

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA



PARTY FRAGMENTATION IN GHANA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC:

A CASE STUDY OF THE NKRUMAHIST PARTIES

BY

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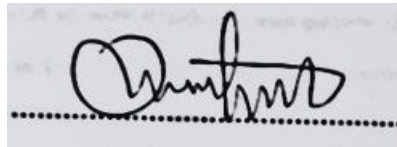
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DECLARATION

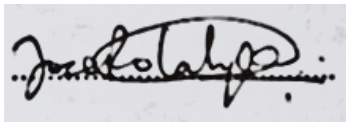
I hereby declare that this work was carried out independently by me under the supervision of Professor J.R.A. Ayee and Dr. Isaac Owusu-Mensah and has not been submitted by anyone in this institution or elsewhere for any academic award. All references have been duly acknowledged.



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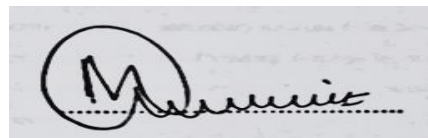
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ABSTRACT

Intra-party conflicts and party fragmentation is not a new phenomenon to Ghanaian politics. It traces its historical antecedents to when Kwame Nkrumah led a section of the UGCC to breakaway to form the CPP in 1949. Subsequent ones occurred in the Third Republic of Ghana when the Danquah-Busia tradition's Progress Party was split into the PFP and UNC ahead of the 1979 elections. Ghana's Fourth Republic cannot entirely be left out of the picture because it has also had its share of intra-party conflicts and fragmentations. Despite its resurgence, some political parties in Ghana like the NPP and NDC have perfected the art of managing the situation as and when it erupts. However, the Nkrumahist parties have failed to recover from their recurrent fragmentation.

Against this backdrop, the study examined the dynamics of the fragmentation of the Nkrumahist parties and its impact on them. The study adopted the qualitative research approach to obtain its primary data as well as relied on some existing secondary sources from books, articles, etc. The study found that leadership crises, exploitation of warring factions by major political parties and the effects of Ghana's political system have over the years contributed to the inability of Nkrumahist parties to recover from fragmentation like NDC and NPP. The dynamics to this the fragmentation include self-induced factors like excessive glorification of their founder and absence of effective party structures, selfishness and greed, political opportunism, party financing and Ideological rift. Additional factors like the deliberate extermination of the tradition through coups and the destabilization ploy by major parties were found to had also contributed to the Nkrumahists' problem. The Nkrumahists fragmentation was found to have contributed to their abysmal electoral performance, affected their ability to advance alternative governance proposals, entrenched the 'two-horse' race between the NDC and NPP as well as attracted businessmen who only use the tradition as means of amassing wealth or launch their political career. The study recommends among others the need for

Nkrumahists to build effective party structures, strengthen their conflict resolution mechanisms, and refrain from excessive greed and political patronage.

DEDICATION

To God, family, country and all Nkrumahists in Ghana.

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List of abbreviations

AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
ANC	African National Congress
APC	All People's Congress
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
CPP	Convention People's Party
DFP	Democratic Freedom Party
EFL	Economic Fighters League
FONKAR	Friends of Konadu Agyemang-Rawlings
GAME	Get Atta Mills Elected
GCPP	Great Consolidated Popular Party
GUM	Ghana United Movement
KEEA	Komenda Edina Eguafo Abirem
MPLA	People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola
MPP	Melanesian Progressive Party
NADECO	National Development Company
NAL	National Alliance of Liberals
NCP	National Convention Party
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NIM	National Interest Movement

NIP	National Independence Party
NLC	National Liberation Council
NLCD	National Liberation Council Decree
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NRC	National Redemption Council
NRP	National Reform Party
NUP	National United Party
PDA	Preventive Detention Act
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PFP	Popular Front Party
PG	Parliament of Ghana
PHP	People's Heritage Party
PNC	People's National Convention
PNDC	Provisional National Defense Council
PNP	People's National Party
PP	Progress Party
PPP	Progressive People's Party
QCA	Qualitative Content Analysis
SMC	Supreme Military Council
SWAPO	South West African People's Organization

TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
UGCC	United Gold Coast Convention
UNC	United National Convention
VP	Vanua'aku Pati
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

Politics in colonial Africa started with the evolution of indigenous political groupings. These groupings, according to Agomor (2019: 60), “began as nationalist movements whose goal was to restore the sovereignty of the indigenous people”. Indeed, most of these political groups succeeded in liberating their people from the shackles of colonialism. Reference can be made to the Convention People’s Party (CPP) in Ghana, the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) in Botswana, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in Tanzania and South West African People’s Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia. Sadly, some of these political parties are defunct, or near extinction. A typical example is Julius Nyerere’s TANU in Tanzania. Nevertheless, some still remain politically relevant in their respective countries. For instance, the ANC, BDP, SWAPO, among others, have proven to be robust and dominant in their respective political systems after years of independence, despite the proliferation of other political parties (Akuamoah, 2017; Makgala & Mac Giollabhuí, 2014; Friedman, 2014; Melber, 2014).

The ANC, which led the independence struggles and the revolt against apartheid in South Africa in 1994 has dominated their electoral politics and has created an exemplar one-party rule even though other parties exist (Friedman, 2014). This holds true for the BDP in Botswana which as of 2014, had won all ten parliamentary elections since 1966 (Makgala & Mac Giollabhuí, 2014). In the same vein, the SWAPO which served as the anti-colonial agent in 1960, still remains politically relevant to the politics of Namibia and has acquired a hegemonic status (Melber, 2014). In line with this observation, Melber (2014: 90) averred that ‘Loyalty to Namibia is equated with loyalty to SWAPO’.

However, the narrative is different from the Nkrumahist tradition in Ghana. Notably, the CPP, which mobilized Ghanaians against colonialism, is believed to have lost its relevance in Ghana's political sphere. Just like any political entity, the Nkrumahists problem can be attributed to the dearth of party unity that began at the inception of the Fourth Republic.

The CPP, being the oldest Nkrumahist-inspired party, has over the years seen the proliferation of splinter parties from their folds that profess the same tradition. In line with this, some scholars have attributed the gradual extinction of the Nkrumahist tradition to several undercurrents with the main being the proscription of the CPP after the February 1966 coup (Rathbone, 2000; Agomor, 2019; Frempong, 2017). More specifically, Agomor (2019) attributed the Nkrumahist problem to the National Liberation Council (NLC)'s overthrow of Nkrumah and the annihilation of the CPP and its traditions in 1966. As succinctly recounted by Frempong (2017), the NLC, after the 1966 coup d'état, overturned the CPP's *de jure* one-party state declaration and banned the establishment of new political parties with Nkrumahist principles. Again, the NLC decree that proscribed the CPP also prevented the use of symbols, names or any colours in connection to the CPP (Frempong, 2015). Officials who were associated with the CPP in one way or the other were prevented from contesting future elections and, more specifically, the 1969 parliamentary elections (Ibid).

The 1979 constitution, however, brought some respite to the Nkrumahist tradition when multi-party democracy was restored after a series of coups by the National Redemption Council (NRC) in 1972, Supreme Military Council (SMC) in 1975, SMC 2 in 1978 and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) in 1979 (Jeffries, 1980). The scattered Nkrumahists, who had been denied active political participation for nearly thirteen (13) years from 1966-1978 regrouped to form the People's National Party (PNP) ahead of the 1979 general elections and won under the leadership of Dr. Hilla Limann. Sadly, the reign of the PNP and the 1979

Republican constitution was short-lived, because the regime was overthrown by Chairman Rawlings' Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) (Ibid).

