDC) passed a law, PNDC Law 252 establishing a Committee of Experts to draft a proposed Constitution for the Fourth Republic leading to the

1992 Republican Constitution that has been in operation since its inception (Jebuni and Oduro, 1998). The background towards the drafting of Ghana's Fourth Republican Constitution was led by the National Commission for Democracy (NCD). This Commission which was established in 1982 was perceived as a replacement of the country's former Electoral Commission. It was later given extra 'democratic objective' role by the PNDC. The Commission between 1983 and 1987 in conjunction with National Association of Local Council (NALCO) involved in talks with opinion leaders, chiefs, members of town development committees to garner consensus for re-democratization of the state (Afari- Gyan, 1995).

Since the coming in to force of the 1992 Constitution, elections have become a defining component of Ghana's democracy, and thus constitute an important part of the democratization process. Over the past decades, electoral systems and processes have become a centerpiece of good governance in the Ghanaian State. Competition over political power to ensure the building or re-building of the states has become necessary in modern times (Ndulo and Lulo, 2010). It is against the background of the usefulness of elections that elections are said as a means used by groups regulated by law in decision making. Universal adult suffrage is the procedure of making choice in a democratic system (Tlemcani, 2005). From the time that Ghanaian state democratized in January 1993 to date, the electorate has been examining the performance of their government in several aspects of their life by means of voting. This has manifested in the periodic going to the polls by Ghanaian from 1992 to the present one, 2012, to elect a President and members of parliament on December 7 in every four years. The conducts of the elections are important in several means; as it serves a litmus test to renew or reject the policies and programmes of the government (Boafo-Arthur, 2006).

## 1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Elections are to be organized in an environment of democracy where institutions of state are well built. Most of the works on elections refer to this environment as a democratic setting (Ninsin, 2006, Fraenkel, 2003 and Luckham et al, 2003). According to Hayward (1987), Beetham (1994) and Parekh (1993) the conduct of elections should be done in conformity of democratic environment, that is all adult citizens are permitted to vote, the electoral completion is liberalized to enable political parties to compete. The voters are given the chance to vote according to choice and the ballot papers are counted and the winner declared.

In spite of this conventional democratic principle of elections, elections organized in post-cold war African countries that are democratizing are regarded as “unnecessary and a sham” There are huge evidence of organized elections which do not meet democratic values and principles. Political leaders particularly candidates contesting in the elections do not abide by the electoral arrangements established or follow the institutions created to ensure free and fair competition (Hayward, 1987).

It is a result of the deviation from electoral conventions that electoral competition and elections organized in Africa and other parts of the world take place in an arena of civil friction. Violence in elections is an embodiment of the struggle for power (Laakso, 2007). Electoral violence occurs in many instances where elections offer the greater possibility of changing power relations. Political power has become somewhat a major social good owing to the common reason that those who possess ‘can command a wide range of other goods’ as a result, a move that pose a threat to a position of political power may lead to suppressive violence (Fortman Gaay, 2000).

Ghana with the adoption the Fourth Republic in 1992 has conducted six successful elections (Oquaye, 2006; Boafo-Arthur, 2006). The re-introduction of elections in Ghana marked the opening of the democratic process that led to the creation and demarcation of constituencies, the registering of voters, political parties filing for nomination of candidates (Dahl, 1956). It is important to mention that the liberalation of the political environment and the conduct of a mult-party elections do not means that the elements of the dictatorial regime have ended aptly. The democratised state is associated with tootingh problems that are chariterized with elections and democracy such as electoral fraud, violence, intimidation and tension (Oquaye, 2006; Nugent, 1996 ; Shillington, 1992).

However, aside the problems associated with Ghana's the six general elections organised, the elections are described as generally free, fair and transparent. These gaint strides are achieved based on the building and strengthening of the institutions such as the Electoral Commission and the improvement of the electoral rules. In tandem with the improvement in the electoral process in Ghana is the introduction of transparent ballot boxes as opposed to opaque boxes used in the 1992 general elections, the introduction of photo voter ID cards in replace of thumb printed voter ID, the establishment of Inter Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) to enhance discussion among political parties to solve disputing issues before the conduct of an election (Gyampo, 2009; van de Walle, 1996).

Democracy is said to be consolidated in Ghana by (Ninsin, 2006; Ayee, 2006; O' Donnell, 1996; Dunn, 2000 ; Diamond et al., 1988; Schedler, 1998) based on the establishment of the democratic institutions that have led to the smooth conduct of the six general elections successfully. It includes the protecting the democratic system from the threats of dictatorial regime, the institutionalisation of the democractic values in the people, placing the citizenry on

top of the military, the stabilisation of the rules that govern the conduct of elections, and among other things.

Regardless of the achievements made to consolidate democracy in Ghana, there are pockets of violence in the conduct of general elections in some constituencies amidst tension that characterizes elections in Ghana. The study addresses the following questions, why are elections conducted in Ghana characterized by pockets of violence? what are the effects of the pockets of violence on Ghana's democracy?

The questions posed when addressed will satisfy the numerous mind boggling questions of Ghanaians and the people in academia about whether Ghana's democracy vis a vis electoral violence would be safeguarded.

### **1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Kirlinger (1979: 64) defines theory as "a set of interrelated constructs (variables) definitions and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables with the purpose of explaining natural phenomena." Theory forms the bedrock of the activities of human beings. Theories are used by the social and physical sciences in finding the root of the causes and effects of human actions. It serves as the empirical explanation to the problems of humanity (Oquaye, 2004). It is based on the useful role of theory to research that Theodoulou and O'Brien elaborate that in the absence of theory, "the research project would be meaningless" (Theodoulou and O'Brien, 1999:2).

This research has emerged the Electoral theory and the Electoral Violence theory as theoretical framework. The theories provide understanding to the problem of why there exist some pockets of violence in the electoral competition in Ghana's elections under the fourth republic.

### **1.3.1 Electoral Theory**

Elections are among one of the numerous means of selecting and disposing of leaders and old governments in a political system the world over. It is the heart of the democratic process. Elections constitute the legitimate means of determining who should be elected to hold office as a legislature or executive in a democratic system of government in present day politics Lindberg (2006). The election theory defines the modalities for the smooth organization of elections and sets the benchmark for measuring the performance of democratic elections. The main argument of the election theory is placed under fundamental assumption of democratic process (Hayward, 1987). In the view of Debrah (2005) an election is deemed democratic where there exists free and fair competition that enhances the respect for all contestants to compete on equal grounds.

The election theory posits that elections are the common denominator of democracy and should occur in democratic setting. This view of election theory places competitive elections not only at the centre of democratic governance but also as the cause of democracy Lindberg (2006). Elections are well organized in the democratic arena where there is the operation of the rule of law, the respect and promotion of the people's economic, social and political right and the freedom of the people Ninsin (2006).

The literature on the electoral theory gives an in-depth meaning and understanding of how competitive democratic elections are to be organized. A clean conduct of electoral competition is important to the democratic process in that it enhances the achievement of self-government in which the masses can obtain accountability and responsiveness from their elected officials Lindberg (2006).

Within the context of electoral competition, the electoral theorists stress that competitive democratic elections should conform to the components of liberal democracy. This is manifested in the assumption that the executive power is constrained by other governmental agencies such as the existence of independent judiciary, the legislature and horizontal accountability. Electoral outcomes in the state are unknown and all groups that abide by the constitutional means are not denied that access to compete in the election. There exists the respect for ethnic, cultural and religious minority rights. Citizens are under one common law that safeguards their rights and liberties. The right to information is guaranteed and citizens have free access to information, the mass media is independent and draws its powers from the constitution of the state Dahl (1999).

In discussing the electoral theory in the context of competitive democratic arena, it is important to describe the component of competitive elections as argued by Hayward. That is elections involve the consent of the people (the governed) a period evaluations of the political leaders by the voters in the state using the electoral mechanisms in place Hayward (1987). The rudimental arguments of competitive electoral theory are rightly pointed out by Hayward (1987:3) as follows:

*All law-abiding adult citizens are entitled to vote; political organizations are free to put up candidates, debate their merits freely, and criticize opponents; political organizations campaign with the objective of winning; each voter cast one vote and is not hindered in expressing a choice (preferably in secret); votes are honestly counted and the results faithfully reported; the candidate, party or coalition with the most votes wins; the losing individual or party does not try to use force to alter the outcome or prevent the winner from taking office; and the party in power does not restrict political participation and competition which are within the parameters of existing rules.*

These norms are requirements for democratic elections that stipulate the utopian competitive democratic electoral system. In Africa and newly democratic states they are not fully achieved.

The plank of the electoral theory argument talks about the conditions that must be in place for

competitive democratic elections to be smoothly organized. The argument of this theory is that peaceful, free, fair, competitive and violent free elections can be organized only in the atmosphere of democracy. Among the fundamental features is that people with ethnic, cultural, religious and minority groups are included in the democratic process and their interest respected.

This is the reason why it is a common knowledge that for the smooth conduct of competitive elections in the state, some conditions must be in place including a liberalized level playing field for all groups in the society to contest for power and to control and govern the whole population for the betterment of everyone, irrespective of race or ethnic origin, gender, creed or political belief.

While the proponents of the electoral theory advocate the respect for all political parties and candidates to compete for political office, the promotion of universal adult suffrage, secret ballot, credible counting of ballot with the winner being faithfully declared and the avoidance of the use of force to change the electoral outcome, there are elements of deviation in newly democratic states in Africa. Although there exist elements of competition and participation in the electoral process, there still remain the use of force, violence and physical attacks on political opponents Laasko (2007).

The electoral theory is appropriate to this study. The core premise of the theory stresses that for electoral completion to be violent free and for that matter free, fair and transparent, there must be in place democratic tenets such as the existence of the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary and the Electoral Commission and the tolerance of dissenting views among other things.

The theory is important to the study because it helps us know the criteria for the conduct of successful democratic election. It tells us the conditions that competitive democratic elections go through to produce political leaders. The critics of the theory argue that the numerous elections that are organized in African and some newly democracies do not conform to the electoral theory. They opine that these elections in newly democracies are characterized by violence, fraud, manipulation of results and physical attacks Oquaye (2006).

### **1.3.2 Electoral Violence Theory**

Electoral violence occurs in democratizing states as a result of political violence. Among the scholars behind this theory are Bekoe, Fischer, Hoglund, Laasko, Sisk and Straus and Taylor Hoglund (2009). Electoral violence has not become the only tool used by politicians to gain political power, but it also connotes the manifestation of a political order of competition in democratizing states Mehler (2007). In addressing the issues under this theory, the definitions of electoral violence shall be investigated; the features of electoral violence and the causes of electoral violence shall be dealt with.

Fischer (2002:3) defines electoral violence as "any random or organized act or threat to intimidate, physically harm, blackmail or abuse a political stakeholder in seeking to determine, delay or to otherwise influence an electoral process." The definition of electoral violence is broadened by Sisk as "acts or threat of coercion, intimidation, or physical harm perpetrated to affect an electoral process or that arises in the context of electoral competition. When perpetrated to affect an electoral process, violence may be employed to influence the process of elections- such as to delay, disrupt, or derail a poll- and to influence the outcomes: the determine of

winner in competitive races for political office or to secure approval or disapproval of referendum questions Sisk (2008: 3-5).”

In an extensive study, Hoglund (2009:415) sees the term electoral violence in two-folds that is electoral violence is analyzed in the perspective of political struggle as a microcosm of political conflict. This is mostly associated with social conflicts that have lineage with communal lines. Whiles on the other hand electoral violence is viewed in the form of electoral malpractice and fraud that is used as “clandestine effort to shape election results.”

An insightful definition of electoral violence is given by Laasko. He defines electoral violence as “act motivated by an attempt to affect the results of the elections- either by manipulating the electoral procedures and participation or by contesting the legitimacy of the results. It might involve voters’ and candidates’ intimidation, killings attacks against their property, forceful displacement, unlawful detentions and rioting” (Laakso 2007: 227-228).

Straus and Taylor (2009) have classified electoral violence into the timing, motive of the players in the conflict and the action itself. A difference is drawn between the perpetrators of electoral violence; that is between the incumbent regime and the parties challenging the electoral results. The incumbent maintains power based on the recourse to force. A distinction is drawn between the time frame in which the violence occurs, whether the violence is incited pre-or post-election period. The pre-election violence is influence by the desire for parties to change voter preference in the elections. The post- election violence is used to alter the final electoral results. Finally the proponents behind this theory identifies four main level of electoral violence and these are; no incident of violence recorded, atrocious harassment, and this include the use of the police to “break rallies, party supporters fighting, street brawls and opposition newspaper being

confiscated and limited shortterms arrests of opponents” violent repression among these include “long-term high level arrests of party leaders, the consistent use of violence intimidation, limited use of murder...and torture” Straus and Taylor (2009).

Interestingly, Hoglund debates the motives of the use of violence as yielding the profit of influencing the result in the electoral process. A dissatisfied group in the electoral process may resort to violence to register their grievances or to alter the results in their favour. On the other hand the grieved group may use violence and if violence fails, to achieve the needed results, the same means can be used to in a move to get in finality the desired goal of winning the election being met.

The theory is significant to the study in that, presents the meaning of electoral violence from several scholastic perspective. The mode that electoral violence take in terms its types are being discussed. The main reasons why political actors in a competitive election resort to violence is explained by the electoral violence theory. The theory best explains the phenomena of electoral violence in Africa and why competitive democratic elections degenerate into violence. The recourse during the pre and post elections times is as a result of the goal of parties competing for the elections to win.

#### **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The study seeks to address the following research questions which are derived from the theories:

1. What are the reason why electoral competition in these constituencies lead to violence?
2. What are voting behaviour and patterns of the Akwatia and Odododiodioo constituencies?
3. What are the effects of electoral violence on Ghana’s democracy?

4. What are the recommendations to the causes of electoral violence?

## **1.5 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY**

This research is to achieve the following objectives, to:

1. Research the reasons why electoral competition leads to electoral violence in Ghana under the Fourth republic.
2. Investigate the effects of electoral violence on democratization in Ghana.
3. To investigate what can be done to strengthen Ghana's democracy.

## **1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

1. This study reveals weaknesses associated with Ghana's electoral politics that lead to violence.
2. It fills in the gaps on the literature on electoral competition which leads to the occurrence of electoral violence.
3. The study seeks to contribute to the quest for safeguarding Ghana's democracy.
4. It also recommends the mechanism that can be put in place to reduce electoral violence in Ghana's electoral process if not to eradicate it.

## **1.7 RATIONALE AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY**

With the adoption of democracy universally, Ghana has performed tremendously well in all aspects of good governance particularly the safeguard of fundamental human rights and the smooth conduct of peaceful, elections. In spite of the gains made under Ghana's democracy, it is important to research the elements of pockets of violence in the state's democracy that pose a

threat to democratic growth. This research will therefore come out with findings and recommendations that will help add to the body of knowledge that finds ways of reducing violence in our elections and for that matter safeguarding democracy in Ghana.

The justification for choosing the case study of the two constituencies is in twofold. The research is designed first to empirically examine why elections conducted in these constituencies have recorded higher degree of civil strife and pockets of violence. Secondly these two constituencies have gained notoriety in Ghana's electoral politics in the Fourth Republic, yet less attention is given to them in terms of empirical research.

### **1.8 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY**

In conducting this research, the researcher anticipates the following challenges;

1. Access to some important information hinders the smooth conduction of the research, the time for conduction of this research was an election year (2012 general elections in Ghana) and access to key person in the Electoral Commission and political parties for an interview was difficult to get.
2. In addition was financial constraints, since the research is not financed, the researcher encountered some difficulties in executing the research especially the field work.
3. Access to some relevant books and documents were scares in the University libraries.

## **1.9 THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

The study is placed within the scope of elections and why electoral competition leads to violence in the Akwatia and Odododiodioo constituencies in Ghana. And why do elections organized in these constituencies in Ghana result in violent clashes.

## **1.11 ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS**

The study comprises five chapters:

Chapter One: comprises the introduction of the study, statement of the problem, theoretical framework; the theoretical framework captures the liberal democratic and public choice theories used to explain the study. The chapter includes research questions, the objective of the study, significance of the study, the rationale of the study, the justification of the study, the limitation of the study, the scope of the study and the organization of the chapters.

Chapter Two: presents literature review, it comprises the introduction, thematic areas such as; the general review on elections in Africa, electoral competition and violence, the causes of electoral violence, this was teased out in these sub-section; the nature of politics which comprises political parties, patronage, ethnicity, communal conflict and cleavages, the nature of elections and electoral institution which captures, the manipulation of counting and tabulation of figures and weak electoral institutions. The chapter further adds the impact of electoral violence on democratization in Ghana, a framework to strengthen Ghana's democracy.

Chapter Three: This chapter includes the introduction of the chapter, research strategy, data collection, data analysis and interpretation, limitation and problems.

Chapter Four: This chapter deals with the introduction of the chapter, data analysis, profile of the two constituencies; Akwatia and Odododiodioo, data interpretation and summary of chapter.

Chapter Five: This chapter includes the introduction of chapter, summary of major findings, recommendations, and conclusion

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 INTRODUCTION**

The literature review is significant in this work, in that it gives a broad view of the area in which this research travels. Within a cursory glance, the review captures a cross section of positions on the subject matter and contextualizes the study. Accordingly, it makes the researcher and the reader to appreciate the research against the background of existing knowledge and viewpoint. It is based on this argument that some thematic areas are addressed under the literature (Oquaye, 2004). The literature review achieves several objectives. It shares with the reader the results of other studies that are closely related with the one being undertaken. It relates to the study of the larger, ongoing dialogue in the literature, filling the gaps and extending prior study (Cooper, 1984 and Marshall, 2006).

The following thematic areas are reviewed in the literature; general review on elections in Africa, electoral competition and violence, the causes of electoral violence in Africa, the impact of electoral violence on Ghana's democratization and a framework to strengthen Ghana's democracy. This will enhance better understanding of the study.

## 2.1 REVIEW ON ELECTION IN AFRICA

According to Chazan (1987) elections were a component of Africa's political landscape during the pre-colonial and post-colonial politics. Ghanaians and other African countries have been voting during the colonial period and are still voting under the current democratized government. To Bofo-Arthur (2006) elections are important to a nation's construction and the electorate since it performs the role of a litmus test for testing some democratic institutions. On the other hand the electorate uses elections to evaluate how governments have excelled in all facets of national life. In the view of Hayward (1987: 5) the electoral institution is not a foreign creation to Africans but it is underpinned by the cultural past of the African past. The African culture permitted the establishment of an electoral body for the selection of their leaders prior to the coming of the whites and the institutionalization of colonialism. In Hayward's view, elections were the mere process of choosing leaders to occupy office. According to him "choices are not preordained, and involve discussion, consultation and decision by the participants".

Schatzberg (1993), emphasizes that the claim that choices are not ordained is arguable because in the traditional system of chieftaincy, the selected leader is chosen from the royal group which makes the outcome of the selection preordained. It is evident that the selection process of leaders is undemocratic since not all the people will have the right to contest because there is the categorization of citizens into royals and subjects. In Africa the political and cultural norms, customs and traditions mitigate against democracy and its operations. The socio-cultural arrangement of Africans hinders the elective principle that democracy comes with.

Fawole (2005) argues that elections are the cardinal sustainable democratic culture. It permits the electorate and the citizens to make decisive choice as to who governs them. With the global introduction of universal adult suffrage as the appropriate means of mass participation, elections

have become the best approach that enables the people to have the qualified or the fit persons to lead them. Universal adult suffrage preaches that all qualified adult citizens- of sound mind and have attained eighteen years and above have the right to vote in an election. This enables the people to decide the type of political environment they live under and the type of leaders that govern them. In simplest terms the peoples' government. Lindberg (2004) asserts that elections are the fundamental ways of monitoring political competition. In spite of the doubts about African elections it still remains the most regular institutions for monitoring democratic performance.

In the view of Chazan (1987) elections in general around the globe and Africa in particular perform two main functions ; that is whether to change a regime and its leaderships or to seek approval from the electorate to enhance democratic and constitutional transition. A clear examples are the 1969, 1979 and the 1992 elections in Ghana which were conducted with the sole aim of making changes in the government and the regime as well. On the other hand the 1960 and 1978 elections were conducted to seek the acceptance of the electorate to enhance a shift in constitution. To her the objective of these elections was to test the political process and the desires of the people. In the situation where elections serve as a change of the regime, it symbolises the willingness of the people and the military to practise a democracy.

Chazan (1987) again stresses that elections serve as a means of linkage that exist between the state and society. In tandem with the linkage of elections between state and society, it deepens the bond between the local community and the state or national realm of politics, elections serve again as a synergy between national economy and the people. Election keeps the link between the formal and informal processes of government. On the other hand elections reflect component of the political processes in the state and the changing situations of society .

Beckett (1987) is of the opinion that elections provide the means of providing transition. According to him elections serve as an avenue for the movement from colonized or authoritarian rule to a democracy. There have been consistent moves towards the introduction of electoral democracy in some African countries such as Ghana, the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Uganda with the aim of reconstructing their society and their political polity. In other colonized states by the British especially in Ghana and Nigerian the introduction of elections and political parties was a step towards self government and the people's government. In Ghana for example before the 1957 independence, independence constitutions was drawn and elections were held to enable the people select their leaders and to govern themselves. The 1960 elections in Ghana was conducted to hand the reins of self-government to the people of Ghana.

In an acknowledgement of Beckett (1987) view, Bratton and Van de Walle (1997) emphasise that within the literature and the definition of transition insituted by political scientists, the occurrence of democratic transition is when a regime conducts a competitive free, fair and transparent elections within the ambit of growth, civil liberties and the outcome accepted by all political parties and candidates. Democratic transition is not pertained only to the change of the political leader but a change in the rules to a democratic one. The dictator leader can win the political power fairly and govern with democratic laws.

In the opinion Boafo-Arthur (2008) elections been the common element in democratic transition are important landmark event in a transition from authoritarian rule to a democratic growth. It creates the window of opportunity for the liberalization of the political milieu. This opportunities include the enjoyment of fundamental human rights, fairness and accountability in the operations of government and other state institutions.

Bratton and Van de Walle (1997) disagrees with Bofo-Arthur. According to them looking at Africa's elections from the time of Independence, these elections are hollow symbolic process crafted to provide legitimacy for political leaders. The intention of the elections that is to promote the rights of the people is not achieved but rather it becomes an excursion venture for the political strongmen to tour the length and breath of the state. For instance the electoral outcome becomes predetermined and fixed by the political elites. In Cote d'Ivoire the then president of their state Felix Houphouet Boigny managed to win all the six presidential election organised in the period between 1960 to 1989 with a landslide victory of 99.7 percent of the average vote.

Oquaye (2006) expands the argument of elections as a means of democratisation. He contends that the transition from dictatorial or authoritarian regime to a democracy does not depend solely on the organisation of multi-party elections under a constitution alone. But rather the electoral system is strengthened and it becomes the commonly acceptable means of decision making. By so doing both the political elite and the broad citizenry must be made to understand that democracy can be scaled as the least evil form of government. In the view of Yeebo, (1991) Shillington, (1999) and Folsom, (1993) the conduct of election by authoritarian leaders for instance in Ghana in 1992 does not symbolise the willingness of the millitary to conduct a transitional democratic elections. Rather the external and internal pressures that was exerted on the then military junta (PNDC).