The Fourth Republic of Ghana has experienced seven (7) successive elections: 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012 and 2016 since its inauguration in 1993 (Frempong, 2017). These elections have largely been judged as successful and devoid of any serious post-electoral violence. However, these elections have widely been won alternatingly by the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC), even though other parties exist (Gyampo & Yobo, 2015). Sadly, the Nkrumahist front within Ghana's Fourth Republican trajectory has largely remained divided due to the proliferation of splinter parties. The notable ones ahead of the 1992 elections included the People's National Convention (PNC), National Independence Party (NIP), National Convention Party (NCP) and the People's Heritage Party (PHP) (Ninsin, 2006). This phenomenon persisted ahead of successive elections in 2000, 2012 and 2016, with more parties splintering from the CPP tradition. For instance, the Dan Lartey-led Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP), Dr. Kwesi Nduom-led Progressive People's Party (PPP) and Hassan Ayariga's All People's Convention (APC) splintered from the Nkrumahist inspired CPP and PNC (Agomor, 2019; Broadway, 2019; Frempong, 2017). Some scholars attributed the Nkrumahists problem to unhealthy competition for leadership, personality deification, selfish political ambition, and a dearth of consensus (Addae-Mensah, 2016; Agomor, 2019). Externally, the evolution of the NDC and NPP in 1992 equally contributed to the problem (Agomor, 2019; Frempong, 2017; Oquaye, 1993; Fordwor, 2010).

Unlike the Third Republic, where all Nkrumahists managed to forge a united front under the PNP, the Fourth Republican trajectory has been disastrous for the Nkrumahists largely because of their endless squabbles. The dearth of unity within the Nkrumahist tradition has affected them negatively in several ways and ought to be given the needed attention.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The rationale for the formation of most political parties in contemporary times is to win elections or possibly secure some parliamentary seats. As concisely argued by Schattschneider (1942), political parties are defined in terms of their ability to win political power in any given election. Unlike the ANC, SWAPO, INC, BDP that led independence struggles, but continue to remain relevant in their respective countries, the Nkrumahist tradition, notably, the CPP, to some extent, can be likened to the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) that became virtually irrelevant to the politics of Tanzania after independence. It has been argued that the CPP's problem to some extent can be attributed to the divisive nature of party leaders and members, personality egos and a dearth of consensus (Addae-Mensah, 2016; Agomor, 2019). Some scholars have also attributed the possible cause of party fragmentation to party financing (Aye, *et.al*, 2007). Indisputably, the post-1992 politics in Ghana has been catastrophic for the Nkrumahist political parties. The CPP, in particular, has over the years been bedeviled with similar internal squabbles that characterized the Danquah-Busia tradition ahead of the 1979 elections (Debrah, 2004). Party unity remains paramount for the survival of every political entity largely because only a united front can appeal to the electorate for votes. Intra-party conflicts are inevitable in any political entity across the globe, with Ghana being no exception. Major parties like the NPP and NDC in Ghana's Fourth Republic are always plagued with intermittent intra-party conflicts, but have over the years, managed the situation to reduce divisions and unwarranted factions.

However, what accounts for the unending deep-seated fragmentation of the Nkrumahist front in Ghana's Fourth Republic remains worrying and debatable which therefore merits investigation. Accordingly, this thesis sets out to investigate and explain why the Nkrumahist political parties have been fragmented since the advent of the Fourth Republic. The two central questions to be addressed are: (i) what are the key factors which have contributed to the endless

fragmentation of the Nkrumahist political parties? (ii) Could these factors be self-imposed or are they ideological?