Tlemcani (2005) discusses elections as means of providing legitimacy. He sees elections as playng the central role in the ligitimacy of a government. The introduction of universal adult suffrage- the right given to all adult citizens to vote provides the mechanism for the leader to be considered as rightful to govern the people. Legitimacy is evaluated by Lindberg (2006) as the

desire by the people to govern themselves and in what he term as “self-government”. Legitimacy does not imply the use of force to comply the people to serve under the government that does not have its powers sprung from the people (Lindberg, 2006). This same view is shared by Schmitter and Karl, to them elections and democracy are the sole process, so to speak regarded as giving birth to any legitimate government in modern times (Schmitter and Karl, 1991).

In the opinion of Saba (2005) modern democracy can be analyzed from the view point as enhancing popular legitimacy of the government. He sees the legitimacy being done from several spectrum, the disclosure of the peoples’ will in a free, fair and periodic elections, a laid down structure for a political system that encourages political competition and based on transparent elections, the promotions and the existence of two or more political parties to ensure variety of choice and finally the existence of civil, social and political rights of the citizenry.

However, Fawole (2005) argues that the view that elections continue to be the best means of selecting leaders around the globe and for that matter promotes popular participation, is characterised by fraud. Electoral rigging and vote buying are the common features of African elections. Leaders are in some cases chosen by people with power and influence in the democratic process created in Africa. Elections have become a mere political formality. This cast a doubt on the legitimacy of the government that won power by fraudulent means. Fawole disagrees with any creation of a government that deviates from the legitimate means of capturing power as legitimate and credible.

Fawole (2005) opines that elections are deemed an important component of any democratisation direction of a state and as a result it receives attention from domestic and international

observers. However in the view of Ake the effects of the electoral process in many African states which was intended to nurture democracy and create ways for democratic growth to benefit the entire broad masses and hence empower them to have their destinies into their own hands has rather turned to be an establishment that excludes the people from their key functions. What is left for them is the pseudo-multi party system created within the concept of liberal democracy that promotes mere elections which its outcomes are mostly predetermined and a sphere political, social and economic equality bestowed to the people which is mere embellishment but in its true content do not exist (Ake, 1993).

Although elections serve a useful purpose in a democratic government, in the view of Lindberg (2006) elections in an emerging democracy do not symbolise a complete change into democracy but on the other hand represents liberalisation and serves as the leverage that promotes democracy in Africa's political era. In other words elections alone do not represent the existence of democracy but rather the creations and strengthening of democratic institutions. This view is supported by Ninsin, he opines that elections contribute a pivotal institutional feature of democratic governance. He stresses the role played by elections in safeguarding democracy in Ghana. To Ninsin (2006) elections in a democracy is more than the mere process of selecting leaders, but rather it includes the rules, norms and attitudes which are sprung from the belief of democracy that stipulates mass participation. However, Ninsin (2006) argues that democracy cannot be reduced to elections alone but operates in the arena of rule of law- the respect and safeguard of fundamental human rights, political rights, civil rights, socio-economic rights, and above all some freedoms including freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of religion and many more. He further argues that it is when all these are achieved in addition with free and fair election that democracy is said to be in operation.

This view is in sharp contrast with that of Schumpeter and Huntington, Schumpeter cited in Cranenburgh (2000) argues that democracy in all its forms either “empirical or normative” should mean any process that ensures that the power to make decisions is given to persons who acquired such power in a competitive acquisition of the people's votes in an election. In the work of Huntington (1991) titled “The Third Wave of Democratisation” he based his assessment of democracy on elections and hence pegging democracy as synonymous with multi party elections. By this claim, democracy is adjudged to be in operation where there exist multi party elections. The minimalist school of thought emphasizes that elections form part of the process of democracy and it is a common denominator in a democracy.

However this minimalist argument is challenged by some scholars such as Lindberg (2006) that there is more to democracy than the mere conduct of multi party election. Concentrating on the minimalist school of thought definition of democracy will lead to what Karl refers to as committing the “fallacy of electoralism”. That is to say viewing democracy from the narrow perspective of organising multi party elections and ignoring other conditions that must be in place for democracy to triumph (Karl, 1986; Karl, 1995). Schmitter and Karl (1991: 78) emphasize that “however central to democracy, elections occur intermittently and only allow citizens to choose between the highly aggregated alternatives offered by political parties, which can especially in the early stages of democratic transition, proliferate in bewildering variety”.

In the ideological sense, election is an embodiment of the democratic process for resolving conflicts without the use of force or violence. Advanced democracies are associated with reduced violence the world over Ward and Gleditsch (2000). Democracy is the only system of government that is adjudged to be responsive to the needs of its people by creating the channel for citizen participation and foster accountability to the people by those entrusted with power. Thus

democracy promotes peace and non-violent approach to solving problems (Eckstein and Gurr,1975).

Contrary to the views of Eckstein and Gurr (1975) Reychelel (1999) opines that the process of adopting a democracy is risky. The change of a regime from autocratic one to democracy is a revolutionary one and involves risk. Even protecting the newly fought and gained democracy is difficult and requires time and constant adherence to democratic principles. Interestingly after most African countries have organised three to four consecutive general elections, the continent is still facing challenges with transition since its elections and democracy is interwoven with violence, authoritarian governance and political repression. In a situation where the transition to democracy was preceded by arm conflict, the political group that loses the elections develop the penchant for an illegitimate and undemocratic means to safeguard their security. On the other hand the victors in the election view the activities of their opponents as conspiratorial, master-minders of evil and rebellion (Kumar, 1998). A clear case was the UN inability to supervise the post conflict elections in Angola in 1992 (Laakso, 2007).

## **2.2 ELECTORAL COMPETITION AND VIOLENCE**

The collapse of the Berlin wall and the end of Cold War politics have been a giant progress in the political life of the African continent and the liberalisation of the political climate in the last two decades. The root cause of this development was associated with economic and political reasons Fortman (2000). This progress is the victory of the fight by human rights advocates, civil society organisations, domestic and external powers such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Laakso (2007) and Abbink (2000). The quantum leap in the political liberalisation came with elections as a significant component for the continent's

freedom from dictatorship (Abbink, 2000). Clearly multi party election is perceived as the orbit around which democracy and democratisation in Africa revolves (Cranenburgh, 2000).

However elections organised in Africa and some newly democratised states in the continent are deviled with conflicts and civil friction. Electoral violence has become the bedrock of Africa's competitive elections Fortman (2000). Within the electoral politics of Africa, violence is still not uncommon in the quest for power. These violence occur at the time that the continent has undergone a democratic transition and elections have been organised for two to three times (Laakso, 2007). Violence is appreciated and deemed as the institutionalised means of capturing power by cruel and power drunk politicians in Africa (Mehler, 2007).

Onsarigo (2005:83) defines electoral violence as “ any act or series of act that result or are likely to result in harm, whether physical or psychological, to an individual or group of people for the purpose of influencing electoral choice and outcomes”. The history of electoral competition in Africa is many sided, there are issues of periodic electoral fraud that are characterised by fierce violence. At some point in time, cruel means such as the arrest and detention of opposition members and some members on the government part who disagree with the government is done so as to enable the government achieve its desired goal of forcibly capturing power (Holm, 1989 : 121).

In the same vein, Laakso (2007: 227-228) unequivocally supported the above definition and added his. To him electoral violence by definition is “an activity motivated by an attempt to effect the results of the elections- either by manipulating the electoral procedures and participation or by contesting the legitimacy of the results. It might involve voters' and candidates' intimidation, killings attacks against their property, forceful displacement, unlawful

detentions and rioting.” The period in which the violence occurs either before, during or after the election is grave concern to Laakso (2007). The use of intimidation, victimisation and threat is often common. Contrary, Laakso (2007) argues that the day on which the election is organised is relatively peaceful in some countries. While categorising the perpetrators of these violence he ranges them from police and military men of the government, hired thugs by the opposition parties and their members, former guerrilla and war fighters and rebel groups. The aim of employing the services of these groups is to turn the outcome of the election in favour of the government of the opposition group . It is worth noting that electoral manipulations, rigging and irregularities are not the preserved tool used by the incumbent government in Africa alone, the opposition parties some time resort to “you do me I do you” syndrome where they also go for a revenge (Lindberg, 2006).

Quantin (1998:22). discusses his view on electoral violence in Africa by sharing with the views of scholars like, Laakso, Onsarigo and Holm and broadening the definition on electoral violence. Taking a spectacular view of electoral violence, he defined it as “ deviant or unconventional form of political participation”. (By this definition he has incorporated any activity that is contrary to the laid down rules of elections. In the same vein Mehler Andreas inputs into the debate on electoral violence what he calls the “second form of electoral violence” thus the resort to conflict and violence to halt the conduct of the elections as scheduled and mandated by law. This was the case in Mali in 1997 before the re-conduction of the legeslative elections. And in Cote d’Ivoire before the 1995 elections pre- election boycotts and demonstrations led to the death of about twenty five people (Mehler, 2007).

Whiles many scholars appreciate the importance of election to Africa’s transition and view it as a systematic happening to the continent, Bratton(1998) seem to be pessimistic. Citing their

seminal work in 1997, with Van de Walle, on the “founding” elections in Africa, Bratton emphasised that the second time elections in these African states are often deteriorated than the first time. In this view as in percentages, only thirty percent of the elections organised in the second time were free and fair. These elections to him occurred with fifty four percent as compared with the first time elections with about sixty four percent turn-out. In addition to this the percentage of opposition boycotts soared from the initial twenty five percent to thirty percent, while the seats of the the winning party increased (Bratton, 1998).

Quantin (1998), echoes a different view to Bratton, according to Quantin, political and electoral violence were an element of the Western democratic transition. To him over-emphasising the tooting challenges of the Africa’s democratic transition by Bratton as bad is an exaggeration. In adducing empirical evidence to support his position, he stated that within the nineteenth century, France experienced electoral violence and this was not different from the case of Africa. From his examination of the situation, violence erupts as a result of the misunderstanding of the elections since during transitions tensions are accentuated. In juxtaposition of violence with economics and particular competition in market place, he compared how parties compete for “profit” as is done in market ventures with transitional elections. In finding solutions to these violence, he highlighted the filling of the political environment with institution- a non violent rules of the game that consolidate the electoral system.

Fawole (2005) looks at the modus operandi of the perpetrator of electoral violence in the democratic competitive elections as, the manipulation of the electoral process by governments or people with power and influence, broad daylight rigging, colluding and bribing of Electoral Commission officials to alter the electoral figures, pre- election ballot box stuffing, disappearance of exchange of ballot boxes, the burning of ballot boxes in the strongholds of political opponents,

the use of threat, intimidation of voters and the use of macho men and thugs to foment violence. In his view, the employment of these undemocratic tactics make the government remote from the people, this is because they captured political power by fraudulent and foul means and do not represent their citizenry. The position of these politicians are that they will continue to hold power with or without the votes of the voters simply because they have the means to achieve that goal .

Oquaye (2004) also highlights this exploitative tactic used by governments in Africa. Citing the 1992 general elections in Ghana. The use of intimidation characterised the elections and electorate were made to feel that supporting the opposition party was a risky thing to do. In the northern part of Ghana and precisely Busila North constituency, it was reported that before the elections, an ex-service Sergeant called Adam who later became districts Civil Defence Organization (CDO) commander in Bawku in the Upper East region in Ghana mercilessly brutalised an opposition New Patriotic Party member with name Akanpabadai whose party's T-shirt was torn apart. Unfortunately the police did not act upon the case when it was reported to them. On the other hand in a Sandema, the chief there announced that he did not want to here or see any activist of the NPP. Impersonation was high in the 1992 elections. While voters were eager to vote in Wa central the regional capital for Upper West, they were informed by the presiding member that their names have been ticked indicating that they have already voted. Manipulations of figures by the Interim National Electoral Commission buttressed the fact that the elections were not just rigged but its results were fixed .

## **2.3 CAUSES OF ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN AFRICA**

The causes of electoral violence are triggered by multi-faceted reasons (Gyimah-Boadi and Frazer, 2011; Teshome and Høglund, 2009). These reasons are categorised by (Høglund, 2009) into three thematic areas, the nature of politics, nature of elections and electoral institutions. In order to address the causes holistically, the researcher divided the causes of electoral violence based on the nature of politics and the nature of election the electoral institutions.

### **2.3.1 The Nature of Politics**

Under the nature of politics the researcher examines how politics is conducted and the conditions inside the organisation of politics. In this purview the researcher analysis issues about political parties, patronage, ethnicity, communal conflict or cleavage.

#### **2.3.1.1 Political Parties**

According to Gyimah-Boadi (2007) political parties in Africa can be summed up into two groups. The first group encompasses the anti-colonial parties that were formed by freedom fighters who fought for independence. The anti colonial parties transformed the political system into single party system and authoritarian state (Baarry, 1991). A perfect example is the Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) that fought for Zimbabwean independence. The African National Congress( ANC) and South-West Africa People's Organisation all in South Africa. The other group is the pro-democratic groups who emerged after the wave of democratisation in the 1990s. A veritable example is the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) and others. Gyimah-Boadi (2007) further agrues that, the nature and composition of African political parties have the gene of authoritarian lineage and are interested in

the incruitment of strong men and leaders with hegemonic character. Thus these political parties are characterised by poor internal democracy. As a result of the weak internal democracy in the various political parties themselves, the parties do not conform to the democratic principles that ensure smooth and peaceful conduct of election.

Mehler (2007) in his study viewed the root causes of electoral violence as emanating from or caused by political parties adherents. Thus political parties make use of groups in the state to foment violence. To him the strong base of political parties in some African states are formed based on ethnic or regional lines. These political parties attract huge support from the various ethnic, regional and communal voters whose interest the parties represent. In some cases where there exist ethnic or regional feud, the political parties become the avenue for the initiation of that conflict. The usual use of derogatory words as ethnic support by political parties has been the embodiment of the introduction of multi party politics and elections in Africa. Ethnic rivalries are transformed into political parties competition especially in electoral competition. He argued clearly by saying that “ political parties may well become victims of violence or become advocates of victims and in turn, themselves, use violence in their defence . . . The costs of using violence, however can be substantial, particularly for party apparatus (Mehler, 2007: 204).”

Politically, Sisk (2008: 9) wrote that the problem of electoral violence can be viewed from the political spectrum. That is states whose political system is designed based on the principle of the winner party takes all system in some cases leads to electoral violence. in such situations the winners control the state institution for the maintainance of law and order such as the police, the military and other security services. The victorious party in its quest to hold on to power adopt violence as a legitimate means to consolidate power. The party that wins power promotes the culture of impunity by sheilding their followers who fomented violence in the elections. The

political system in Africa, where there exist clear winners and losers, promotes a fierce battle for the political power so as to enable parties benefit from the national wealth. He further emphasized that the most appropriate cause of electoral violence “is that the stakes of winning and losing valued political posts is in many situations, and especially in conditions of high scarcity and underdevelopment, incredibly high.” Political parties increase the tension in elections owing to the fact that there are higher stakes in the electoral competition. This scenario develops divisions which make supporters and party leaders and candidates to view elections as a means of rent-seeking offering benefits and privileges to its members. This culture of translating electoral victory into rent-seeking polarises that state along the lines of party line. Finally, electoral violence are high in Africa and elsewhere in the newly adopted democracies as a result “of the expectations of the payers in the electoral contest: they may expect or imagine the fruits of victory or the perils and risks of loss.”

Hoglund (2009 :422) sums the causes of electoral violence by concurring with the proposition of Sisk (2008) that higher stakes in winning or losing in an election propels political parties, candidates in the election and supporters to defend their gains. This epitomises the winner takes all principle in politics in Africa where the losers lose everything completely, hence those in power fear loss. It is important to emphasize that the occurrence of electoral loss is precarious on states where political victory offers the survival and livelihood of a segment of society, either ethnic or clan. In such cases political parties tailor their campaign messages and programmes to attract extremist group to get their support in terms of votes. By so doing the political parties divide the state and create an atmosphere that is volatile. Hoglund (2009 :422) points out that “the uncertainties of democracy will prove intolerable and they will attempt to organize a coup coalition to either pre-empt or overturn the electoral process”.

### 2.3.1.2 Patronage

In the view of Sandbrook (2001), Gyimah-Boadi (2004) and Sandbrook and Oelbaum (1999) the African Political System has been marred by patronage in all its forms, patrimonialism, neo-patrimonialism and clientelism. This has been the embodiment of African post Cold-War conflict in electoral politics. Not only is this seen in the post Cold War politics but on what Chabal and Daloz (1999) referred to as new-democracies. According to Sandbrook and Oelbaum (1999) patronage means the use of political office by office holders to create avenues of employment and favours for their favourites. This leads to political clientelism. That is creating a patron-client relationship. The existence of patronage has led to the entrenchment of patrimonialism in the politics of Africa. Patrimonialism in the opinion of Bratton and van de Walle (1994: 458) means that “the right to rule is ascribed to a person rather than an office”. Most political party leaders have chosen to maintain this in the electoral politics because it serves as a means of benefiting their interests. Owing to the existence of patronage political party supporters fight on behalf of their patrons in securing the victory of their leader.

Mehler (2007) unravelled the dilapidated impact of patronage to the electoral politics of most African states. He cited the case of Mali 1992 politics where the governing regime party *Alliance pour la Democratie au Mali* (ADEMA) nurtured itself and metamorphosed into a full-fledged patronage political party, at the time when the opposition was moribund. The ADEMA used patronage to dominate the political system of the state. For instance the presidential and legislative elections organised in that same year were boycotted by the minority party. This was followed by the call for violence by the opposition party. The minority group galvanised the support of the unemployed youth to fight at the state capital Bamako.

Gyimah-Boadi (2004 :22) outlined the ramifications of patronage on the democratic elections organised in Africa. Electoral violence best flourishes in states where patrimonialism, clientelism and neo-patrimonialism are entrenched. He further stressed that:

Above all, neo-patrimonialism and patronage retain a strong hold on African politics, notwithstanding neo-liberal and other reforms. Indeed, neo-patrimonialism remains largely entrenched in the politics of both semi-democratic and semi-authoritarian African states . . . Many of Africa's new leaders (democratic or not), also continue to be surrounded by assorted 'big men'. For example, Uganda, President Museveni's brother has been a key figure in that country's command in the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, President Campoare's brother is the head of the dreaded national security system in Burkina Faso, President Rawlings's wife held sway in Ghanaian politics throughout her husband's tenure in office as an elected leader. Indeed, the prevailing understanding of how political authority is acquired or exercised remains largely colored by the legacy of neo-patrimonial regimes that dominated post-independence governance in most African countries: more or less hereditary rulers rule until they die or are overthrown unconstitutionally; public and political office serve a deeper 'functional' (rentier?) purpose for their incumbents who resist constitutional term limits, retirement and voluntary resignation and/or regard such moves as synonymous with economic suicide and loss of an ability to play patron in a patrimonial political culture.

Oquaye (2004) shares the views of Gyimah-Boadi about patronage leading to violence. He cited that in Ghana's 1992 general elections, the leader of the military junta that was power abused the laid down patronage that it had nurtured. The corrupt nature of the regime led to the establishment of patron-client relations. Members and supporters of the military government intimidated, harassed and victimised the supporter of their political opponents. Based on the corrupt nature of the regime, thugs are hired to brutalise and intimidate the supporter of their opponents. For example in Sandema-Na in the northern part of Ghana, the chief ordered and declared the supporters of the opposition New Patriotic Party(NPP) persona non grata. In addition to this he disbanded the organisation of rallies by the opposition except his party, the National Democratic Congress (NDC). The motivation of this chief is attributed to the gains he had received and shall receive from his patrons.

Gyimah-Boadi (2007) asserted further and confirmed that the politics in African multi party elections, democratic and particularly Ghana buttresses the the abuse of incumbancy and patronage. Patronage serve as the ingredient of the electoral success and the consolidation of power of governments. He cited an example in the 1992 elections as an extra budgetary expenses which included the increment of the salaries of public servants some few days to the elections. In addition the budgetary support enabled the regime to gather mob to foment violence and pay them.

Hoglund (2009) examines the effects of patronage in all it forms as in patrimonialism, neopatrimonialism and clientelism on political stability in the newly democratised African states and states emerging from conflict. To him die hard supporters of political patrons engineer violence to secure the electoral victory of their patrons. In addition, patronage marginalises the vulnerable and large segment of society. These marginalised groups may resort to violence in an election in order to change the existing political leaders so as to have share in the national wealth distribution and decision making.

The contribution of Burnell (2007) to the study of the influence of neo-patrimonialism as a cause of electoral violence is very significant to this study. In his study, neo-patrimonialism serves as the main catalyst that propels electoral violence. the Sub-Saharan African continent has undergone several domestic and intra, and inter-ethnic conflict relative than other regions. The reasons adduced to support the flourished nature of patrimonialism and neo-patrimonialism are that there exist in the continent, the dysfunctioning political institutions in African governments, corruption, greed, unaddressed grievances and also the heterogeneity of the numerous ethnic groups in the continent. Neo patrimonialism serves as a cancer tumor in African and newly

democratised election and creates violence. This destroys the stability and peace in the state and the African society particularly during general elections.

### **2.3.1.3 Ethnicity**

In the view of Erdmann (2007) and Widner (1997), the politicization of ethnicity facilitates electoral violence. Ethnicity in itself is not evil; it is viewed as the relationship that exists between people and others. Chazan, et al (1998 :102) defines ethnicity as “a subjective perception of common origins, historical memories, ties, and aspirations; ethnic group pertains to organized activities by persons, linked by a consciousness of special identity, who jointly seek to maximize their corporate political, economic and social interest”. There can be the creation of ethnic consciousness that emphasize the knowing of oneself as different and unique from others based on their source of origin (Young, 1976; Lentz and Nugent, 2000). Politicized ethnicity is promoted through the means of patronage and patron client relationship and other forms. Political mobilization is subtly done under the guise of ethnicity. In the view of Erdmann (2007) he stresses that the root cause of Africa’s cleavages is akin to ethnic and regional identity. The formation of most political parties in the newly and emerged democracies in Africa are not based on ethnic lines, but political parties mobilizes their members and supporters along the lines of ethnicity and ethnic identities.

Jastad (2008) and Reily (2008) also make similar argument as advance in the above paragraph. The core proposition to their position is that ethnicity is used by politicians as a mode of the mobilization of vote from electorate who share similar ideology and ethnic identity. It is important to state that a politicized and ethnic society, leads to polarization among its members. The use of ethnicity as a means of appealing for the votes of voters by political elites and leaders

triggers confusion, division and in some cases violent clashes owing to the fragmentation of the state by politicians with ethnicity.