Even though a plethora of literature on the politics of Ghana's Fourth Republic (Agomor, 2019; Frempong, 2017; Frempong, 2015; Ayee, 2017; Ayee, 2011; Ayee, 1998; Gyampo, Graham & Yobo, 2017; Yobo & Gyampo, 2015; Akuamoah, 2017; Addae-Mensah, 2016; Kelly & Bening, 2013; Morrison, 2004, Oquaye, 1995; Oquaye, 2004, etc.) exists, the dynamics of fragmentations within the CPP and PNC, and their effects on them have not clearly been articulated. Nonetheless, a chunk of the literature on the politics of Ghana's Fourth Republic has been devoted either to the dominance or the institution of a two-party system by the NPP and the NDC, voting behaviour, democratic consolidation and intra-party conflicts in either the NPP or NDC.

Admittedly, Yobo & Gyampo (2015) in their article on, "Third Parties and Electoral Politics in Ghana's Fourth Republic" highlighted some of the key challenges that confront third parties and their inability to form a viable third force but failed to address some key factors that have accounted for the divisions and factionalism within the CPP and PNC. Similarly, Addae-Mensah (2016) in his book, *Hilla Limann: scholar-diplomat-statesman-president of the republic of Ghana 24th September 1979 to 31st of December 1981: a biography*, to some extent, outlined some of the causes of fragmentation and failed unity attempts within the CPP. However, new developments that has deepened the pre-existing divisions within the Nkrumahist parties were not covered. Furthermore, Bob-Milliar's (2019) work showed the nexus between political patronage and the schisms within the Nkrumahist parties. He maintained that some Nkrumahists often resort to patronage of the major parties for their survival. My study will extend Bob-Milliar's work by fleshing out some of the issues raised, including patronage, scheming, personality egos and funding.

Against these backdrops, this study seeks to examine the factors behind the endless squabbles and fragmentations of the Nkrumahist political parties in Ghana's Fourth Republic and its effects on their electoral performance.

1.2 Research Objectives

The overarching objective of the study is to examine the factors that have contributed to the failure of Nkrumahist parties to recover from fragmentation.

The specific objectives are as follows:

- Examine the dynamics of fragmentation within the Nkrumahist parties.
- Discuss the impacts of these fragmentations on the performance of the CPP, PNC, and its splinter parties.
- Proffer some recommendations to deal with the recurring fragmentation as well as increase the prospects of Nkrumahist political parties in future elections.

1.3 Research Questions

The overarching research question:

Why have the Nkrumahist parties failed to recover from fragmentation?

The secondary questions are as follows:

- What are the dynamics of the fragmentation?
- How has the fragmentation affected their performance?

1.4 Location of the Study in Political Science

This study falls under Electoral Politics, a sub-field of Political Science. The study sets out to examine the recurrent fragmentation of the Nkrumahist political parties and its effects on their electoral performance. The research sought to complement the existing literature on the electoral politics of Ghana.

1.5 Importance of the Study

This study is important because it contributes to scholarship on political parties through an examination of the factors that have contributed to the divisions within the CPP. The effect of the fragmentation on the parties was also discussed which led the study to make some recommendations that would address the causes of the fragmentation of the Nkrumahist parties. In a nutshell, therefore, the study contributes to the literature in discussing the factors that promote or undermine the unity and stability of political parties and how political parties can be strengthened or rebuilt to become more viable in winning elections.

1.6 Justification of the Study

The performance of every political party is relevant in democracies. The success of a political party is measured mostly by indicators such as internal party democracy, political dominance, elections won, representation in parliament and performance in government. However, most political parties are inherently plagued with intra-party conflicts, fragmentations, and deep-seated factionalism which is mostly underpinned by internal party democracy, party financing, personality egos, among others. These challenges have characterized almost every political tradition in Ghana. Interestingly, the NPP and NDC as noted earlier, have contained the situation to increase their electoral fortunes since 1992. However, the endless fragmentations that characterized the Nkrumahist tradition at the inception of the Fourth Republic continue to impinge on their relevance to the politics of Ghana. A cursory analysis of electoral results in Ghana from 1992-2016 (Tables 1.1 and 1.2), gives vivid evidence of the abysmal performance of the Nkrumahist parties, notably, the CPP, PNC, PPP, and GCPP.