Hoglund (2009) adds that the use of political rhetoric such “Stronghold”, “Caders” and “citadel” are words used by politicians to extract support and sympathy from people who come from the same place with the politicians. The use of these words is to incense loyalty towards the users and hatred against the other opponents in an election. This by so doing inflame tension and higher passion for clashes and conflict. Bekoe (2010) concurs to with the views of Hoglund. She argues that ethnic marginalization is the epitome of violent clashes in the newly democratized African states. That is the breeding arena for division, sectionalism and protracted conflict. Ethnicity serve as the ingredient used by politicians in electoral politics to gain favour and loyalty. It is important that the ramifications of ethnic divisions promote electoral tension in newly democratised states in Africa. The states have lived with people from different ethnic group seeing each other as enemies, particularly when they belong to different political parties. This division and hatred for each other ethnic groups skyrocket political tension and in some cases electoral violence.

Gyimah-Boadi (2003) shares a similar view with Hoglund (2009) he discusses the issues of ethnicity as influencing the peaceful conduct of elections in most Africa countries including Ghana. In his discussion, he traced the history of electoral violence in Africa from several factors including the existence and the division of multi-ethnic, religious and multi-cultural society. In his view the numerous tensions and clashes that have been witnessed in Africa’s electoral politics are best explained by ethnic conflicts. Although Ghana’s electoral past has not experienced severe violence that degenerate states into violent conflict and instability, there have been inter-ethnic groups conflict and some sporadic violent clashes. For instance in Ghana, there

are several divisions among the ethnic groups. The feuding friction between the Brong- Akans and the Asante-Akans. The feud is based on the disagreement by the Brongs as whether the Asantes are the true controllers of the Asante Kingdom. There is a sharp ethnic conflict in the northern Ghana between the Kokombas and Nanumbas. Between the Akan groups there has been inter-ethnic group clashes between Akan settler farmers in Akan cocoa growing areas in the Eastern and Western region of Ghana. It is important to add the Ga, Ewe and Akan enmity that have existed years back in the 1966-9 and other subsequent regime such as the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, in the 1979, the Provisional National Defence Council and other political parties under Ghana;s Fourth Republic.

Frempong (2001) concludes the discussion on ethnic politicisation and its impact on election in Africa by offering relevant example to what Gyima-Boadi has outlined. Ethnic undercurrents in Ghana's electoral trajectory dates back to the Ghana's electoral politic in the 1954 where a linguist of the king of Asante Kingdom formed the National Liberation Movement (NLM) to serve a second force that battles the Convention People's Party (CPP). The NLM was ethnically an Asante based party. The aim of its formation according to its funder Baffuor Osei Akoto was to champion the Asante national interest and identity. The NLM formed alliance with other ethnic based group with the goal of capturing nation power. The emergence of ethnic parties and movements in the politics of Ghana in the pre-independence era brought electoral violence and politicisation of ethnicity in the body poltics of Ghana. Higher records of brutalities, deaths and clashes were recorded. In strict sense, electoral violence have reached its crescendo in states where there exist sharp division and acrimony between the ethnic groups.

Fraenkel (2003) made a useful contribution to the several works done by scholars in the above paragraphs. Citing the accelerating role of ethnicity in electoral violence he stated the case of Fiji

as a genuine example. Electoral violence triumph in a state that is ethnically not homogenous in character. It is as a result of the ethnic division in Fiji that an electoral system that abates violence was constitutional adopted. Electoral peace and stability is rare in a friction, ethnically fragmented state. In Fiji 1984 general elections two dominant political parties based of ethnic origins formed alliance so as to sweep the sympathy and votes of their supporters. The alliance was successful in that it attracted about fourteen percent of Indo-Fijian votes. This divisive politics is dangerous since it polarises the state and its people which is a harbinger for electoral violence and clashed.

Mehler( 2007), Bekoe (2010) and Collier (1999) espouse that in some cases in African states and the newly democratised states political parties are form on ethnic lines. This enable the mobilisation of support and votes along that conduit. Gyimah-Boadi (2007) agrees with the postion by Bekoe, Mehler and Collier. He supports his view by stating that African election in the new democracies are characterised by ethnic mobilisation of the electorate votes. To him this best explains the issueless nature of electioneering campaigns organised by political parties in the African continent as well as political parties unableness to formulate captivating policies and programmes in an election. This view is shared by Chazan et al (1998) to them electoral contestations in the pre and post independence era utilised ethnicity in political copetition. The electoral patterns in various African democracies serve the evidence to political parties use of ethnic mobilisation. It is in no doubt that Laakso (2007: 227) in viewing elections as a competetive venture termed it as a “ market place where all participants try to maximize their profits”.

#### 2.3.1.4 Communal Conflicts and Cleavages

Lipset and Rokka (1967) explain that societal conflicts play a major role in the occurrence of electoral violence in Africa and newly democratized states. In their view electoral conflict and controversies arise as a result of the inter-relationship that exists between the social structure and societal construct in Africa. In other words the cleavages are entrenched due to the internalization and the institutionalization of electioneering conflicts and clashes that is entombed on communal divisions. Mehler (2007: 195) defines cleavages as “politically effective conflict configurations institutionalised in the social structure”. In his view the electoral politics of Africa is best characterised by polarisation. This polarisation has an impact on the conduct of peaceful, and violent free elections. In the opinion of Sartori (1976) the African continent has a deep rooted cleavage and this has an impact on the peaceful conduct of elections.

Mozaffar et al (2003) asserts that ethnic cleavage forms part of the component of Africa's division and adds up to the center- and periphery cleavages. This cleavages includes the political history of the society or community. The conflicting political past of communities are inclusive of whether an election can be peaceful or violent free particularly in Africa. A good example is the *Cameroonian Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC) which was banned in the 1950s under the orders of the French regime. Fortunately or unfortunately the party had support from the support from the two dominant groups; the Bassa (coast dwellers) and the Bamileke (western dwellers) for reasons best known to the groups. Discrimination and ethnic cleavages resulted to the elimination of the Bamileke group from national political life for years. In the period 1960s the UPC became a force to reckon with. They formed an “illegal revolutionary party dedicated to violent overthrow of the regime” Foltz (1973: 156).

Mehler (2007) emphasised that the end of the Cold War politics in the 1990s change the regime. Yet the problem of Bamileke existed. In addition was the factionalism that was created among the two bloc of language; the Anglophone and Francophone. The Anglophone population constituted about one fifth of the entire national population representing the minority. The Francophone group formed the majority of the states population. Division among the two groups is used by politicians and political parties in making electoral gains. This move leads to polarisation which can spark violence. In case of Cote d'Ivoire the division of the state based on north-south, Christians- Muslims pose a big threat to peaceful and violent free elections. Cleavage in societies become more or less dangerous where they exist ethnic, religious and linguistic division. The Cote d'Ivoire electoral violence in 2010 is best attributed to communal cleavage of north and south, christian and muslim divisions.

Chazan et al (1998) argue that communal and mass conflicts are the essential component of the destabilisation of an orderly political system. This mass conflict with the society affect the smooth conduct of elections. Electoral violence is closely intertwined with a state that has the background with communal disputes. To these scholars, communal disputes based on identity especially those found in Africa, resulted as a result of colonialism and the politics that was organised by most African political leaders. As they reiterated, communal violence are inimical to the peace organisation of violent free elections since most electoral violence are fanned by the milieu in which the said elections are organised. Chazan and colleague in explaining further argue that in Africa with some few exception of states such as Swaziland, Lesotho and Maghreb Tunisia all the remaining states have internal sub-divisions which do not enable them reach the status of a nation- state. The post colonial period of African states have witnessed several conflicts such as successionist wars in the Katanga province in the Congo in 1960-1963, the Biafran secessionists

war in Nigeria in the 1967-1970, the Sudanese civil war in the 1955-1962-1972 and the communal conflicts in Chad and Ethiopia.

In the opinion of Decalo (1980a) and Decalo (1980b) communal conflicts when it reaches its apogee is transformed into civil wars and military intervention. The division in the state based on communal difference leads to the purchase of arms and the proliferation of arms and ammunition in the area of dispute. In addition young men are recruited into militia groups whose intention is to fight any external group. In some cases mercenaries are hired to support the agenda of the warring community. Several strategies are adopted by these mercenaries in the form of guerrilla warfare. Examples of the states that have undergone such attacks are Eritrea, Chad and the Sudan. After these states have recovered from the conflicts, it is still difficult for democracy and democratic elections to be in operation.

### **2.3.2. Nature of Elections and Electoral Institution**

Under the nature of elections, the researcher shall look at the condition under which elections are organised and the activities of the electoral institution that ignite violence. This thematic area looks at the malpractices that are designed under the conduct of elections to help create an advantage for a particular candidate or political party in the election. The various areas that shall be looked at are electoral fraud in the form of manipulation in counting and tabulation, and the use of intimidation and impersonation.

#### **2.3.2.1 The Manipulation of Counting And Tabulation of Figures**

Oquaye (2004) stressed that the cause of electoral tension and violence in the newly established democracies are as a result of the conspiratorial manipulation of electoral counting and

tabulation figures in African elections. The results in the elections are not recorded accurately by the body responsible for the conduct of free, fair and transparent elections. The manipulation of the electoral results is an indication of the pre-programming of the election. For instance in Ghana's 1992 general election there were reports of the manipulation of the results by the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC). Interestingly in some instances ballot boxes failed to be transported to centers where tabulation was to be done, yet pre-ordained figures were sent for tabulation. This is what Swain (2011:31) puts it as the "unwanted or unexpected election results" which has the propensity of triggering electoral violence. The INEC failed to allow the surveillance of opposition party members in counting and tabulation of results in the operation center of the Electoral Commission. This buttressed the commission's intention of pre-declaring the winner. In such electoral condition, the unenabling conditions serve as a justification by the affected groups to start violence.

In the same vein, Mehler (2007: 203) supports the proposition by Oquaye that electoral violence is caused in Africa by the situation where the electoral results are tampered with. Citing the Cameroonian 1992 presidential elections, where there were evidence that the verdict of the election was stolen by the ruling party ; Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) as against the opposition party Social Democratic Front (SDF). The use of unauthorised tricks and tactics led to the electoral irregularities. The misunderstanding and the electoral fraud led higher tension of ethnic and civil war. The tension and clashes led to the assassination of the leader of the small party related to the government. It is a fact that injustice is the root cause of violence.

### **2.3.2.2 The Use of Intimidation and Impersonation**

From the perspective of Oquaye (2004) elections that are conducted in some newly established democracies are marred by the application of threat to frighten voters and again the recourse to

impersonation to enable the perpetrators achieve victory in the said election. The use of intimidation mostly by the incumbent government by dispatching military and police personnel to maintain law and order latter lead to the revise of maintaining law and order but rather the their ignition of tension and violence. In Ghana during the early 1990s politics, there were reports of the abuse of power by the military government that had been turned into a democracy. The deploement of militias and troops loyal to the government catapulted fear and panic. The prevalence of intimidation made it looked that this was someyhing evil to do by supporting the opposition party but something saint to do by supporting the incumbent regime. It was evident that the militiamen were fully armed to the teeth. Their modus operadi of pointing guns at people kept voters indoor.

In the view of Hayward and Kandeh (1987) the recourse to political intimidation in elections often happen in the areana where the competition for political office is competitive and close in nature. In the situation where the battle for the political office seems unpredictable to the contesting political parties or candidates, intimidation and fear is used to create and undue advantage to the political side that uses it as a profitable means. Predominantly the deploement of thugs and machomen scare voters to turnout and vote. This is done by the perpetrators at the stronghold of their political opponents in order to reduce the voter turnout. In the process of the victimised parties exercising resistance to the intimidation, it leads to clashes and violence. violence is institutionalised by the defeating side to overturn the outcome of the results. In the history of electoral politics of Africa, violence and intimidation operated hand-in-hand. This is so because violence and intimidation are deemed the prerequisite tools for gaining power.

Oquaye (2004) posited that impersonation also influences the occurrence of electoral violence in Africa and particularly newly democratised states. In some elections that are organised in some

African countries, voters are surprisingly told that they have voted already which they too have not. The tendency of this sparking tension and violence is high. In many African countries owing to the use of imposters in voting on behalf of the true voters who have registered by law to cast their votes, elections have always been tension and violent prone. In Ghana during the 1992 general elections that ushered in the state into a democracy there were several reports of voters having their names already ticked indicating that they have voted already. In the course of further interrogation by the genuine voters about they having not voted, the election center turned to be tensed and in some cases the misunderstanding turns violence.

#### **2.4 The Impact of Electoral Violence on Democratization in Ghana**

Frempong (2007) elaborates that electoral violence have been witnessed in some constituencies in Ghana and many African countries that have undergone democratic transition. Basically violent conflict is seen as the most catastrophic, destructive and an unenviable thing that happens to that state and its people. The unavailability of conflicts and violence have made societies and particularly the Ghanaian society to institute laws, institutions and norms to manage conflict if not to eradicate it. In any well established democracy political institutions such as the parliament, the judiciary and the civil society organisations help in providing a common platform for dialogue and consensus building for the avoidance of violence either in elections or the political process.

It is in the light of the above that it was not surprising that Ake (1993) contends that the intention of the adoption of the electoral process is to broaden the democratic arena so as to hand the destinies of the citizens into their own hands. Rather the electoral process has turned to include fear in the people and has led to the breeding of violence. The meaning signed to

democracy is a mere multi party elections, interlaced with false human rights and equality (Ake, 1993). In the electoral environment under the Fourth Republic, elections are characterised with distrust, acrimony and conflict among the governing party and the opposition, this has increased tension and violence. The negative impact of violent elections in Ghana have a ripple effect on Ghana's democratic growth (Gyimah-Boadi, 2001).

Kuhune (2010) shares similar view with Gyimah-Boadi that elections that are organised in transitional democracies and post conflict societies stand a great chance of relapse into violent clashes. He argues that when this happens it destroys the painstakingly established democracy and political stability that have been achieved. To him elections are not solely the means of democratic institutionalisation but also it is the hottest arena for the capturing of power and the control of resources. According to Ninsin (2006), in Ghana while elections are understood by some segment of the population as somewhat conflict arising element of politics, others regard it as a important element of the political process. It is therefore valued by political class and some electorate as cherishable aspect of Ghana's democracy and is seriously pursued. However, the fear of elections as a result of deceit by political parties to hold on power towards one direction in most cases ignite violent conflict, confrontations and disrrupts the peaceful nature of the electoral system and the robust political competition. This disturbs the smooth mechanism of the democratic culture put in place.

Conteh-Morgan (1997) contends that it is against the background of election degenerating into violence in Ghana and destroying the peace of the state that most electorate fear when elections are approaching. Misunderstanding in elections in most cases spiralled into ethnic conflict in areas where ethnic conflict is prevalent. This pose a threat to democratic practice. It is however not surprising that some people see electoral violence as a challenge to democratic governance

in Ghana In Ghana violence in elections have been recurring a feature and encapsulates young activists of NPP and NDC. The effects of these pockets of violence on Ghana's democracy is alarming. It creates a culture of weakening the growth of Ghana's democracy (Asante, 2006).

## **2.5 STRENGTHENING GHANA'S DEMOCRACY**

With two decades of democratic practice, Ghana Fourth Republic appears to gain strong foothold. This is generally evidenced by six successful general elections held and acclaimed as free fair and transparent. It is instructive to note that the first two elections; 1992 and 1996 remained the military leader in office since he (Jerry John Rawlings ) won the two elections, the election was referred as a "transition without change." Ninsin (2006:61) termed the transitional elections in Ghana and some states in Africa as "stage-managed" its results been predetermined and openly rigged, coupled with the decision of the electorate "stolen" is an indication of the absence of democratic culture. In describing the 2000 elections, Gyimah-Boadi (2001:56) referred to the general elections as "indeed, they herald the end of an era and the beginning of a new one for Ghana". However the 2000 and 2012 elections have led to a turn-over of political power. (Frempong, 2006).

There is the need for Ghanaians to safeguard the progress made under its democracy. Democracy is now the most cherished and effective form of government the world over, in line with Ghana's quest to develop and to champion human rights and freedoms, its democracy should be promoted. As a result of achieving the goal of developing Ghana's democracy, Ninsin (2006) recommended the building and strengthening of institutions of state in which there is independent judiciary, liberalised mass media that operate without censorship, respect for all forms of the citizenry freedom, there existence of impartial and independent Electoral

Commission (EC), that will organise periodic free and fair elections (ibid). The creation of a joint dialogue among political parties by the EC under the Inter Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) in Ghana's electoral politics should be strengthened. The IPAC operates as a platform for discussions before the elections and promotes consensus building among the various disagreeing political parties on issues of the modality on how elections should be conducted. The EC uses the forum to address grievances and remove doubts and fears of the parties and the electorate. The IPAC has since its establishment in 1994 has achieved monumental benefits that have helped in the democratic growth, in going forward the prospects of the IPAC must be highlighted and strengthened (Debrah, Mechanism for Ensuring Free and Fair 2000 General Elections in Ghana, 2001).

Dundas' (1994) work is also useful in looking at the framework for strengthening Ghana's democracy. In his view there must be eagle's eye watch of the electoral system. Thus the EC should give accreditation to political parties agents to monitor and supervise the elections on the day of the elections. The activity of these party agents will serve as "eyes and ears" supervisors of their various parties in whose interest they are there to serve as a watchdog. It is important to mention that the monitoring of the elections by political parties and groups lead to the compliance of the electoral rules and this in turn leads to the smooth conduct of the elections. Violence and conflict in elections erupts as a result of poor monitoring of counting and the declaration of the electoral results in polling stations and particularly at the EC headquarters where the final results are declared. The activities of the electoral monitors is to promote transparency and fairness, reduce fraud if not eradicate it, build legitimacy and trust in the declared results. The pivotal role played by either domestic or external supervisors is importance in achieving the democratic objective of free and fair elections (Goodwin-Gill, 1994).

Gyimah-Boadi (1999) opines that voter education must be given considerable attention so as to safeguard the progress made under Ghana's democracy. He stresses that voter sensitisation and enlightenment is a prerequisite for free and fair elections. There must be the education of the electorate that they are entitled by law to one vote and should respect the civic rights of others. The incessant mistakes and high levels of misunderstanding that characterises the voting day is attributed to poor voter education (Gyimah-Boadi,1999). Hesselning shares the same view about electoral monitoring with Gyimah-Boadi, to him, the importance of electoral observation is based on the numerous contested electoral results in Africa of which Ghana is inclusive. He argues that there is a widely held view that electoral observers particularly international observers are viewed generally as neutral. Monitoring elections is necessary especially in a pluralist society owing to the good results it brings on the democratic growth. In Hesselning opinion, electoral monitoring achieves the following function; showing support for the growth of a solid democracy, building the trust and confidence of the people in the democratic system and to facilitate the smooth running of free and fair elections (Hesselning, 2000).

In the Boafo-Arthur (2008) democracy can be strengthened in any state including Ghana by safeguarding the rights and freedoms of the people in Ghana. He debunked the notion that democracy thrive well only in a stable political environment alone. In that political stability is inextricably linked with the safeguard of fundamental human rights and other freedoms and liberties of the citizenry. His argument is that economic growth and development acts as a catalyst to the nurturing of democracy, this is not the summation of all the conditions needed for the growth and strengthening of democracy. Inter alia of the economic growth is the respect and the promotion of human rights. In citing South East Asia, democracy there are not robust and their political environment are not liberal to enhance the promotion and protection of human

rights, yet their economy is booming. There is the need for Ghana to place emphasis on the rights of its citizens in its quest to promote democracy and a stable political environment.

Oquaye (2004) and Bofo-Arthur (2008) on the other hand recommend that Ghana's democracy can be protected by Ghanaians building a good civil military relations. The derailment of Ghana's democracy in the past were attributed to the involvement of the military in politics and the frequent coups that characterised the state. In going forward, there should be a cordial relationship between the military and the civilian government. The military should stick to its constitutional mandate of protecting the state against external aggressions. The president being the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed forces and the elected president of the people of Ghana must build the confidence of the military in democratic governance. As he termed it the president should provide political direction and also allay the fears of the citizens of the possibility of coups.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter addresses the research methodology. The research methodology is designed carefully with details mirroring the researcher's mode of data collection (Gill and Johnson, 1997). The methodology lists the research strategies of inquiry. It is important to mention that this chapter is organized as follows; research strategy, data collection, a framework of data analysis, limitation and potential problems ( Biggam, 2008).

#### **3.2 RESEARCH STRATEGY**

Research strategy is how the researcher intends to execute the research under study. It involves the tactics and processes needed to enhance the completion of empirical study (Biggam, 2008). The researcher uses the mixed method approach, the mixed method approach in research methodology adopts both quantitative and qualitative means of data collection. It is based on the philosophical idea that combines quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches in research study (Creswell, 2009). Tashakkorri and Teddle (1998: 17-18) also define the mixed method ( quantitative and qualitative methods) as “those that combines the quantitative and qualitaive approaches into the research methodology of a single study or multiphased study.”

There has been a long history about the emergence of the combination of quantitative and qualitative research methodology in social science. Already there has been some research models or paradigms in place. These paradigms are the quantitative and qualitative approach. To some

scholars these models are recognised as an institutionalised world view with concrete, assumptions, arguments and propositions universally accepted (Greene and Caracelli, 1997; Morgan, 2007). It is worth mentioning that prior to the 1970s, the positivism school of thought was ruling as a hegemonic power in the paradigm of knowledge. The supporters of the positivism school had crescendo the positivist paradigm that quantitative research was adjudged the best mode of academic research (Howe, 1992). Shortly the period, 1980s saw the rise to prominence of constructivism school with its qualitative research. The period has been described as the hay days for qualitative research paradigm (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). The intractability of methodological battle between the positivists and constructivists, brought forth the purist paradigm. The purists paradigm opine that there ought to be in existence, the dominance of a powerful research methodological approach which will enable uniformity in research work (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2006).

The constant contestations between the two research approaches led to the emergence of the combination of quantitative and qualitative method called the mixed method. The aim of the introduction of the mixed method is to serve as a third force to the already existing approaches used in the conduct of research (Jick, 1979). The mixed method has been in place years in the past. The coming into being of this dates back the 1959 multitrait- method validity studies of Fiske and Campbell to the groundbreaking Hawthorne Studies of the 1930s, which made use of the empirical data, observation, and interviews. Perhaps it was incidental, then that a study initiating the humanistic perspective in management science would lead to groundbreaking insights into the multiple realities of organisational work (Teddle and Tashakkori, 2003) cited in Lisle (2011: 89).

This study uses the combination of qualitative and quantitative research methodological approach in collecting data. The combination of the two research approaches offer a good benefit on the study of which either could have on the work (Creswell, and Plano, 2007).

Qualitative research is defined by Shank (2002 :5) as “a form of systematic empirical inquiry into meaning”. In the opinion of Ospina (2004) the word empirical used in this definition means that the qualitative study is underpinned on the cosmic acceptable approach of conducting research. On the other hand, inquiry can be explained as the processes in which researchers position their minds to understand people from the position of those persons outside their research work. To add to the definition by Shank (2002: 3) is that in qualitative research approach “researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.”

Mustafa (2010:52) defined qualitative research to mean a type of research that is “concerned with phenomena relating or involving kind/quality.” He categorised qualitative research to include the following; ethnograph, case study research, and grounded theory research. To Creswell (2009 :5) qualitative research is “ a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem.” In his view, the qualitative research methodology or approach includes the use of questions and procedures for gathering data by the researcher. In the view of Tewksbury (2009: 39) qualitative research is intended to provide a deep, unravelling meaning and understanding of problems that using quantitative method and statistical research cannot be obtained. In his view, qualitative research “centralizes and places primary value on complete understandings and how people...understand, experience and operate within the milieus that are dynamic, and social in their foundation and structure.” According to Osuala (2007); Tewksbury (2009) and Creswell (2009) the qualitative research methodology is

significant to research because researchers who adopt this method are able to stay in touch with their participants and get close with the activities on the ground. This method enables the researcher to see for himself or herself some salient issues on the field which the empiricist (quantitative researcher) will miss. This then solves the problem of some data which are hidden and somewhat cumbersome to get by using the quantitative method. In addition to this is that the qualitative research is package in a more descriptive and narrative format which is beneficial to the researcher. This eases the burden that a researcher who is handicap with statistical figures and complex measurement knowledge can resort to.

Osuala (2007 :173) however has leveled some criticisms on the use of qualitative methodology in research. The qualitative research is time consuming as regards the time needed by the researcher to collect and analyse data. In the view of Osuala ‘there is a critical need for the researcher to spend a considerable amount of time in the research setting in order to examine, holistically and aggregately, the interactions, reactions and activities of subject.’”

Quantitative research method on the other hand is defined by Mustafa (2010) as the research that is based on the measurement of quantities. In the view of Biggam (2008: 86) quantitative research “refers to research that is concerned with quantities and measurements.” Tewksbury, (2009: 39) defines quantitative methods as “ the amount or quantity of whatever it is that is being studied. The number or numerical descriptions of things and their relationships...Quantitative research is typically considered to be the more scientific approach to doing social science” research. In the same vein, Creswell, (2009 :xxiv) defines quantitative research as “involving the processes of collecting, analyzing, interpreting, and writing the results, of a study.”

Quantitative research method is categorised by Babbie (1990) and Keppel (1991) into two strategic groups; survey and experimental research strategies. The survey explains with numerics the pattern, behaviour and the views of a population by means of aggregating a sampling size of the population.

One of the universally accepted advantage of quantitative research according to Worrall (2000: 354) is that quantitative research methodology “lies in the predictive advantages his method of inquiry possesses. Indeed the ability to make correct predictions is one of the more outstanding characteristics of quantitative methodology.”

However, Tewksbury (2009:19) castigated against quantitative research as a research methodological approach that has some bottle necks. He mentions that among the weaknesses of the quantitative research is that “ it fails to account for the full set of potentially influence factors that may be important for undersatanding how experiences are constructed, varieties are of cases are similar and/ or different or perceptions and views are constrained and facilitated.”

In using the combination of the two research approaches in this research, the researcher benefits from the advantages of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches for his empirical study.

### **3.3 DATA COLLECTION**

The study use qualitative and quantitative methods as the research approach in gathering data. The data gathered are primary and secondary data. The primary data are the administering of questionnaires, interviews and the researcher’s observations at the constituencies during the Biometric Voter Registration and the voting day. In the view of Osuala, the primary data is

significant to the research work because it enhances the provision of relevant facts and figures concerning the population under study. In that the required information needed for the research is provided (Osuala, 2007).

In the same vein the secondary data is based on library research, books and articles from journals. These materials were drawn from Political Science Department library, Institute of African Studies Library, The Balme Library, the library for Institute of Democratic Governance and from the Center for Democratic Development library. Electronic sources – jstor, sage, amongst others were also used and forms part of the data gathered for the empirical study. The secondary data in conjunction with the primary data (interviews and questionnaires) will help provide better understanding of the empirical study.

In achieving this goal the researcher employs cluster sampling under the probability sampling technique. In the view of Mustafa (2010:139) the probability sampling is relevant to research works and “provides a scientific techniques of drawing samples from population according to some laws of chance in which each unit has some definite pre-assigned probability of being chosen in the sample.” Among the types of sampling methods under the non-probability technique are the random sampling, the systematic sampling, stratified sampling, cluster sampling, multi-stage sampling and area sampling. But the researcher deem it appropriate to use the cluster sampling technique as a result of the benefits it brings to the research study.

On the other hand of the probability sampling is the non-probability sampling. The non-probability sampling is a type of sampling technique contrary to the probability sampling. It is defined by Mustafa, (2010: 139) as the research approach that “ is based on the personal judgment. Here a desired number of sampling units are selected deliberately or purposely

depending on upon the object of the enquiry so that only the important items representing the true characteristics of the population are included in the sample.” Examples are as follows, purposive sampling, quota sampling and convenience sampling.

The use of cluster sampling technique was relevant in the quantitative method of gathering data through the administering of two hundred and fifty questionnaires at the two constituencies. One hundred and fifty questionnaires were administered at the Odododiodioo and one hundred questionnaires at Akwatia constituency by the researcher.

Cluster sampling is important to this study because it reduces the cost and time of doing the research. According to Biggam (2008), the cluster sampling is where the researcher divides the sample population into groups. This then enables the researcher to select randomly from the groups. In the same line of view, Mustafa (2010:147) sees cluster sampling as a method under which the total population is divided into some recognizable sub-divisions which are termed as clusters and a simple random of these clusters is drawn and then the survey of each and every unit in the selected cluster is made.

The researcher used cluster sampling to group the Akwatia constituency into six (6) clusters covering the polling stations which recorded electoral violence in the 2008 general election in Ghana. Out of this one hundred (100) questionnaires were administered by the researcher to these violent prone polling stations. Again the respondents of the questionnaires were categorised into registered voters only. The basic requirement to enable one to answer the questionnaire was that he/she was to be a registered voter. After categorising the respondents into registered voters, random sampling was used in selecting the respondent. Random sampling is defined by Biggam (2008: 88) as the process where the researcher “select, entirely at random,

a sample population.” Similar definition is given by Osuala (2007:114) is that “random sampling is that method of drawing a portion (or sample) of population or universe so that each member of the population or universe has equal chance of being selected.” The cardinal advantage of random sampling is that it reduces the possibility of biases. Although there exist other sampling methods, random sampling method is the most appropriate method for this study since it enables fair selection of all electorate in the constituencies.

The Odododiodioo constituency was divided into four (4) strata. This comprises the coastal polling stations, the Kantamato market center, the Bukom boxing site and the administrative center polling stations. The demarcation of the constituency into four key polling stations covers the diversity of the electoral politics of the area. These strata cover the the violent prone areas of the constituency.

The researcher selected the registered voters with cluster sampling technique. This enabled the researcher to select only registered voters. After the selection, random sampling technique was used by the researcher to administer the questionnaires. Out of the four strata polling stations, the researcher then administered the one hundred and fifty (150) questionnaires to the respondents who were all electorate. The researcher adoption of questionnaires in the two constituencies is attributed to the important information that the questionnaires seek to extract from the respondents in the constituencies under study for empirical study.

The researcher employed the purposive sampling technique under the qualitative method of gathering data by means of interviews. The purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method. The non-probability sampling method differs from the probability sampling method due to the fact that the non-probability sampling does not involve randomisation in terms of

selection. But probability sampling on the other hand promotes random selection where researcher intentionally select from the unit of study. Purposive sampling is useful in the design of interview schedules (Osuala 2007; Mustafa, 2010). This method of sampling was best for the study so as to enable the researcher to reach the targeted persons who have the requisite knowledge in the field of his study.

The researcher used the purposive sampling to strategically select three official who have worked as Electoral Commissioners in the Odododiodioo constituency and one Electoral Commissioner of the Akwatia constituency. The reason for the selection of the ECs was that they had organised general elections in the constituencies under study. In addition these EC official have witnessed incidents of violence in their respective constituencies and have rich and indept information about the issues under this emprical study.

The researcher in order to arrive at the empirical study adopted a set of planned questions in the form of semi structured or open-ended questions. This type of qualitative research enhances the opportunity for the researcher to draft questions to gather the required data needed for the empirical study. The advantage of the adoption of this method is that it offers the respondent the opportunity to talk about other issues without any barricade (Patton, 1990; Biggam, 2008). In the opinion of Osuala (2007: 274) the open ended questions allows the interviewee the “freedom to decide the aspect, detail and length of his answer.” In other words there is a room for flexibility and this enables the interviewees to talk at length on all relevant issues to the research. it is instructive to mention that the open ended questions are in sharp contrast with the closed ended questions. The closed ended questions keep the questions in a more confined arena and therefore narrow the scope of discussion of the interviewees only to the questions posed to them. To arrive

at precision and to avoid biases in the empirical study, the researcher recorded the interviews with the interviewees.

### **3.4 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

After the researcher has gathered data that were relevant for the empirical study of the study, it was important for the researcher to analyse and interpret it. Data analysis is useful to this study in that it enabled the researcher to analyze and interpret the data that were gathered for the empirical study. It is within the purview of the researcher's ability to analyse and interpret data that the researcher's research problem is solved. According to Osuala (2007:151) data analysis is defined as:

“the ordering and breaking down of data into constituent parts. It consists of the statistical calculations performed with the raw data to provide answers to the questions initiating the research. The interpretation takes the result of analysis, makes inferences pertinent to the research relations studied, and draws conclusions about these relations.”

The quantitative and qualitative data were derived from survey in the form of questionnaires and interviews respectively. The questionnaires administered were analysed quantitatively with Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The interviews conducted in the study were analysed qualitatively through a content analysis. Content analysis is process of derived meaning out of the responses got through the interviews (Patton, 2002).

### **3.5 LIMITATION AND PROBLEMS**

The study undergone some limitations and difficulties like any research work in Social Sciences. The limitation of using the combine method of qualitative and quantitative (mixed method) are as follows.

To begin with, is the complexity of using the combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods for gathering data. The use of the two methods made it difficult for the researcher in terms of time and resouces. This method of mixing qualitative and quantitative methods consumed the time of the researcher in terms of the administering of questionnaires and the granting of interviews. The researcher knowing the demands of this challenge of inadequate time scheduled his time to reduce the problem of not meeting the demands of the empirical study.

In the researcher's quest to use qualitative method of gathering data by means of interviews some difficulty were encountered as in the inaccessibilty of the official be to interviewed. At the Electoral Commission offices, it was difficult to get access with the commissioners of the two constituencies owing to the fact that the research was organised in the election year of Ghana's 2012 general elections. The commissioners were busily engaged with the registration of voters under the Biometric Voter Registration and finally the supervision of the general election. The researcher in the face of this problem was faithful with his time so as to meet the busy schedules of the electoral officials. When the EC officials arranged with the researcher, the researcher was there timely. This notwithstanding, the researcher sent reminders to the official about their scheduled meetings.

The researcher encountered the challenge of official withholding some information because they feared to release that information. Some EC officials saw the research as sensitive and dragged their foot in confidently speaking to the researcher on the issues under the study. This could be as a result of the fact that the right to information law is not passed in Ghana. The researcher then adopted an approach of interviewing the officials in an indirect way to arrive at the desired goal the data needed. This strategy of not going straightforward with the interview questions was helpful to enable the researcher derive the required data.

The researcher in the quest to gather qualitative data encountered the difficulty of not meeting all the persons targeted to be interviewed particularly the parliamentary candidates in the two constituencies (Odododiodioo and Akwatia ). The researcher went to the constituencies to book appointment with the candidates yet could not meet them. The researcher met the NDC member of parliament at Akwatia, the member of parliament gave his mobile number to the researcher to call him yet the line was inactive. The NPP candidate too was unavailable to be interviewed.

Knowing the problem of not getting all the actors in the constituencies' electoral politics, the researcher augmented the qualitative data with quantitative data based on a survey in a structured questionnaires.

The researcher in the field of administering the questionnaires encountered the challenge of non-cooperation of some respondents. Some respondents declined to answer the questionnaires because they feared to talk about politics and elections in their constituency. It made it quite difficult for the researcher to gather the relevant data timely. The researcher been encountered with this problem resorted to persuasion and familiarisation with the respondents so as to convince them to comply with the answering of the questionnaires.

Some respondents perceived the researcher as a spy or an investigator from the Criminal Investigation Department of the Ghana Police Service investigating the perpetrators of the constituencies' electoral clashes and violence. This made it difficult for the respondent to give the researcher audience. The respondent cleared the curiosity of the respondent by showing them his Identity Card. This served as a form of allaying the fears of the people. At the Akwatia constituency in the Eastern region of Ghana, the inhabitants are illegal miners of diamond and hence were not convinced by the showing of the ID card of the researcher until an opinion convinced them that he vouch for the reliability of the researcher as a true researcher and not a spy.

The quantitative data was gathered at the time when there was a dispute in Ghana's 2012 general elections and an election petition case being adjudicated at Ghana's Supreme Court. In the light of this the researcher suffered humiliation from some respondents who linked the researcher to the electoral petition. Respondents opposed answering the questionnaires in some areas with the view that he has been sent by the court. This propelled the researcher to consult community and opinion leaders to convince their people to ensure that the desired goal of gathering data be achieved.

Surprisingly some respondents asked for pay before answering the questionnaires. After they have been exposed to the questions in the questionnaires, the respondents complained that they were many and deserved payment or else would decline to answer them. The researcher explained that their response were volutary and sacrificial. Some requested for local gin which the researcher provided to enable the respondents answer the questions.

Language barrier served as a bottle neck to the questionnaires administering at Odododiodioo (a Ga constituency). The constituency as chapter four catalogues its profile is an indigenous Ga community and the inhabitants speak the local Ghanaian dialect, Ga. Unfortunately the researcher does not speak Ga. In summonting this difficulty the researcher spoke through an interpreter.

Another challenge that the researcher encountered was that at Odododiodioo when he meet some youth who had gathered to gambling but acceded to respond to the questionnaires. In the course of the respondents answering the questionnaires, the researcher received a phone call and in an attempt to respond to the phone call the gamblers being skeptical seize the researchers phone. They fear that in allowing the researcher to make phone call can lead to a tip off to the police. The gamblers upon the release of the phone, demanded some money to enble them continue with their gambling.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS**

#### **4.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents the analysis and discussion of data gathered by the researcher both quantitatively and qualitatively in the attempt to find answers to research questions raised as well as achieving the objectives of the study through valid interpretations. The analysis and discussion of the data ultimately address the arduous task of the study which seeks to investigate into the persistent, but normally overlooked pockets of violence that continue to characterize Ghana's elections under the Fourth Republic. As the main chapter of the study, the study empirically examines a comparative analysis on the two notable and violent-prone constituencies in Ghana; the Odododiodioo and the Akwatia constituencies in the Greater Accra and the Eastern Regions of Ghana respectively. The chapter consists of the profile of the two constituencies, the socio-economic demographic characteristics of the respondents, their voting behavior and pattern, the causes and effects of electoral violence in the two constituencies.

#### **4.1 THE PROFILE OF THE TWO CONSTITUENCIES**

To best understand the politics of the two constituencies and how elections organized under the constituencies escalate tensions and in some cases lead to violence, it is important to place the study within the profile of the constituencies. Attributes such as geographical location, educational background of the inhabitants of the area, ethnicity, educational background and

economic activities or geo-political history is examined in answering the question why electoral violence is peculiar to the constituencies.

#### **4.1.1 The Akwatia Constituency**

The Akwatia constituency is found in the Eastern region of Ghana. The constituency lies within the tropical forest zone of the Eastern region. It is located on the west of the Atiwa range of the Birim river basin and accommodates equal proportions of rural and urban dwellers. The constituency falls under the most popular diamond site in Ghana. The diamond mine was initially state owned under the name Ghana Consolidated Diamond but has now been privatized and christened the Great Consolidated Diamond Limited (GCDL). The mining activity has attracted the influx of immigrants who work in the mining site.

Literacy is generally high in the constituency. Only 17 percent of the population aged 15 years and older never attended a school. However, only a small fraction has visited the senior high school (10%) or an academic institution (1%). As a result the constituencies district Kwaebibirem<sup>1</sup> exhibits a relatively low rate of workers formally employed in industries or in white-collar businesses. The biggest fraction relies according to the census data on agriculture (38%) or service and sales work (19%). On the contrary, only 5 percent are professionals. A crucial source of livelihood apart from the regular occupational activities is furthermore illegal mining popularly called “galamsey”.

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<sup>1</sup> Today, the Akwatia constituency falls into the Denkyembuo district due to the recent creation of 45 new districts. However, under the 2010 population and housing census, which is the source of our data, the constituency was part of the Kwaebibirem district until the creation of the 45 new districts.

The mining boom in the area has also contributed to a relatively high ethnic fractionalization because many people from other parts of Ghana migrated to the district in the hope to benefit from mining. As a result there is no predominant group. The biggest ethnic fraction is the Akyem-group but accounts for less than one third of the population. Other significant groups are the Asante, Akuapem and Kwahu constituting around 10% each.

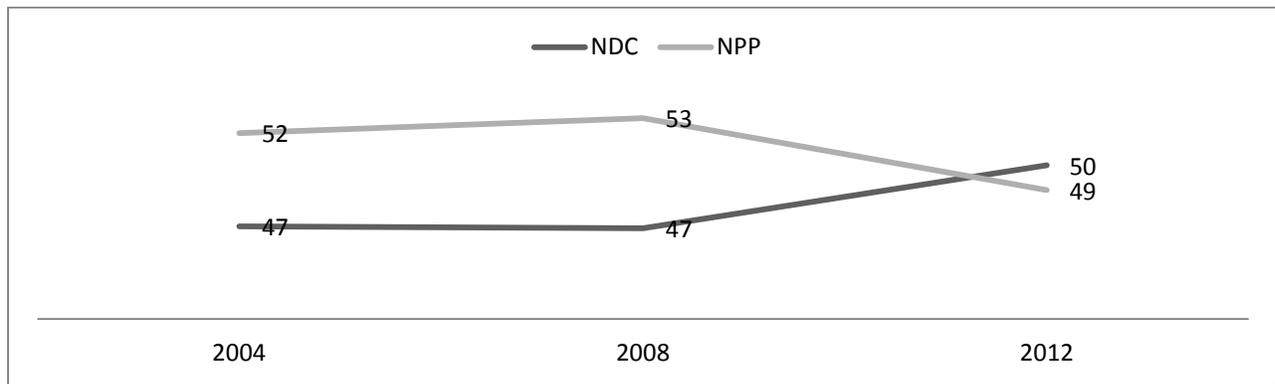
In terms of religion the district seems more homogeneous. A clear majority of 69 percent of the population belong to Christian groups. However, there is a considerable minority of Muslims making up 7% of the constituencies population and thereby having a decisive influence on election outcomes.

Politically the constituency used to be a stronghold of the capitalist party i.e. the New Patriotic Party. Yet, in 2012 election the pattern changed and for the first time the NDC managed to settle the parliamentary race in the constituency (see figure 1).

In the 2008 general elections in Ghana, the Akwatia constituency came under the limelight for being a flash point, when six polling stations<sup>2</sup> were suspended following the activities of thugs who snatched the ballot boxes and fomented violence.

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<sup>2</sup>The following six polling stations were affected: Presby JSS with the Code (E113502), Yoruba Mosque-A (E113701A), Yoruba Mosque-B (E113701B), Lorry Station-A (E113801A), Lorry Station-B (E113801B) and A.M.E. Zion Church-A (E113802A)

**Fig 1: Parliamentary Election Results of Akwatia 2004-1**

Source: Electoral Commission of Ghana (2004-2008 election results).

#### 4.1.2 Ododiodioo Constituency

The Ododiodioo constituency is found in the Greater Accra region. The constituency lies within the coastal lines of the capital city of Ghana. Since Ododiodioo is part of the huge and highly diverse Accra Metropolitan District it is not unreservedly possible to infer from the (district-level) census data to the socioeconomic conditions in the constituency. However, a couple of facts regarding the districts can be noted.

First, it can be said that the district is rather more an economically marginalized area in the city, encompassing the communities of Jamestown and Ussher fort which can be accurately described as living areas for the urban poor. The level of education is accordingly relatively low, though most people are at least literate, as the generally low level of illiteracy across all Areas in Accra suggests.

The predominant work of the inhabitants of the constituency is fishing, and trading since the boundaries of the constituency stretches across the central business area of the Accra Metropolis.

The most popular second hand clothes and foot wares market Kantamato is located at the heart of the constituency. In addition to Kantamato market is the Agbogloshe market and a slum site, Sodom and Gomorrah. Trading activities lead to congestion and street hawking.

Odododiodio constituency falls into Accra's traditional Ga community. However, the Accra metropolis is cosmopolitan in nature and so is Odododiodio. Today the area is quite diversified and non-Ga speakers make up about a third of the constituency's population (Fridy, 2006) .

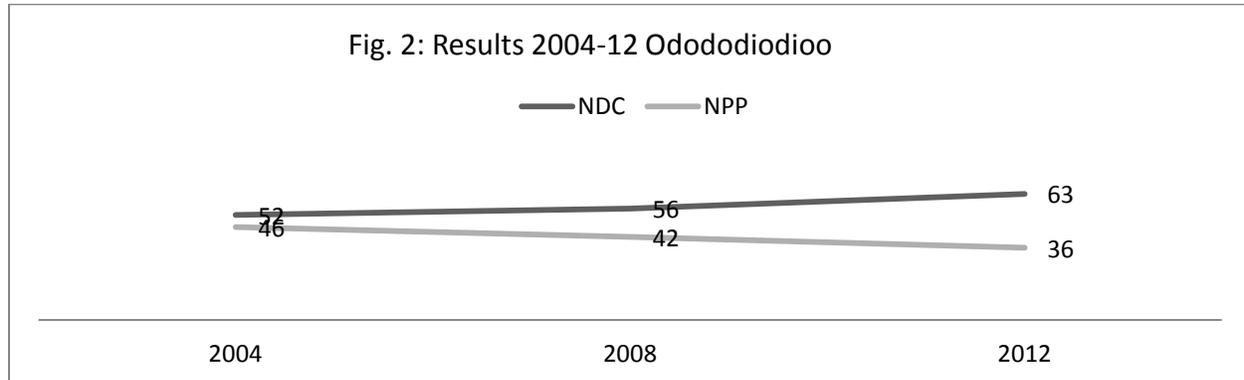
The constituency has historical antecedence in Ghana's politics. In the 1951 Kwame Nkrumah the first president and founding father of Ghana's republic while he was imprisoned in the James fort located at the constituency, contested the seat and won. The constituency was by then referred as the Accra Central. It is important to mention that Nkrumah was a non-Ga but rather an Nzema. He won this election while he was incarcerated in James fort prisons sited at the heart of the constituency (Buah, 1998).

Elections in Ghana's fourth republic used to be very close in Odododiodio and both the NPP and NDC could win the seat at least once since 1992. Yet, the more recent elections show a strong trend in favor of the NDC, seeing the NPP-Candidate culminating in a clear defeat of the NPP candidate in 2012 with only a third of the votes (see Figure 2).

The constituency was referred as Ashiedu keteke before been changed to Odododiodio which is a Ga word and literally means "come and let's fight". And following this meaning the area also experienced some incidents of electoral violence especially during the biometric registration exercise in 2012, when it came to violent clashes between supporters of the two contesting parties leaving several people injured. It is important to mention that at the heart of the

constituency is the most popular boxing center Bukom. The centre has trained renowned boxes in Ghana, notable “Bukom Banku”.