In short, this study was motivated by the need to examine the dynamics of fragmentation in the Nkrumahist tradition and how this problem continually impinges on their performance under Ghana's Fourth Republic vis-a-vis their prominence in the First and Third Republics.

Table 1.1: Percentage Vote (Presidential Elections) of the Nkrumahist Parties: 1992-2016

PARTY/ YEAR	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
CPP	-	-	1.8%	1%	1.3%	0.18%	0.24%
PNC	6.7%	3%	2.9%	1.92%	0.9%	0.22%	0.21%
GCPP	-	-	1%	-	-	0.35%	-
PPP	-	-	-	-	-	0.59%	1%

Source: Author's Compilation from Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2019.

Table 1.2: Number of Parliamentary seats won by the Nkrumahist Parties: 1992 -2016

PARTY/YEAR	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
CPP	-	-	1	3	1	-	-
PNC	-	1	3	4	2	1	-
GCPP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PPP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Author's Compilation from Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2019.

1.7 Organization of the Study

This study consists of five (5) Chapters.

Chapter one (1) deals with the introduction to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, relevance of the study, the location of the study in political science and the organization of the chapters.

Chapter two (2) is devoted to the literature review and theoretical framework. The literature review section of the chapter uses relevant journals, articles, books, conference papers, party manifestoes, and reports. The theoretical framework section outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the phenomenon based on the preliminary appraisal of the literature.

Chapter three (3) outlines the methodology and research instrument used. The chapter begins with an introduction to various research sampling techniques and strategies. Thereafter there is

a discussion of the data collection techniques, data sources, the data analysis framework, ethical considerations, and limitations.

Chapter four (4) is an analysis of data gathered and a discussion of the findings.

Chapter five (5) summarizes the findings and makes key policy recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into two sections: the literature review and theoretical framework of the study. The first section focuses on the review of relevant literature on the study. The last section focuses on the theory of party change, which forms the theoretical foundation of the study.

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section focuses on the review of the relevant literature, drawn from existing books, articles, journals, and unpublished works. The review covers the following broad themes:

1. General studies on political parties;
2. General studies on intra-party conflicts, fragmentations, and factionalism;
3. Studies on Nkrumahism;
4. Studies on Ghanaian politics; and
5. Studies on the Nkrumahist tradition and Ghana's Fourth Republican politics.

2.1.1 General Studies on Political Parties

Political parties are undeniably essential to the sustenance of democracy in any country. In view of this, it has been argued that modern-day democracy remains the creation of political parties (Stokes, 1999). The concept of a political party has extensively been defined by many political scientists (Schattschneider, 1942; Downs, 1957; Schumpeter, 1966; Aldrich, 1995; etc.). Classical writers like Burke defined a political party as “a body of men united, for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed” (cited in Bob-Milliar, 2012a:17). Schattschneider (1942:35) also conceptualized the term as “an organized attempt to get power”. It is worth noting that

Schumpeter's (1966) definition resonated with Schattschneider's when he defined the concept as "a group, whose members propose to act in concert in the competitive struggle for political power" (Schumpeter, 1966:283).

The claims advanced by Schattschneider and Schumpeter, to a large extent, distinguish a political party from a pressure group because pressure groups, per their *modus operandi*, do not seek political power. Downs (1957) defined a political party as a group of individuals who aspire to control the governance apparatus through a competitive election. Similarly, Schlesinger (1991) reverberated Down's assertions when he defined the idea as an organized group that seeks to gain control of the government machinery by winning elections. Gunther & Diamond (2003), in contributing to the growing debate on political parties, expanded the arguments to cover the typologies of political parties based on a classification criterion. They argued that political parties can be elitist, mass-based, ethnic-based, electoral or simply a movement (Ibid). It is worth noting that the similarity that runs through these selected definitions is the fact that political parties are formed by a group of like-minded individuals who aspire to contest elections with the ultimate aim of winning to form a government. This, to a larger extent, helps to distinguish between a political party and pressure groups.