**Fig 2: Parliamentary Elections of Odododiodioo 2002-12**

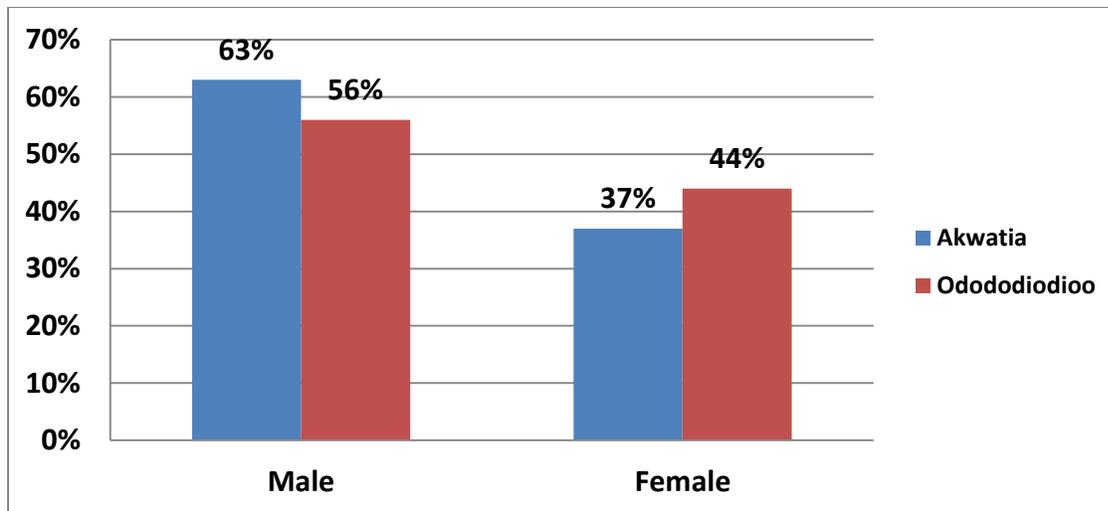


Source: Electoral Commission of Ghana (2004-2008 election results).

#### **4.2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF RESPONDENTS**

The results of fig.3 below show the gender composition of respondents of both Akwatia and Odododiodioo constituencies. Majority of the respondents of Akwatia are males representing 63% whereas 37% are females. Similarly, males constituted the majority of the respondents in Odododiodioo representing 56% while females constituted 44%. Thus, the majority of the respondents of both constituencies are males.

**Fig. 3: Distribution of respondents by age**

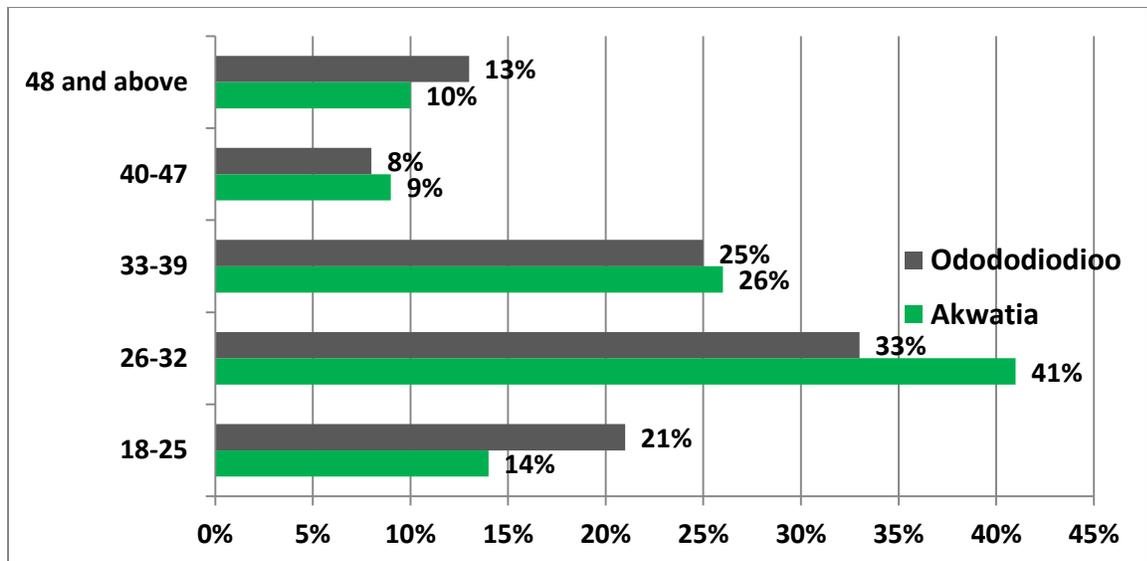


Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodio =150

In terms of the age distribution, the researcher strategically chose the age gap between 18-48 years and above with the aim of targeting the voting population. This is to help the researcher to seek the views of both those who have much historical experience in the electoral politics of their constituencies and those with relatively young experience for a holistic analysis. It was realized that majority of the respondents of both constituencies are between 26-32 years. Majority of the respondents of Akwatia are between 26-32 years representing 41%. This is followed by those between 33-39 years representing 26%, 14% representing those between 18-25 years, 10% and 9% representing 48 years and above and 40-47 years respectively (see fig. 4).

The age distribution of respondents of Odododiodio follows a similar pattern (see also fig. 4). Majority of representing 33% are between 26-32 years, followed by 25% between 33-39 years, 21% representing those within the ranges of 18-25 years and those of 48 years and above and those between 40-47 years representing 13% and 9% respectively.

**Fig. 4: Distribution of respondents by age**

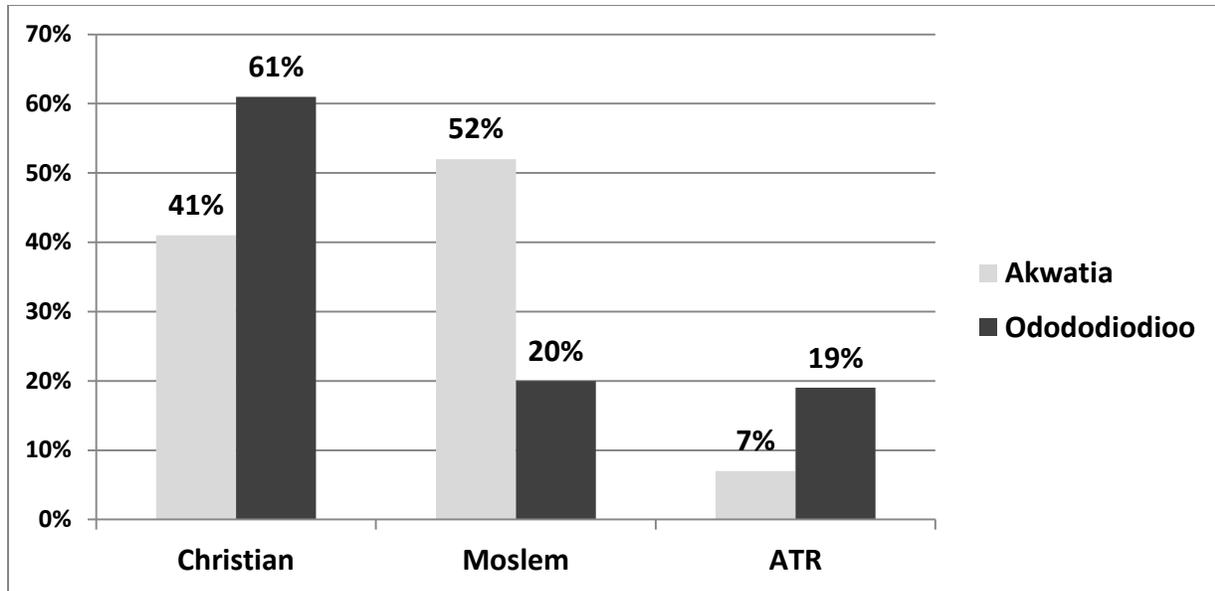


Source:

Field Survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodio =150

The results of fig 5 confirm the religious pluralistic nature of the two constituencies. Majority of the respondents are Moslems and Christians in Akwatia and Odododiodio respectively. Moslems constitute 52% of the respondents of Akwatia, followed by Christians representing 41% and African Traditionalists constituting 7%. It is not surprising that the majority of respondents of Akwatia are Moslems since the target electoral areas of Akwatia of the study are Moslem dominated. However, in Odododiodio, majority of the respondents are Christians representing 61% followed by 20% being Moslems. Also, unlike the Akwatia constituency, a significant number of the respondents of Odododiodio are African Traditionalists representing 19% partly because of the constituency being a typical Ga Community.

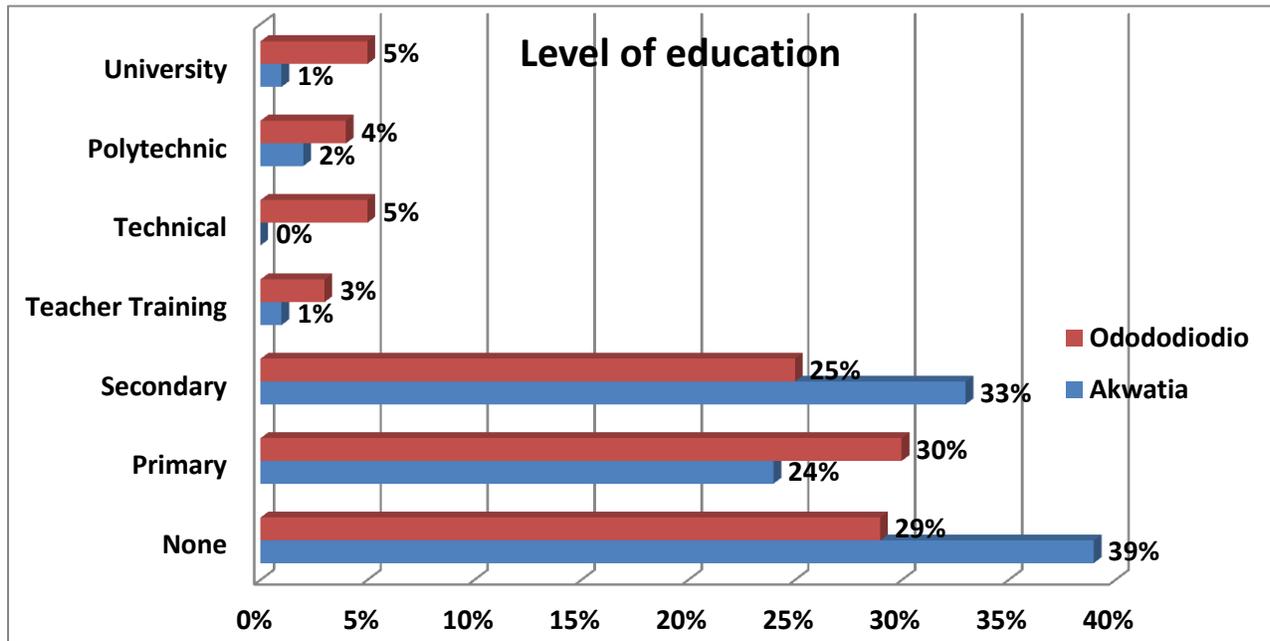
**Fig. 5: Distribution of respondents by religion**



Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodio =150

There is a significant relationship between the level of education and peaceful elections. Thus, societies with high literacy rates have the advantage of achieving peaceful and quality elections than societies with high literacy rates. The educational level of the respondents is therefore important for the study.

Among the respondents of Akwatia, 39% have no formal education followed by 33% with secondary level of education. Also, 24% have primary level of education, 2% with polytechnic education and 1% with teacher training and university educations each (see fig. 6). However, majority of the respondents of Odododiodio representing 30% have primary level of education. Those with no formal education constitute 29% which is not significantly different from respondents of Akwatia. About 25% of the respondents have attained secondary level of education, significant 5% of the respondents with University and Technical education each, followed by 4% with polytechnic and 3% with polytechnic education.

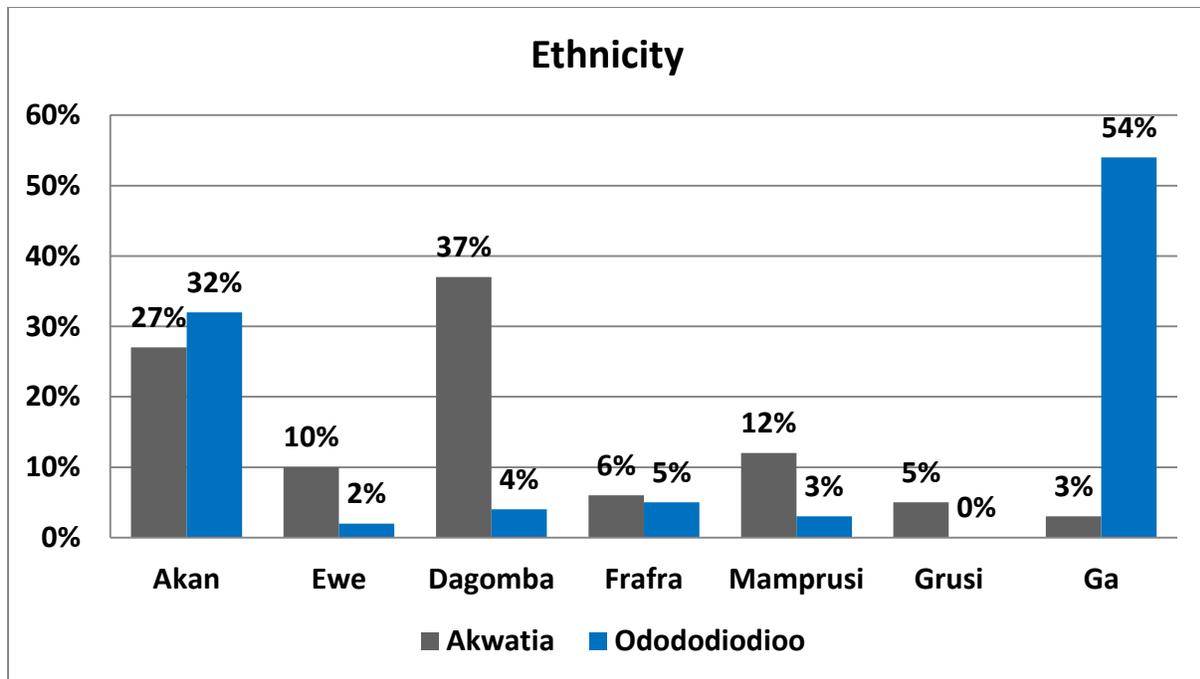
**Fig. 6: Distribution of respondents by level of education**

Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodio =150

The ethnic composition of respondents of the Akwatia and Odododiodio constituencies is quite diverse (see fig. 7). Majority (37%) of the respondents of Akwatia are Dagombas, followed by 27% representing Akans, 12% constituting Mamprusis, 10% being Ewes, 6% being Frafras, 5% and 3% composing of Grusis and Gas respectively.

As a typical Ga community, majority of the respondents of Odododiodio constituency are the indigenous Gas representing 54%. Akans are the next majority of the respondents constituting 32%, 5% being Frafras, 4% and 3% constituting Dagombas and Grusis respectively. Thus, the Akwatia constituency per the ethnic composition of the respondents is not dominated by the indigenous Akans whereas the indigenous Gas dominates the Odododiodio constituency.

**Fig. 7: Distribution of respondents by ethnicity**



Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodioo =150

The results of table 1 show the occupational status of respondents of Akwatia. Majority of the respondents of Akwatia are unemployed representing 29%. This confirms the national economic burden of high rate of unemployment. This would help us in the subsequent analysis to determine the relationship between unemployment and the quality of an election. Traders constitute 26% of the respondents, 21% being miners as Akwatia is noted for its mining activities especially diamonds, 18% representing farmers, and 5% engaging in teaching. Only 1 out of the 100 respondents of Akwatia representing 1% is a student.

**Table 1: Distribution of respondents of Akwatia by occupation**

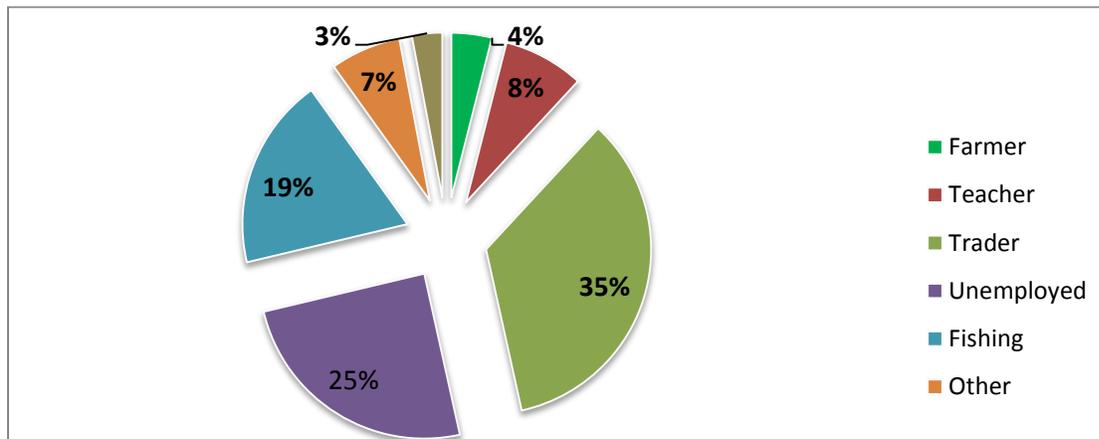
		Occupation			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Farmer	18	18.0	18.0	18.0

Teacher	5	5.0	5.0	23.0
Trader	26	26.0	26.0	49.0
Unemployed	29	29.0	29.0	78.0
Mining	21	21.0	21.0	99.0
Student	1	1.0	1.0	100.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field survey, 2013.

In Odododiodioo, majority of the respondents representing 35% are traders. Also a significant 25% are unemployed, followed by 19% constituting those into fishing. As already indicated in the general profile of the constituency, fishing is the major economic activity of the community with the majority engaging and trading in fishing. Also, 8% are into teaching, 7% into other activities such as building and constructions, tiling and carpentry with 4% and 3% constituting farmers and students respectively (see fig 8).

**Fig 8: Distribution of respondents of Odododiodioo by occupation**



Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodioo =150

### **4.3 VOTING BEHAVIOUR AND PATTERNS OF AKWATIA AND ODODODIODIOO CONSTITUENCIES**

The study sought to examine the voting behaviours of the two constituencies as well as their pattern of voting in both presidential and parliamentary elections under the Fourth Republic of Ghana. The study of voting behaviour is premised on the idea that the social characteristics of voters explain the way they vote. The important characteristics are age, gender, race, class, education, location. These characteristics determine the circumstances of voters and define the issues that are most meaningful to them. These circumstances and issues orient them to vote for one party or another and thus determine how they vote on matters such as the state of the economy, issues of politics or social issues. Voters identify themselves with a party that in their perception, best represent those issues.<sup>3</sup> Visser (1996: 23) posits that, by casting a vote, the individual person directly or indirectly lays down a course of action for parliaments and governments, and eventually for the socio-political and physical organization of the country he or she inhabits.

#### **4.3.1 Attitude of Respondents of Akwatia and Odododiodioo towards National Elections**

It was revealed by the study that respondents of both constituencies have good attitude towards political participation through their involvement in national elections. Thus, significant majority of the respondents have participated in all general elections or the other since the inception of Ghana's Fourth Republic in 1992 (see table 2). Overwhelming majority of respondents representing 99% have participated in elections in both Akwatia and Odododiodioo. Only a discounting 1% have never participated in any of the six general election under the Fourth

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<sup>3</sup>See: <http://gtuwi.tripod.com/voting3.html> (Accessed on 31/03/2013).

Republic of Ghana in both areas of the study. Such people indicated that they have never participated in any general election simply because they are not interested.

**Table 2: Distribution of respondent by participation in election under the Fourth Republic of Ghana**

**Have you ever voted in any election under the Fourth Republic?**

<b>Akwatia</b>	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	99	99
No	1	1
Total	100	100
<b>Odododiodioo</b>		
Yes	148	98.7
No	2	1.3
Total	150	100%

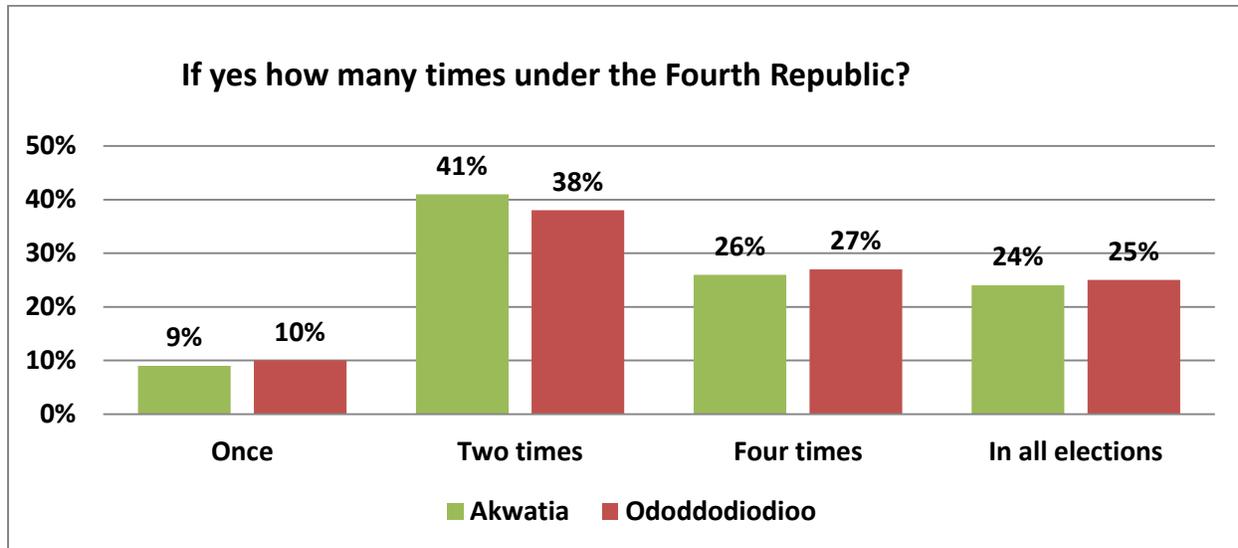
*Source: Field survey, 2013*

The results in fig 9 show the number of times that respondents have participated in general elections under the Fourth Republic of Ghana. In Akwatia, majority of the respondents representing 41% have participated in two presidential and parliamentary elections, followed by 26% participating in four presidential and parliamentary elections, 24% and 9% participating in all six presidential and parliamentary election (1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012) and only once of all the six elections..

Similarly, in Odododiodioo those who have participated in two presidential and parliamentary elections constitute the majority of the respondents representing 38%. Also, 27% have participated in four out of the six presidential and parliamentary elections since the founding election of 1992, followed by significant 25% participating in all the six presidential and

parliamentary elections. Just like the respondents of Akwatia, only 10% of the respondents of Odododiodioo have participated once out of the six general elections. Those who have participated in all the six general elections presumably are those between 39-48 years and above.

**Fig 9: Distribution of respondents by the number of times participated in general elections under the Fourth Republic of Ghana**



Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodioo =150

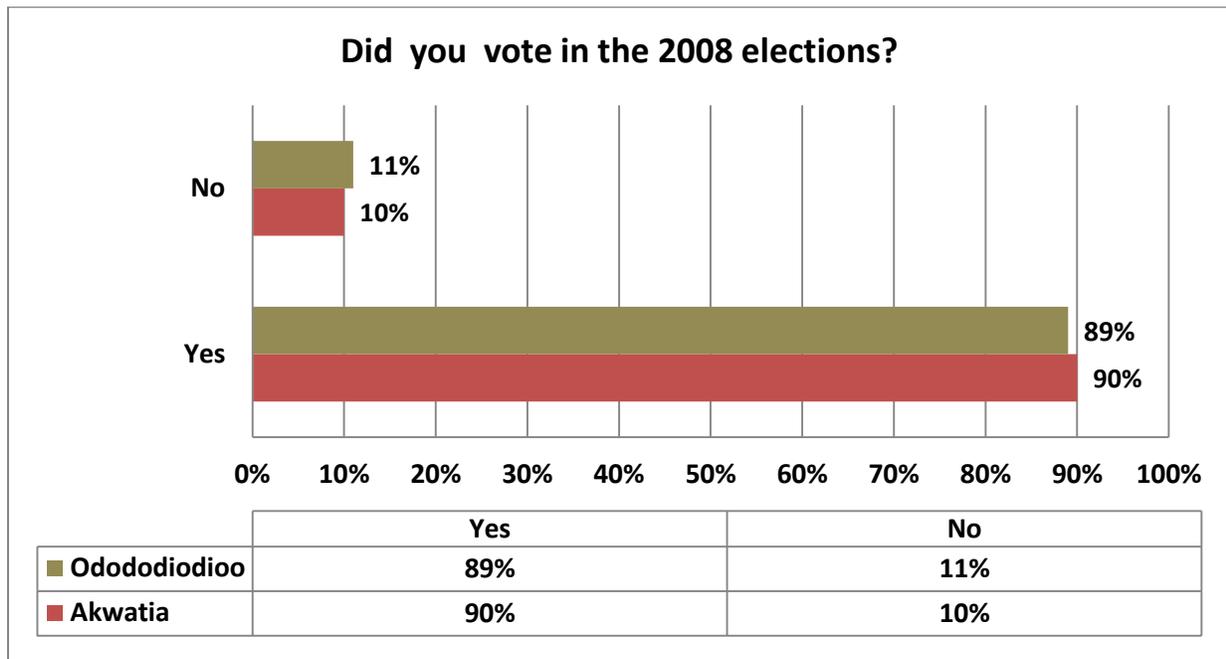
#### **4.3.2 Pattern of Voting of Akwatia and Odododiodioo Constituencies**

The researcher limited the study to 2008 and 2012 elections since the respondents are well abreast of activities and developments surrounding these two elections. In other words, they have good memories on the concern of the researcher that unfolded during the last and current 2008 and 2012 elections. This was to help the researcher to get valid information from the population of the study.

In the 2008 elections, significant majority of the respondents of both study areas participated in both the presidential and parliamentary elections. Majority of the respondents (90%) of Akwatia voted in the 2008 elections whereas 10% did not participate. The case of respondents of

Odododiodioo is not different as majority of the respondents representing 89% voted in the 2008 elections whereas 11% did not participate (see fig 10).

**Fig 10: Distribution of respondents by voting in the 2008 elections**



Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodioo =150

**Table 3: Distribution of respondents by party voted for in the 2008 presidential elections**

**Which presidential candidate did you vote for in 2008?**

<b>Akwatia</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Valid NPP	36	39
NDC	43	46
CPP	14	15
Total	93	100
Missing No applicable	7	
Total	100	
<b>Odododiodioo</b>		
Valid NPP	62	47
NDC	71	57
Total	133	
Missing Not applicable	17	
Total	150	

Source: Field survey, 2013.

The results in table 3 show the voting pattern of respondents in the 2008 presidential elections. The Akwatia and Odododiodioo constituencies are the strongholds of the two front horses NPP and NDC respectively. However, majority of the respondents of Akwatia representing 46% voted for the National Democratic Congress in the 2008 presidential election, followed by 39% and 15% voting for the New Patriotic Party and the Convention Peoples Party respectively. In Odododiodioo, the work revealed why that constituency remains a strong hold of the NDC. Majority (53%) of the respondent voted for the NDC whereas 47% voted for the NPP, with no respondent voting for any third party. This contributes to the fact that the voting patterns of Ghana's electoral politics is only between the two dominant NPP and NDC making the third parties less significant.

The pattern of vote among the respondents of Akwatia constituency changed in the 2008 parliamentary elections. Whereas, majority (46%) voted for the NDC in the presidential elections, 51% constituting the majority voted for the NPP in the parliamentary elections with only 3% voting for CPP. However, the voting pattern of respondents of Odododiodioo did not change in the parliamentary elections. Majority representing 56% voted for the NDC in the parliamentary elections whereas 44% voted for the NPP (see table 4). Whiles it can be said that the voting pattern among respondents of Akwatia is unpredictable that of respondents of Odododiodioo remains highly predictable in voting for a particular party as seen in the analysis above.

**Table 4: Distribution of respondents by party voted for in the 2008 parliamentary elections**

Which parliamentary candidate did you vote for in 2008?

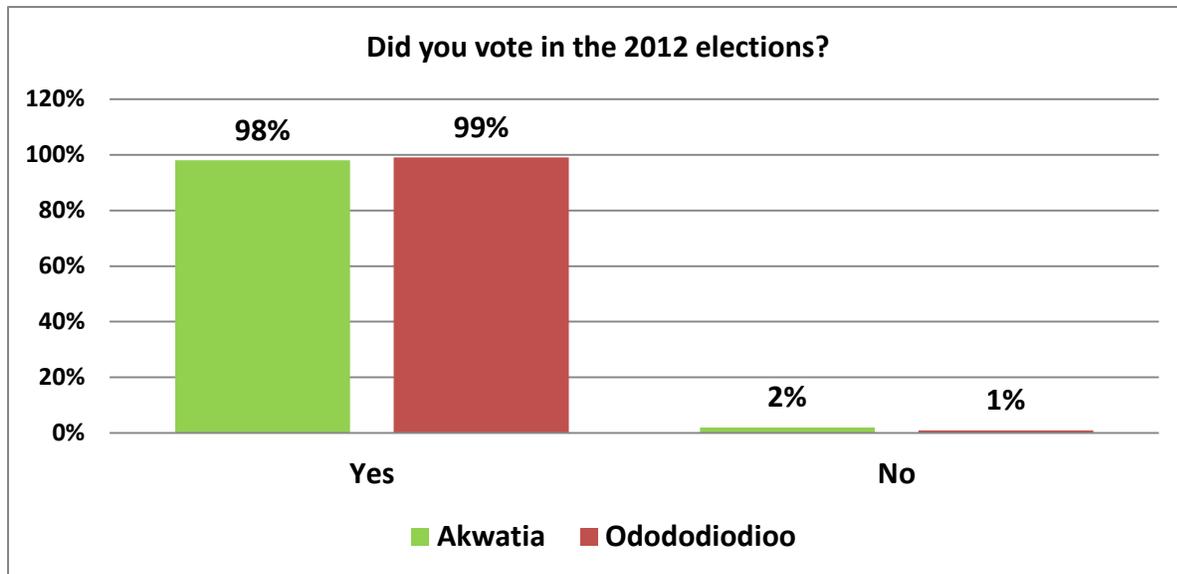
Akwatia	Frequency	Percentage (%)
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Valid	NPP	47	51
	NDC	43	46
	CPP	3	3
	Total	93	100
Missing	No applicable	7	
	Total	100	
<b>Odododiodioo</b>			
Valid	NPP	59	44
	NDC	74	56
	Total	133	100
Missing	Not applicable	17	
	Total	150	

*Source: Field survey, 2013.*

It was also realized that majority of the respondents of the two constituencies participated in the 2012 elections. Majority (98%) of the respondents of Akwatia participated in the 2012 elections whereas only 2% did not participate. Similarly, a significant 99% of the respondents of Odododiodioo voted in the 2012 elections with a discounting 1% not taking part in the elections (see fig 11). This shows a high level of political participation especially in Ghana's electoral politics contributing to the deepening of her infant liberal democracy. Perhaps the introduction of the biometric voter registration explains the reason for such a greater participation.

**Fig 11: Distribution of respondents by voting in the 2012 elections**



Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodio =150

The results in table 5 show the pattern of vote of respondents in the 2012 presidential elections. The pattern of voting in Akwatia changed in the 2012 presidential elections compared to the 2008 elections. Majority of the respondents of Akwatia representing 59% voted for the NPP, followed by NDC with 40% and 1% voting for the CPP. However, the voting pattern of respondents of Odododiodio in the 2008 elections remained the same in the 2012 elections. Those who voted for the NDC constitute 53%, with 47% also voting for the NPP. Thus, the Akwatia and the Odododiodio constituencies being the strongholds of the NPP and the NDC respectively are confirmed in the 2012 presidential elections.

**Table 5: Distribution of respondents by party voted for in the 2012 presidential elections**

Which presidential candidate did you vote for in 2012?

Akwatia	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Valid NPP	58	59
NDC	39	40
CPP	1	1
Total	98	100
Missing No applicable	2	

Total	100	
<b>Ododiodioo</b>		
Valid NPP	69	47
NDC	79	53
Total	148	100
Missing Not applicable	2	
Total	150	

*Source: Field survey, 2013.*

The 2012 parliamentary elections followed similar pattern as shown in table 6. Majority of respondents of Akwatia representing 55% voted for the NPP in the parliamentary elections, 42% and 1% voted for the NDC and the Peoples National Convention (PNC) respectively. On the reverse, majority (54%) of the respondents of Ododiodioo voted for the NDC with 46% voting for the NPP.

**Table 6: Distribution of respondents by party voted for in the 2012 parliamentary elections**

Which parliamentary candidate did you vote for in 2012?

<b>Akwatia</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
Valid NPP	55	55
NDC	42	42
PNC	1	1
Total	98	100

Missing No applicable	2	
Total	100	
<b>Odododiodioo</b>		
Valid NPP	68	46
NDC	80	54
Total	148	100
Missing Not applicable	2	
Total	150	

*Source: Field survey, 2013.*

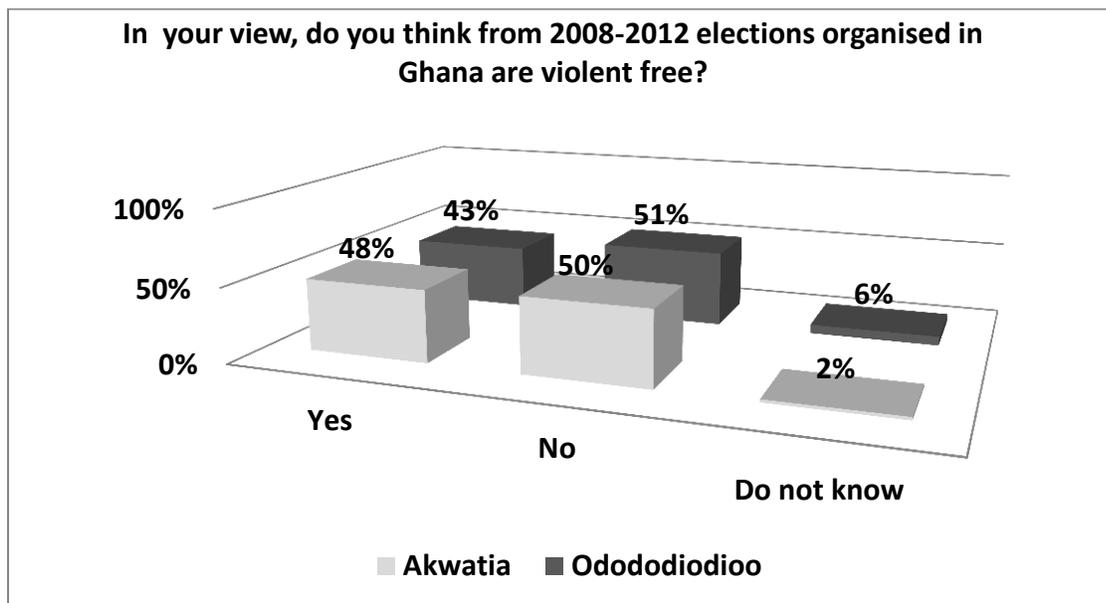
#### **4.4 CAUSES OF ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN AKWATIA AND ODODODIODIOO**

Electoral violence is that political violence that aims at the electoral process. It is geared towards winning political competition or power through violence, subverting the ends of the electoral and democratic process (FES-CCR, 2001:1). Achieving and creating a peaceful environment before, during and after elections has been a major challenge in the electoral politics in Africa. Ghana which has won the accolade of being the gateway of democratic governance in Sub-Saharan Africa is not in exception as it faces peculiar electoral related acrimony, fear and violence which is threatening the democratic prospects and consolidation of the country.

The Akwatia and Odododiodioo constituencies are two of the most violent constituencies in Ghana. It was the aim of the researcher to examine and validate such an assertion. It was revealed by the study that respondents through their experience acknowledge the fact that electoral violence persists in their respective constituencies especially from the 2008 to the 2012 elections (see fig 12). Majority (50%) of the respondents of Akwatia indicate that the 2008 and 2012 general elections were not violent free. To them, there were instances of outbreak of violence in their electoral areas before, during and after the 2008 and 2012 elections. Also 48% indicated otherwise with 2% not certain. Similarly, significant majority of respondents of Odododiodioo representing 51% acknowledged the outbreak of violence during the conduct of

2008 and 2012 presidential and parliamentary election. According to 43%, these elections were violent free while 6% were not certain. Thus, the nature of violence in these two constituencies is relative to specific electoral area with the majority of the electoral areas witnessing various forms of tension and violence before, during and after elections.

**Fig 12: Distribution of respondents by their views on whether the 2008 and 2012 Ghana elections were violent free**



Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodio =150

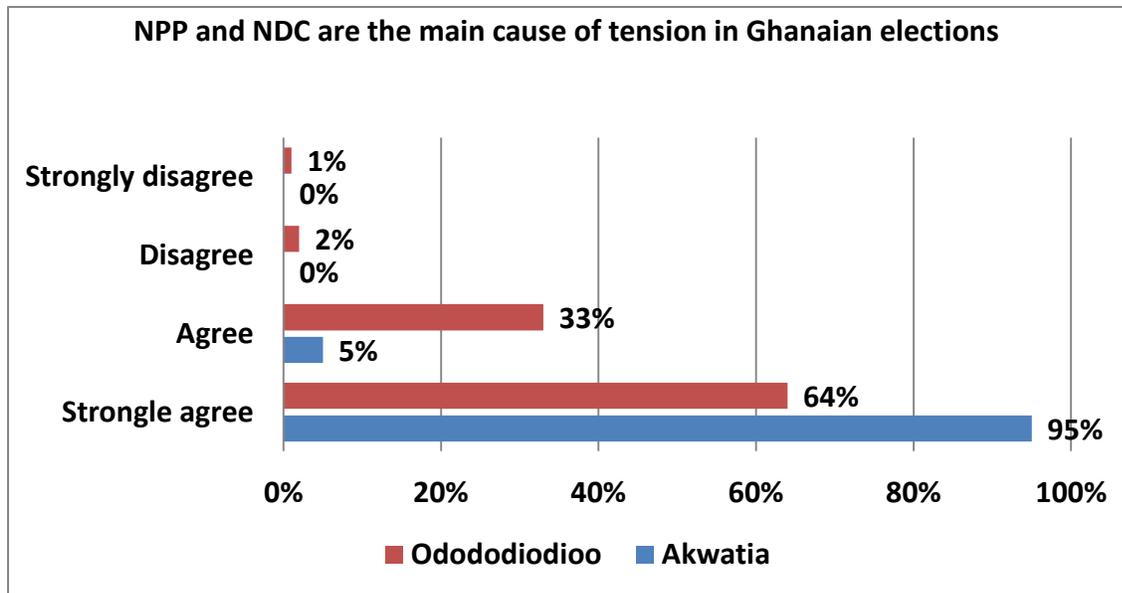
Respondents were asked on their level of agreements on the causes of electoral tension and violence in their constituencies.

The study revealed that the New Patriotic Party and the National Democratic Congress are identified as the main cause of electoral tension and violence in Ghana's electoral process. This is not surprising since competition of power is between these two front horses. Competitive elections are by their very nature conflicting processes aimed at mobilizing divergent interests in society and stimulating political competition between political actors and groups (Adolfo, 2012).

Especially since the 2000 general elections, the NPP and NDC have exhibited porous and acrimonious relationship before, during and after elections. The pre-election environment of the 2000 elections was characterized by deep mistrust and intense acrimony between the then ruling party, NDC and the opposition NPP. Reports of ruling party agents and organs of the state intimidating the opposition were rife, and there was a pervading sense that violence might erupt. All this created an unprecedented state of public anxiety as many people feared that the transition would be disrupted and the election might degenerate into civil conflict (Gyimah-Boadi, 2001:1). This attitude has continued to persist and even intensified.

Majority of the respondents of Akwatia representing 95% strongly agree that the NPP and the NDC are behind the persistent outbreak of violence in the Ghana's electoral process. To 5%, they agree that the two dominant parties and the main cause of election related violence in the country. Respondents of Odododiodioo also identify the NPP and NDC as agents of electoral violence. Majority (64%) strongly agree to the fact that the two main power contenders contribute to electoral violence, 33% agree and discounting 2% and 1% disagreeing and strongly agreeing respectively (see fig 13).

**Fig 13: Distribution of respondents on level of agreement on NPP and NDC as main cause of tension in Ghanaian elections**



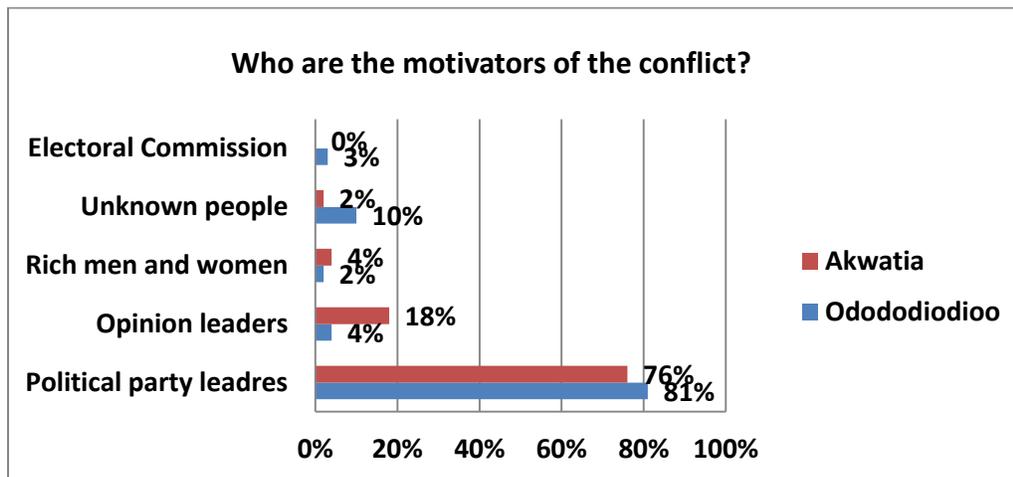
Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodioo =150

Respondents did indicate that political party leaders especially the NPP and the NDC are the main motivators of tensions in the electoral process (see fig 13). This has been seen in the poor campaign strategies where inflammatory and abusive comments become the headlines of political party campaigns creating fertile ground for clashes between supporters of the NPP and the NDC. Some respondents of both constituencies shared their personal experience on how they are constantly intimidated by hired thugs with the backing of political leaders especially parliamentary aspirants. This has been the case in some parts of the country where electorate feel intimidated by the presence of hired thugs or macho men. In the 2012 elections reports of harassment among NPP and NDC supporters were rife in the Odododiodioo constituency.

The above factor was confirmed by the interview that the researcher had with both EC officials at the two constituencies. The officials all reiterated that the two dominant parties the NPP and NDC played a major cause of electoral violence. In their view the political system in Ghana that is controlled by these two dominant parties are the causes the violence and tension in the two

areas. The disagreement between the two supporters of these dominant parties is a recipe for chaos. In the Akwatia constituency for the supporters of the two parties victimize and intimidate the supporters of their opponents. In the 2008 general election for example the snatched and smashed of the ballot boxes at the Akwatia constituency had the influence of the dominant parties. At the crime sense, those who are assembled for the commencement of violence are the diehard supporters of NPP and NDC. At Odododiodioo constituency pockets of violence were recorded in the 2008 elections in some polling stations among the followers of the two groups. In 2012 Biometric Voter Registration exercise there was clashes among the NPPs and NDCs. The clash occurred when the NDC parliamentary candidate at Odododiodioo refused the registration of non-Gas at Kantamato. The youth organizers of the two parties when interviewed accused the other of being violent. They all agreed that violence is employed to as the last recourse to self-defense.

**Fig 14: Distribution of respondents by the motivators of conflict in Ghana's electoral process**



Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodioo =150

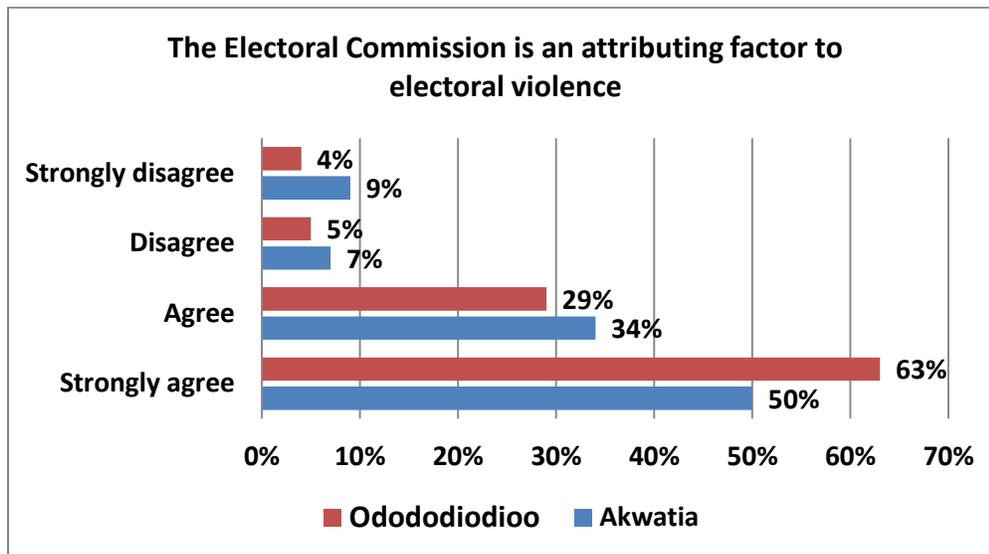
Electoral management bodies (EMBs) in Africa have also been identified as a factor behind electoral violence in transitional African states. As identified by the Electoral Institute for

Sustainable Democracy in Africa ([EISA], 2010) election violence occurs when the electoral management bodies (EMBs) mismanage elections by rigging, theft, and other forms of irregularity and manipulation.

The study revealed that the Electoral commission of Ghana also plays a role in the electoral-related violence in both constituencies right from the registration to the polling day (see fig 15). Majority of the respondent of Akwatia representing 50% strongly agree that the electoral commission is a contributive factor for the outbreak of violence as against 9% who strongly disagree. Similarly, 63% of the respondents of Odododiodioo strongly agree the EC play a role in the persistent violence in constituency whereas 4% strongly disagree. Various administrative and technical lapses on the part of EMBs affect the credibility and quality of election. Some respondents recounted that during the biometric voter registration exercise the EC used unqualified personnel which delayed them in the registration process. Also some argued from personal experience that the frequent break down of the registration gadgets created tensions in their registration centers between the registrants and the EC officials. Some also identified lack of transparency and neutrality on the part of the EC during elections with the aim of supporting a particular party to win. Resistance by some supporters eventually fuels clashes between the NDC and the NPP supporters in their respective electoral areas.

It became clear to the researcher in his interview with an NPP constituency Chairman at Odododiodioo that the EC was being ineptitude in the delivery of Biometric Voter Registration gadgets. At Odododiodioo, the breakdown of biometric machines created disorderliness and confusion among the people in a queue.

**Fig 15: Distribution of respondents by the Electoral Commission as cause of electoral Violence**



Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodio =150

The electoral politics in Africa is constantly played on the ethnic cards affecting the quality and credibility of election. Organizing competitive elections within a diverse ethnic society therefore makes the outbreak of electoral tensions and violence likely. The results in fig 16 show the level of agreement of respondents on ethnic diversity as a causal factor of electoral tension and violence in the Akwatia and Odododiodio constituencies.

Majority of the respondent of electorate in Akwatia and Odododiodio strongly agree that ethnic diversity poses a big challenge to the conduct of free and fair elections in Ghana (see fig 16). In Akwatia, a significant 88% strongly agree that ethnic diversity is a cause of electoral violence, 10% agree and 1% disagrees. Majority of the respondents of Odododiodio representing 43% also strongly agree that ethnic diversity is a causal factor of tension and violence in the Ghana's electoral process. Those who agree constitute 39%, 9% disagree and 9% strongly disagree. Thus, to majority of the respondents, ethnicity is a cause of the frequent cases of violence in the Ghana's electoral process especially among the diverse ethnic constituencies. This becomes

serious when a particular ethnic group is intimidated by the other. In Odododiodioo for instance, Akan respondents complained that during the biometric registration, they were intimidated and prevented from taking part in the process and their resistance eventually led to some clashes with the dominant Gas in the constituency. In a diverse society where the views of others are not well tolerated, misunderstanding ensues and creates security dilemma during the electoral process. Some respondents argued that people who are not indigenes but belonging to other ethnic groups always feel intimidated and embarrassed.

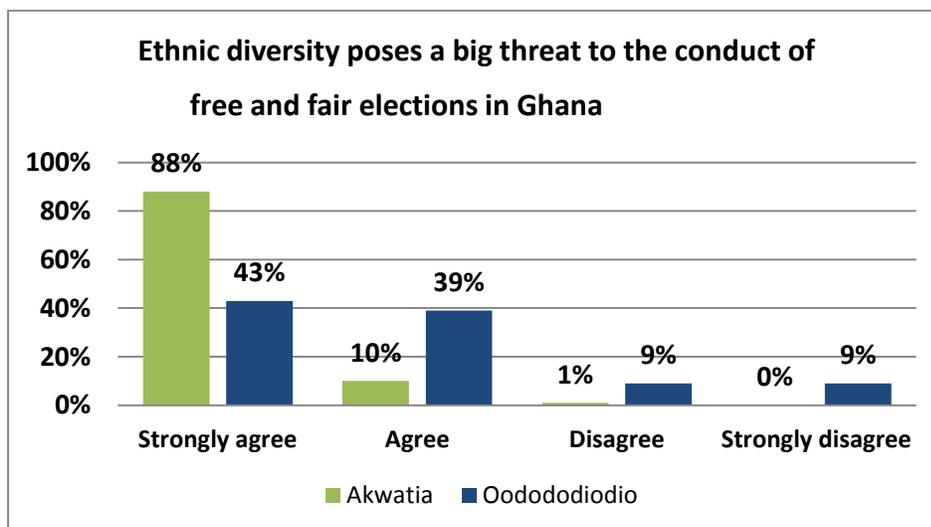
It became a crystal clear fact from all the EC officials interviewed in the two constituencies that ethnic diversity and the politicization of ethnicity are the embodiment of the tensions and violent clashes associated with the constituencies. At Odododiodioo, the EC confirmed that the influx of people from other ethnic groups forms the central cause of the violence. The Akan groups are sometimes denied their civic right to register or to vote. Kantamato the most popular trading point in Accra is cosmopolitan in nature and constitute Akans and other ethnic groups. In 2012 biometric voter registration, the Akans were not permitted to register and unfortunately this attempt was led by the NDC candidate, Nii Lamptey Vanderpuye. Again the clan division at Odododiodioo has led to chieftaincy disputes making the place volatile and tension prone even before general elections.

At the Akwatia the EC emphatically stated that ethnic diversity and politicization are at the core of the violent clashes in the constituencies. In reporting the role of the politicization, he mentioned that basically the Akwatia constituency is dominated by the Akyem ethnic group, yet the diamond site attracted people from other ethnic groups like the Hausa and Yuroba ethnic groups. The influx of other people from the northern Ghana and elsewhere has led to the creation of division and tension in the constituency's electoral politics. It was stated by the EC in Akwatia

that there exist rivalries between Akwatia the capital of the constituency and Wenchi the traditional town of the constituency. It was reviewed in the interview with the EC that the Wenchi chief is the paramount chief of the constituency yet Akwatia is the district capital. As a result of this there always exist tension and power struggle between the two towns. The fierce violence that exist between the two towns is aggravated by the selection of a member of parliament from Wenchi and Akwatia by the NPP and NDC respectively. The NPP candidate comes from Wenchi and a typical Akyem. Whiles the NDC candidate comes from Akwatia and a northerner.

However in Odododiodio the parliamentary candidates for the two political parties; NPP and NDC are all Gas and even belong to the royal clans that are entitled to the throne of the chieftaincy in the area.

**Fig 16: Distribution of respondents by ethnic diversity as a cause of electoral violence**

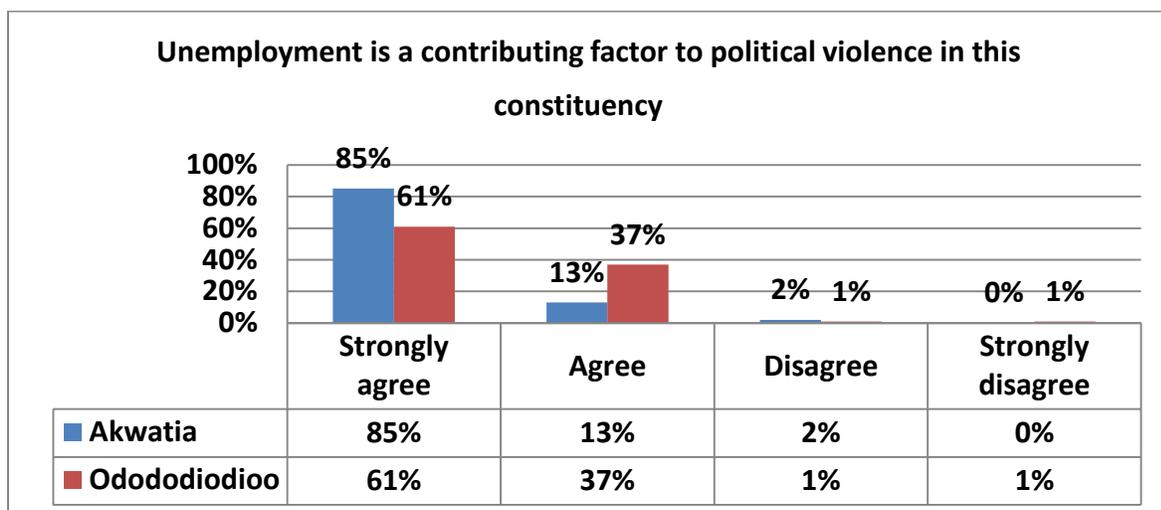


Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodio =150

It was also revealed that unemployment is a factor for the persistent electoral violence in the Akwatia and the Odododiodio constituencies (see fig 17). Majority (85%) of the respondents of a Akwatia strongly agree that unemployment contributes to the outbreak of violence in the

constituency. This is supported by 13% who agree with only a discounting 2% who do not agree. Similarly, majority of the respondents of Odododiodioo representing 61% strongly agree that unemployment explains the electoral violent- prone nature of the constituency. Also 37% indicate that they agree and a discounting 2% who do not see unemployment as a contributing factor for the outbreak of electoral violence before, during and after elections in Akwatia and Odododiodioo.

**Fig 17: Distribution on respondent by unemployment as a cause of electoral violence**



Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodioo =150

With the high level of unemployment in the Akwatia and Odododiodioo constituencies, those who are not working become the main instrument of violence used by political party leaders. They are normally influenced with money and other attractive packages to intimidate their opponents creating fear and panic before, during and after elections in these constituencies. They become available for thug hiring who, according to the findings of the study steal ballot boxes. In such situations, respondents argued that the fear and intimidation that characterize the election

atmosphere creates a tensed atmosphere resulting in clashes and eventual outbreak of electoral violence in these two constituencies.

The youth are also identified as agents of violence in the Akwatia and Odododiodioo constituencies (see fig 18). As argued by Attah-Boahene (2012:3), the youth are becoming increasingly inclined toward violent behavior and studies have revealed that young adults have always accounted for a large percentage of violent crimes including electoral violence. She argues that the rates of youth involvement in electoral violence by country vary around the world, with high rates seen particularly in Africa. The youth constitute majority of the vigilant groups (popularly known as foot soldiers) who are normally empowered by the NPP and the NDC to defend the territories of their respective political parties, fuelling citizens fears (Adjei, 2012).

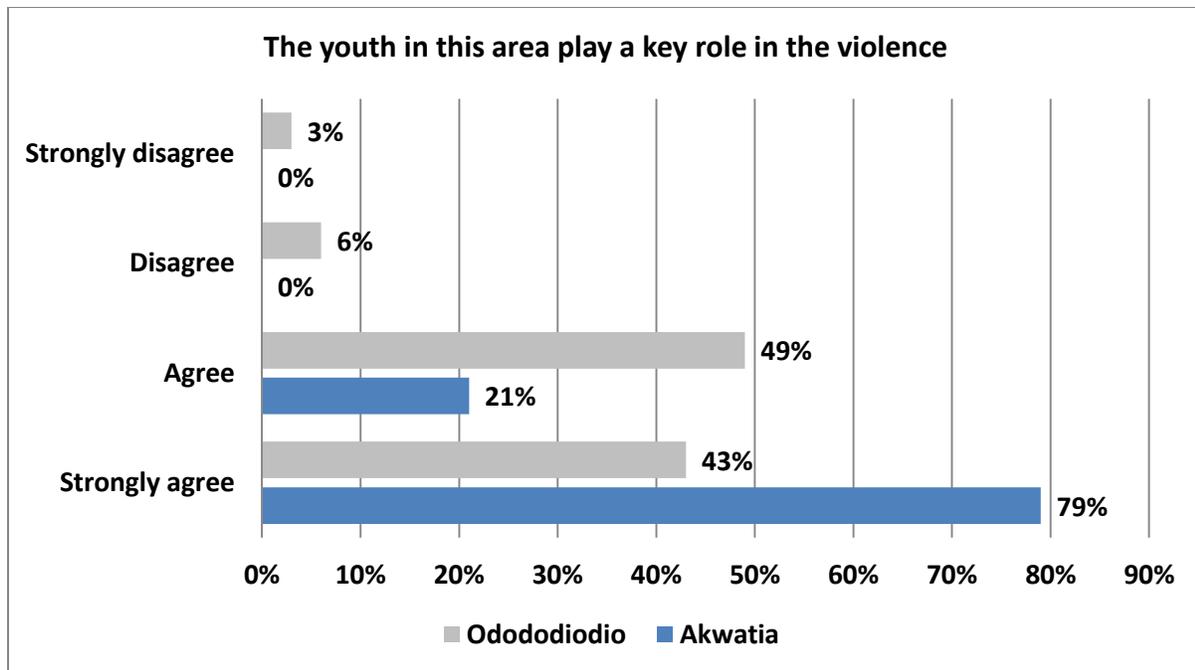
It was realized by the study that majority (79%) of the respondents of Akwatia strongly agree that the youth play a role in the electoral tension and violence in the constituency with 21% agreeing to the youth as a cause. In Odododiodioo, majority of the respondents representing 49% agree that the youth play a role in electoral violence in the constituency. Also, a significant 45% strongly agree, 6% disagree and 3% strongly disagree that the youth play a role in the violence. The youth involvement in the electoral violence in these constituencies has largely been influenced by factors such as unemployment and promises made to them by some political leaders. Some respondents identified drugs as an influencing factor in the frequent involvement of the youth in electoral violence.

In all the people that the researcher interviewed mentioned that the higher rate of unemployment in the Odododiodioo and Akwatia accounted for the involvement of the youth. The EC all the EC

officials confirmed the assertion that the youth and adults in the constituencies are highly unemployed. At Odododiodioo some youth are unemployed and spent time at home and with friends chatting. Those who are privileged with menial jobs also complained about low standard of living but rather a higher cost living. Although fishing and trading is the major source of income that support livelihood, nowadays it is now longer lucrative. It became clear to the researcher that the outboard motors needed by the youth so as they can fish is expensive and for someone to acquire one he must be affiliated with an incumbent political party. The difficulty in getting the materials need for fishing or a capital to commence trade has rendered most of the youth in Odododiodioo constituency to be unemployed.

Akwatia on the other, in the interview with the EC there, it becomes evident that the debacle of the Ghana Diamond Company that was owned by Ghana government led to the retrenchment of most workers particularly the youth. The collapse of the diamond company has led to the involvement of the youth in small scale mining popularly referred as “galamsey” in the constituency.

**Fig 18: Distribution on respondent by the youth as a cause of electoral violence**

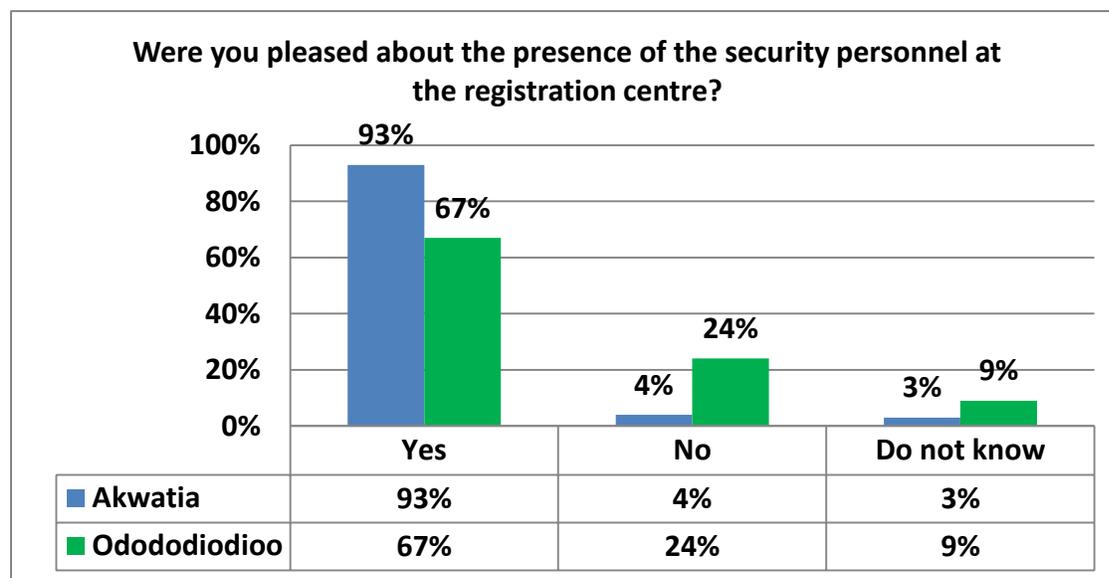


Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodio =150

The nature of electoral security and management has also been identified as a cause of electoral violence in the two constituencies. Thus, the weak security apparatus makes it difficult to create a peaceful condition for a violent free election before, during and after. As far as the security management is concern, it was revealed by the study that respondents showed a high level of displeasure at the presence of security personnel during registration exercises prior to elections (see fig 19). This was especially the case during the biometric registration exercise as respondents argued that the atmosphere was intimidating and chaotic. A significant 93% of respondents of Akwatia indicated that they were not pleased with the presence of security personnel at the registration centre especially during the 2012 biometric registration exercise. In Odododiodio, 63% also indicated their displeasure about the presence of the security personnel during voter registration exercise. Through an in-depth interview with some respondents of both constituencies, it was revealed that security personnel abuse their power by allowing their friends

and families to register at the expense of those who compromise with their sleep to form queues. This they argued usually leads to tensions in some electoral areas in their constituencies. For instance the Akwatia constituency was forced into a parliamentary in 2009 re-run in six polling stations (Presby JSS, Yoruba Mosque-A, Yoruba Mosque-B, Lorry Station-A, Lorry Station-B A.M.E. Zion Church-A) as a result of stealing of ballot boxes in these polling stations.

**Fig 19: Distribution of respondents by whether pleased with the presence of security personnel at registration centers**



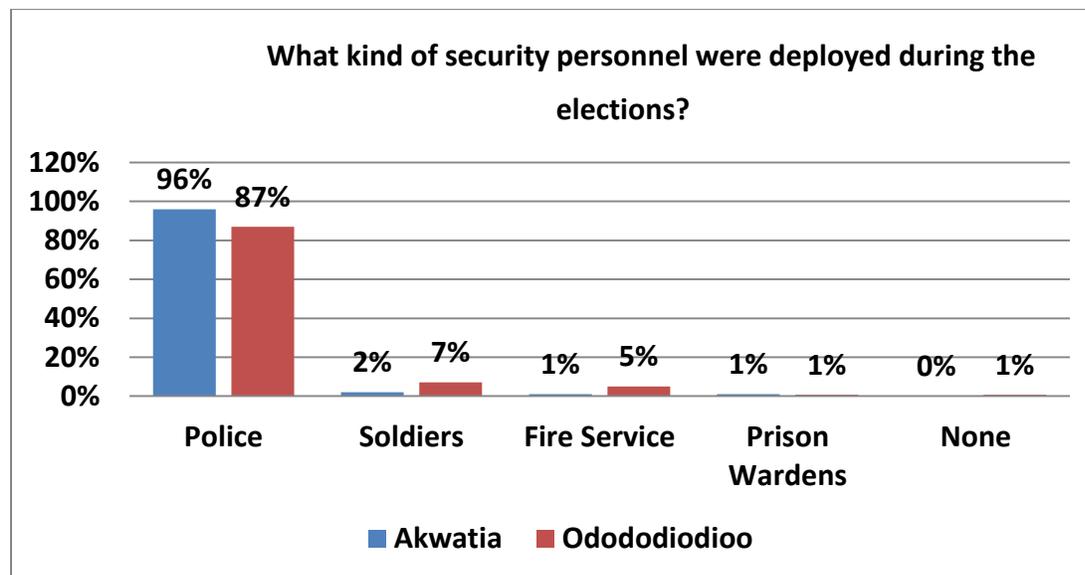
Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodio =150

The study revealed that the police are the most deployed security agencies in the two constituencies (see fig 20). Majority of the respondents of Akwatia representing 96% indicated the police as the most deployed security personnel in their electoral areas during election, followed by soldiers constituting 2% of the respondents, 1% indicating the availability of the Fire service and 1% also identifying the presence of Prison wardens in their electoral areas.

The case of Odododiodio is not different. Majority of the respondents representing 87% indicated the Police service as the most deployed security personnel during elections, 7% indicated the presence of soldiers in their electoral areas, 5% identified the Fire service. To 1%

the respondents, there Prison wardens were deployed in their electoral areas whereas 1% indicated the presence of no security personnel in their electoral areas. This clearly leads to poor and ineffective security coordination making it difficult for any proactive security measures in the wake of electoral disturbance such as stealing of ballot boxes, intimidations and harassment.

**Fig 20: Distribution of respondent by security personnel deployed during election**



Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodio =150

#### 4.5 EFFECTS OF ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN AKWATIA AND ODODODIODIOO

The costs associated with electoral violence are high. Even in situations in which the human death toll remains low, election violence may have a critical impact on the electoral process, the outcome of the elections and their perceived legitimacy (Adolfo, 2012:2).

The study also sought to find answers to the effects of electoral related violence and tensions in the Akwatia and the Odododiodioo constituencies. Various negative effects of electoral related violence were identified by the respondents (see fig 21).

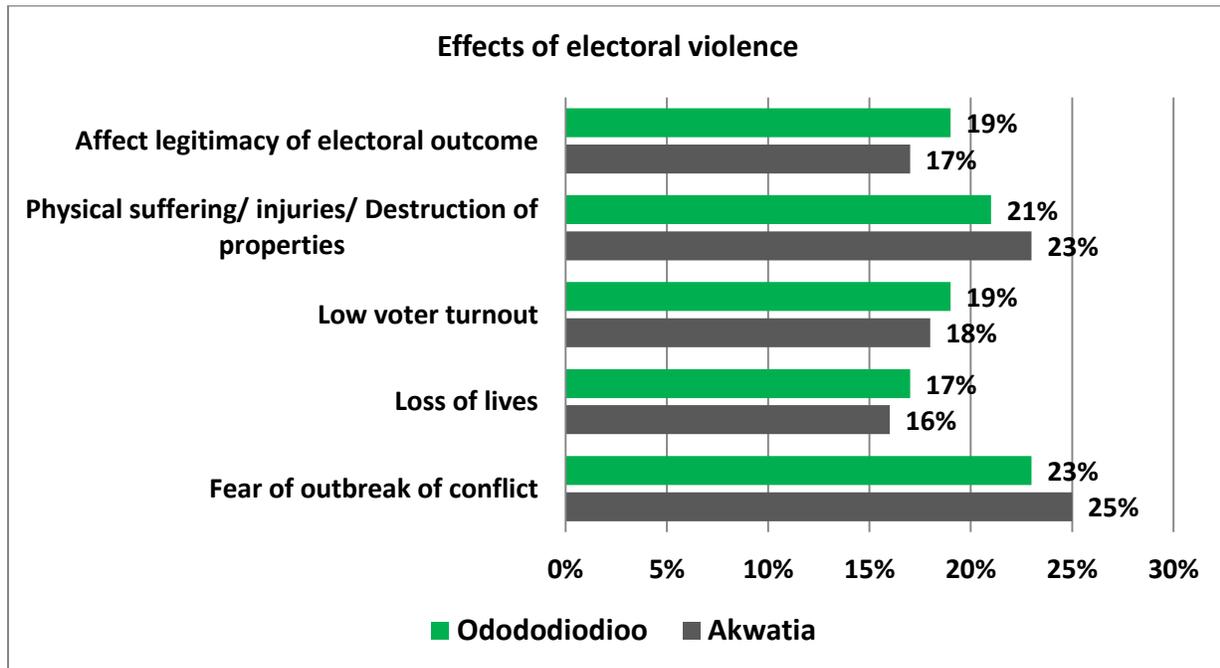
Majority of the respondents of Akwatia (25%) and Odododiodioo (23%) indicated the fear of outbreak of conflict as an effect of the persistent electoral-related violence in their respective constituencies. The fear and acrimony that characterize the periods before, during and after elections create uncertainty which fuels the outbreak of electoral conflict if precautionary management measures are not put in place. Respondents were of the view that they are always put under fear and anxiety during elections due to the frequent clashes between supporters of the two major political parties, the NPP and the NDC. Most electoral conflicts in Africa have been as a result of the inability to manage cases of electoral violence which end up taking a national dimension. Although Ghana has been credited for her electoral violence managements, respondents argued that the continuous fear and acrimony makes the country not too far from slipping into civil war like the experiences in Kenya and the Ivory Coast among many others.

About 23% and 21% of respondents of Akwatia and Odododiodioo respectively identified physical suffering, injuries and destruction of properties as another effect of electoral related violence in their respective constituencies. The clashes between supporters lead to injuries and destruction of valuable items. The respondents argued that hired thugs popularly known as “macho men” in the Ghanaian parlance infiltrate pain even on the innocent which comes with health related costs and destruction of other valuable items. Thus, electoral related violence comes with both humanitarian and economic costs. About 17% of respondents of Odododiodioo and 16% of Akwatia indicated that the clashes can eventually lead to loss of human lives as a result of the injuries associated with the outbreak of tensions and violence although they could not give cite clear example of electoral violence related deaths. Respondents of Akwatia recounted the curfew imposed government on Akwatia by the government of Ghana to bring

back the constituency to normalcy prior to the August, 18<sup>th</sup> 2009 re-run elections as a result of the clashes between political parties and their supports.

Also 19% of respondents of Odododiodioo and 18% of Akwatia identified low voter turnout as another effect of the electoral violence. Thus, in the wake of heightened violence, the electorate, for the fear of their lives does not take any risk to vote. The frequent outbreak of violence according to some respondents create tensed and intimidating atmosphere which make their lives unsafe.

To about 19% of respondents of Odododiodioo and 17% electoral violence does not only affect the voter turnouts but it puts the credibility and legitimacy of electoral outcome into disrepute. This to them does not ensure free and fair elections. The electoral violence as a result of the clashes between political parties and their supporters create an intimidating and tensed atmosphere which influences their choice of voting for the fear of their lives. The stealing of ballot boxes according to some respondents make it difficult for supporters of losing candidates or parties to accept the outcome which leads to a relapse of violence. Most especially, parliamentary candidates who win under conditions of violence according to some respondents are not legitimate in their eyes hence do not give them the support they need.

**Fig 21: Distribution of respondents by the effects of electoral violence**

Source: Field survey, 2013. NB: Multiple response questions: Total valid response for Akwatia=369, Odododiodioo = 624; Sample size (n): Akwatia= 100, Odododiodioo =150

#### 4.6 CONCLUSION

The chapter has empirically examined the voting behaviour and patterns of Akwatia and Odododiodioo constituencies under the Fourth Republic of Ghana. It has also underscored the causes and effects of electoral violence in the two constituencies. The data gathered have well been analyzed, interpreted and discussed by the researcher in the attempt to find answers to the arduous task of the study. The summary of the findings, conclusion of the study and recommendations are discussed in the last chapter.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

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

#### **5.0 INTRODUCTION**

This study was conducted to investigate why there still exist pockets of violence in the electoral process of Ghana in Odododiodioo and Akwatia after two decades of practicing democracy. The study focused on the two most volatile and violent prone constituencies; the Akwatia and Odododiodioo as case study constituencies. The study is to find the causes of violence and its impact on the democratic governance in Ghana. The above chapters in the empirical study addressed the causes of electoral violence in Africa in general and specifically that of Ghana.

The researcher conducted a survey in the form of questionnaires and interviews to unravel the root causes of electoral violence and tensions in the two constituencies in Ghana's electoral politics in particular and the entire state's politics in general. The main purpose of this chapter is to summarize the main findings of the study, offer recommendations and draw a conclusion. The conclusions of this empirical study are premised on the analysis of qualitative and quantitative in the form of diagrams, tables, figures and explanations.

#### **5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

The analysis arrived at the following findings:

There remains higher prevalence of electoral violence in Ghana's electoral process in Akwatia and Odododiodioo based on the culture of intolerance that the supporter of political parties specifically the NPP and NDC have developed towards each other. These supporters do not see

eye to eye with each other. It was discovered in both constituencies that the supporter of each group in some occasions prior to the conduct of general elections destroy the bill boards and posters of their opponents. The criminal conduct of the destruction of political party posters and bill boards escalate tensions and clashes. In addition to this is that there exists intolerance of the people in the two constituencies to debate political and electioneering campaign messages dispassionately without acrimony or clashes. In the upcoming of the 2012 general elections for example, the Centre for Democratic Governance organized a parliamentary debate at Odododiodioo constituency among all the contesting parliamentary candidates in that constituency. Unfortunately the programme came to an instantaneous end during the questions time when a young man from the NPP asked an inflamed question. The supporter of the NDC nearly lynched him up. It is in this purview that 95 percent of the respondents in Akwatia and 64 percent of the respondents in Odododiodioo responded that both NPP and NDC are the main cause of violent clashes in the constituencies. In the same vein the response of the respondents about who are the motivators of the violence, it proved in the affirmative that the political parties' leaders are the main instigators with a whopping percentage in support.

There is the politicization of ethnicity by the two dominant political parties; the NPP and NDC. The political parties exploit and milk the votes of their followers by politicizing ethnicity in their favour. This practice is seen particularly as a tool used by the two most dominant political parties at the constituency level of Ghana's electioneering campaign and processes. At Akwatia for instance the NDC parliamentary candidate is not indigenous Akyem but rather he come from the northern part of Ghana so the NPPs whose candidate is an indigene play the Akan factors in their favour. On the other hand the NDC candidate who has more supporters in the Zongos exploits ethnic line of vote canvassing. This is confirmed in data that were gathered. 88 and 43 percent of

the respondents in the Akwatia and Odododiodioo respectively responded that they strongly agree that the misuse of ethnicity to canvass votes is a major cause of violence. The use of words such as “we no go sit down for zongos or non-Gas to dominate our decision of who rule us” is the root cause of the violent elections we see in the constituencies. Surprisingly the NPP candidate in Akwatia comes from Wenchi the traditional town of the constituency while the NDC candidate is based in Akwatia the district capital. There exists acrimony among the two towns over who is superior to the other. Traditionally the Wenchi Chief is a paramount chief and has power over the Akwatia chief. In Odododiodioo for instance there exists ethnic struggle between the Ga indigenes and the Akans. Interestingly both NDC and NPP parliamentary candidates from 2000 to 2012 general election are all Gas.

In addition to the above is the cruel tactics used by the parliamentary candidates of political parties in the constituencies. In the Odododiodioo constituency for instance violence were accentuated as a result of the exclusionist tactics employed by the NDC parliamentary candidate, It is established that in 2004 the NDC leading party member brought some people who were not supposed to be registered in the constituency to register, besides he was arrested for double registration. This led to the arrest and litigation between the EC and the NDC member. In 2012 the same person but now NDC parliamentary candidate prevented some people from registering the reason for the candidates action is they are non- Gas. A similar tactics is used in Akwatia when the NDC and NPP candidates deplored macho men to protect the ballot boxes during voting. The activities of these thugs intimidate the voters sometimes.

An important revelation is that there exist higher rate of youth unemployment and abject poverty in the two constituencies and as a result of that, the unemployed and the poor become vulnerable to the lavish seduction package of politicians and persons who need their support in fomenting

violence. The data showed that 85 percent of the respondents in Akwatia responded that they strongly agree that higher unemployment rate is a cause of the elevated prevalence of violence. On the other hand in Odododiodioo, 61 percent of the respondents affirmed that unemployment plays a central role in the violence in that constituency. It became evident that only 2 percent of the respondents in both constituencies disagreed that the crux of violence in the two constituencies is as a result of the shoot up rate of unemployment. It became seeable in the data that were gathered by the researcher at the two constituencies that unemployment is at the heart of the problem of electoral violence. At Akwatia for instance the non-availability of descent jobs for the people, particularly the youth has resulted to their involvement in the canvassing of votes for their parliamentary candidates so they can benefit from political patronage. The intensity of the unemployed rate in Akwatia hit its apogee that the youth in the town were seen by the researcher digging a six unit class room block for diamond.

At the bottom of the findings, is that majority of the respondents in the two constituencies, Akwatia and Odododiodioo responded with 63 and 50 percent respectively that they strongly disagree that the Electoral Commission (EC) is involved in the escalation of violence. 9 and 4 percent vehemently disagree that the EC is not a cause of the violence. There is significantly low responds of the populations as leveling the blame of the cause of electoral violence on the EC.

In the nut shell, the above paragraphs illustrate the summary of the findings. It became clear in the findings that the prevalence of electoral violence is as a result of the unchangeable culture of political intolerance by the political actors particularly between the supporters of NPP and NDC. The disagreements between the two factions in most electioneering seasons are mismanaged and mishandled that it escalates violence. The trajectory of violence in the two constituencies points to the intolerant of political parties towards each other in the competitive quest for political

power. The chapter again teases out that electoral violence has become the embodiment of the constituencies under study owing to the politicization of ethnicity by political parties to canvass for votes. The dominant political parties in electioneering campaigns have rallied support from the voters who belong to their ethnic groups. This practice has instigated violence, tension and enmity among the various political parties and ethnic group.

The study discovered that the occurrence of higher unemployment rate and abject poverty that hang on the neck of the constituencies as a Sword of Damocles is the fuelling cause of violence in the constituencies in that the youth become vulnerable to persuasion. The escalating rate of youth unemployment serves as a catalyst for the in the constituencies to be hired as thugs by the politicians to cause trouble.

In addition to the above, there is the contribution of the Electoral Commission in the poor organization of elections. Although this point received a low support of the respondents, a significant percentage of the respondents support the proposition.

## **5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The study based on the above findings make the following recommendations:

To begin with, there must be the promotion of violent free elections based on the de-politicization of ethnicity by political parties. To achieve this there must be an elite consensus building by the various political parties we have in Ghana to avoid the use of ethnicity to gain cheap political advantage. The parties' electioneering campaigns should be based on issues affecting the people. Anything outside interest aggregation and articulation should be discouraged to enhance smooth democratic development. In the same vein political parties ought to be educated about the ramifications of the use of ethnicity to canvass for votes. It is evident

that states that have politicized ethnicity have experienced, in most cases electoral tensions and violence which have led to the reversal of democracy. With hindsight from the devastating nature of conflicts in some Sub-Saharan African countries, political parties in Ghana should safeguard the state's fledgling democracy.

The state must provide adequate mass and civic education on elections and democracy. The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) mandated by the 1992 Republican Constitution to provide civic education should be strengthened. Adequate funds and logistics that are needed for effective and efficient civic education on democracy and elections should be released. The study revealed that most voters were ignorant about the rules and regulations and their duties and responsibilities as citizens for the peaceful conduct of free and fair elections. Their role as citizens to maintain peace and harmony with their neighbors ought to be propagated down to all citizens. It must be emphasized in the civic education that elections are not competitive warfare but rather a peaceful means of selecting leaders to govern society.

There must be the institutionalization and the strengthening of political parties' code of conduct. The modality for the conduct of politics and elections must be entrenched and strengthened or promoted. This code of conduct could include the choice of words that political parties should use at their campaign rally grounds.

There must be the strengthening of the Inter-party Advisory Committee (IPAC). The Electoral Commission (EC) should promote discussions and consensus building at IPAC meetings. Political parties should seek clarifications about election modalities at the IPAC meeting. Political parties should note that "jaw jaw is better than war". The Inter-party advisory committee has proven to be positive in finding the lasting solution of political party discords. It

is important to mention that politics is about conflict, conflict resolution and consensus building and IPAC has proven to be the enabling platform for discussions among political parties.

In going forward there must be the strengthening of the judiciary to enable smooth adjudication of electoral dispute and also to punish the perpetrators of violence. Political parties and the general public should build trust in the judiciary. It is only when the people develop confidence to seek redress in the court that Ghana's democracy can grow. The judiciary should also be independent and live an exemplary life that is above reproach. The confidence in the judiciary can be built by the avoidance of partiality and corruption by the institution. Again fast adjudication of electoral violence cases should be implemented so as to make people have faith in the court.

There must be an efficient and independent mass media. The media is important to Ghana's democracy to educate the masses about their civic responsibility. The use of provocative and inflammatory speech ought to be discouraged. The mass media in Ghana should be promoted to discharge its official duty fairly and without bias towards any political party. Besides in the event of tense electioneering campaigns, the mass media should be professional and calm in their reportage to avert the creation of violence. The state should involve itself in the capacity building of the mass media personnel. The enabling environment needed for training and development of the mass media must be created.

In order to promote good democratic governance and violent free elections in Ghana's Fourth Republic, the Electoral Commission should be strengthened and resourced with logistics. The independence of the Electoral Commission should be promoted. There must be proper preparation towards the registration of voters. Back up in the form of Biometric Voter Registration machines should be provided as standby. The tensions that occurred in the 2012

biometric voter registration exercise were as a result breakdown of machines and logistical challenge. In addition the EC outfit that is mandated to provide education for registration officials should train their officials who are supposed to register voters to do so with professionalism and unbiased attitude.

Ghana Police Service should investigate the perpetrators of electoral violence for prosecution. The culture of impunity where perpetrators of crimes in elections are unpunished should not be promoted by the police and the government. It was evident in my interaction with the constituents of Akwatia and Odododiodioo that the perpetrators of violence in their constituencies often go unpunished. In going forward offenders ought to be punished to serve as deterrents to other who would like to recourse to violence to make gains in election. The police should be fair in treating all persons and also should provide security to persons outside the incumbent government party. The case of Akwatia and Odododiodioo where perpetrators of election crime as in those who snatched ballot boxes and burnt and those who violently prevented others from registering ought to be pursued to nip the problem in the bud.

The saying that the devil finds work for idle hands is undoubtedly true. It is based on this assertion that the unemployed youth ought to be given jobs by the state. The state's economy should be broadened by means of industrialization and value added raw material. This will broaden the rate of government and private recruitment of workers hence reducing the higher rate of unemployment. Again recruitment of people in jobs should be fairly done and be devoid of partisanship. By strictly recruiting people based on competence will discourage some persons who deem it fit to use violence as a means of pleasing their political leaders for political appointment.

Finally all parties including foot soldiers and party cadres should be advised to adhere to rules governing elections and politics. The basic things such as politics and elections are not warfare, but a healthy means of competition should be communicated to all members and supporters.

### **5.3 CONCLUSION**

With the adoption of democracy by Ghanaians, there has been the conduct of six general elections which have been deemed generally successful, free and fair. From the time of the inception of the Fourth Republic till now, pockets of violence and tension have not characterized the conduct of elections. The fear of elections degenerating into violence to has led to civil society groups mapping out strategies to curb violence and to promote peace. Ghana's democracy has not been free from the shackles of conflicts and disagreements. Political parties and party candidates have been at the heart of these violent clashes. The democratic ideals of tolerance of dissenting views and equal rights have not well been inculcated into the body politics of Ghana's democracy.

A vivid account of the study indicated the violence that characterizes the two constituencies studied is multifaceted. There have been protracted conflict and accentuated with violent clashes by political parties in most cases between the two dominant political parties the NPP and NDC. The posture adopted by the candidates from the two most dominant political parties have been the resort to force, intimidation and violence to achieve the desirable goal of winning political power. The politicization of ethnicity by political parties is the root cause of the tension and devastating violence.

In moving forward, the Ghanaian state in order to avert the occurrence or to reduce tension, clashes and violence in elections should adopt all the tenet of liberal democracy. The building and strengthening of democratic institutions is the prerequisite for the peace conduct of elections and democratic sustainability. Democracy thrives well in states where these democratic institutions are cherished and respected.

Finally, Ghana should place higher premium on the education and incorporation of its citizens on the democratic development. Ghana's democracy will grow when the citizenry are included in its development. Since the nucleus of democracy revolves around people, it is therefore important for the incorporation into the process.

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## **INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED**

Nana Oduro (Former EC of Akwatia and current EC of Amasaman): Interviewed on 11<sup>th</sup> August, 2012.

Nat Quaye (Former EC of Odododiodioo): Interviewed on 13<sup>th</sup> January, 2012.

Current EC of Odododiodioo: Interviewed on 16<sup>th</sup> August, 2012.

Akwatia current Electoral Commissioner: Interviewed on 4<sup>th</sup> October, 2012.

**LIST OF APPENDIX****APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE****Department of Political Science****University of Ghana****Topic: Electoral Competition in Ghana's Fourth Republic: a case study of Ododiodioo and Akwatia constituencies 2000-2012**

Dear Respondent,

I am a Master of Philosophy student from the Department of Political Science at the University of Ghana. I am in final year of my Masters' programme and as required by the university, I am to submit a research work in partial fulfillment of my requirement to be awarded with MPhil (Political Science) degree. I am conducting a research on the above topic. The objective of this research is to investigate why electoral competition leads to violence in these areas. This survey is meant for academic purposes, it has no linkage with any political party or government.

The survey is absolutely confidential, based on its confidentiality, I will not ask of your name or your house number or address. Besides your involvement in this exercise is completely based on volunteering and there is no punishment or reward; I shall not pay you for your service. You reserve the sole right to withdraw at any point or better still you can choose to answer some questions and not others. Every voter registered adult in this constituency has the chance of being involved in the survey. The survey will take about twenty minutes of your time. Thank you.

Electoral Area:.....

QID:.....

**Part 1: Demographic Data**

Please tick the appropriate answer.

1. Sex      a. Male [    ]                      b. Female [    ]  
 2. Age      a. 18-25 [    ]    b. 26-32 [    ]    c. 33-39 [    ]    d.40-47 [    ]    e. 48  
             and above [    ]

3. Religion a. Christian [ ] b. Moslem [ ] c. African Traditional Religion [ ]

4. Educational background a. None [ ] b. Primary [ ] c. Secondary [ ] d. teacher Training [ ] e. Technical sch. [ ] f. Polytechnic [ ] g. University [ ]

5. Occupation a. Farmer [ ] b. Teacher [ ] c. Trader [ ] d. Unemployed [ ] e. Fishing [ ] Others (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

6. Which ethnic group do you belong?

a. Akan [ ] b. Ewe [ ] c. Dagomba [ ] d. Ga [ ] e. Mamprusi [ ] f. Grusi [ ]

Others (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

### Part 2: Issues on Elections

7. Have you ever voted in any elections under the Fourth Republic?

a. Yes [ ] b. No [ ]

8. If you have ever voted, how many times have voted?

a. Once [ ] b. Twice [ ] c. Quadruplet [ ] d. In all elections [ ]

9. If No, what were the reasons for not voting?

a. Unqualified [ ] b. I travelled outside the country [ ] c. I was not interested [ ]

d. I did not know there were the elections [ ] e. other (specify)

10. Did you vote in the 2008 general elections in Ghana? A. Yes [ ] b. No [ ]

11. If you did, which presidential candidate did you vote for?

a. NPP [ ] b. NDC [ ] c. CPP [ ] d. PNC [ ]

e. others \_\_\_\_\_

12. Did you vote in the 2012 general elections in Ghana?

a. NPP [ ] b. NDC [ ] c. CPP [ ] d. PNC [ ]

e. others \_\_\_\_\_

13. Did you vote in the 2008 Presidential elections in Ghana? A. Yes [ ] b. No [ ]

14. Which Parliamentary candidates did you vote for?

a. NPP [ ] b. NDC [ ] c. CPP [ ] d. PNC [ ]

e. others \_\_\_\_\_

15. What motivated your decision?

a. Party affiliation [ ] b. Party Ideology [ ] c. Party colours [ ] d. Ethnic influence [ ]

e. Personality of the leader [ ] e. Personality of the leader [ ] f. Socio-economic programmes [ ] g. All the above [ ]

Part 3: Issues about Electoral Violence

16. Do you think the conditions that exist in Ghana's elections make the process violence free?

a. Yes [ ] b. No [ ] c. I don't know [ ]

If No, give reasons \_\_\_\_\_

17. In your view do you think from 2008-2012 elections organized in Ghana are violence free?

a. Yes [ ] b. No [ ] c. I don't know [ ]

If No, give reasons \_\_\_\_\_

18. Did you register in the biometric registration?

a. Yes [ ] b. No [ ]

19. What led to tension in the biometric voter registration exercise?

a. Low education [ ] b. Poor Publicity c. Prevention of others from voting [ ]

d. Hired thug [ ] e. Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

20. Who are the motivators of the conflict?

a. Political party leaders [ ] b. Opinion leaders c. Rich men and women [ ]

d. Unknown people e. Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

21. NPP and NDC are the main cause of tension of Ghanaian elections.

a. Strongly Agree [ ] b. Agree [ ] c. Disagree [ ] d. Strongly Disagree

22. Ethnic diversity poses a big threat to the conduct of free and fair elections.

a. Strongly agree [ ] b. Agree c. Disagree [ ] d. strongly disagree [ ]

23. Unemployment is a contributing factor to political violence in this constituency.

a. Strongly agree [ ] b. Agree c. Disagree [ ] d. strongly disagree [ ]

24. Misunderstanding elections and democracy is an attributing factor to electoral violence.

a. Strongly agree [ ] b. Agree c. Disagree [ ] d. strongly disagree [ ]

25. The youth in this area play a key role in the violence.

a. Strongly agree [ ] b. Agree c. Disagree [ ] d. strongly disagree [ ]

26. The Electoral commission is an attributing factor to electoral violence

a. Strongly agree [ ] b. Agree c. Disagree [ ] d. strongly disagree [ ]

27. What was the atmosphere like during the Biometric registration?

a. Tensed [ ] b. Peaceful [ ] c. I don't know [ ]

28. Where you intimidated by the atmosphere?

a. Yes [ ] b. No [ ]

If yes, give reasons \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

29. What kind of security personnel were deployed at the registration centre?

a. Police [ ] b. Soldiers [ ] c. Fired Service [ ] d. Prison wardens [ ]

e. other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

30. Were you pleased about the presence of the security personnel at the registration centre?

a. Yes [ ] b. No [ ] c. I don't know [ ]

31. How do you describe the registration at your place?

a. Orderly [ ] b. chaotic [ ] c. I don't know [ ]

32. What was the political atmosphere during the day of elections?

a. Orderly [ ] b. chaotic [ ] c. I don't know [ ]

33. What do you consider to be some of the effects of the persistent electoral violence in your constituency?

.....

.....