However, some of these selected definitions can be critiqued to a certain degree. Firstly, Schattschneider's conception of a political party can be flawed on grounds of generalizability because any "organized attempt to get power" as he puts it does not legitimize just any group as a political party. Schattschneider's assertion if anything to go by captures military juntas as political parties because their actions equally culminate in an attempt for power. Secondly, Downs' logic defeats the purpose of the concept in the sense that not all elections are competitive. Per Downs' logic, any organized group that contests and win elections on a non-competitive basis does not qualify to be referred to as a political party. Downs' logic is limited in scope because there are instances where elections are simply a one-party show even though

other parties exist, making it not competitive enough. Regardless of this setback, the literature review has placed this study in a proper scope by detailing the ultimate aim and relevance of political parties.

The relevance of political parties in contemporary democracy cannot be underestimated. The likes of Stokes (1999) argued that most opposition parties are in the business of forcing elected governments to be responsive to its citizens. Despite these strengths, Stokes further contended that some parties after their election, deviate from their core mandates, citing the overlapping generation model to explain divided positions within parties (Ibid). She emphasized that the:

Overlapping generation models conceptualize political parties as composed of individuals who want to win office, but once in office desire to impose their own preferences, which are distinct from those of the median voter (Stokes, 1999: 253).

In contemporary times, the relevance and prominence of political parties, to some extent, have been reduced to their viability to win elections and perform in government. In view of this, some political parties have either been branded as ‘major’ or ‘minor/fringe’. Major political parties, in essence, dominate the politics of their respective political systems. Most of these parties have succeeded in creating either ‘one-party’ or ‘two-party’ state exemplars. It is quite interesting to note that political parties that led the revolt against colonialism in most African countries have institutionalized their dominance to date (Doreenspleet & Nijzink, 2014).

Doreenspleet & Nijzink (2014), in their edited book on *Party Systems and Democracy in Africa*, attempted to establish the impacts of party systems on democracy and the performance of political parties in Africa, citing classical examples from Botswana, Ghana, Namibia, South Africa, Benin, and Zambia. The book made solid cases for the continued dominance of some parties that led independence struggles on the African continent. Political parties like the ANC (South Africa), BDP (Botswana), SWAPO (Namibia), People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) (Angola), Frelimo (Mozambique) and Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) (Zimbabwe) have managed to hold on to political power for years

after successfully leading their respective countries to independence (Ibid). The book further indicated liberation dividends, weakness of the opposition parties and cohesion within these dominant parties as the reasons for the sustained dominance of these independence parties. It was argued further that though these parties faced intermittent intra-party squabbles, they managed to resolve the issue to reduce unwarranted fragmentations (Ibid).

This work provides some foundation for the study. However, it can be critiqued on two main grounds. Firstly, the book overly gave accounts of the continued political dominance of some independence parties despite their intermitted squabbles, but failed to account for the loss of political dominance of other independence parties in Africa like the CPP in the Ghanaian case. Secondly, the book, though had a chapter on Ghana, overly accounted for the continued electoral dominance of the NPP and NDC without any focus on why an independence party like the CPP lost political power and failed to recover from fragmentation unlike other parties in Ghana. In view of this, my study sets out to contribute to the debate by focusing on the dynamics to the fragmentation and loss of political relevance of the CPP.

2.1.2 General Studies on Factionalism, Intra-party conflicts and Fragmentations

Political parties are undeniably characterized by internal conflict, factionalism, and fragmentation which are largely due to the dissenting views of the individuals involved. Some scholars like Harmel *et.al*, (1995), Harmel and Janda (1994) and Harmel and Tan (2003) have pointed out the inevitability of factions within political entities.

For instance, it has been observed that:

Factionalism remains a fact of life within most political parties... it is not uncommon for rival factions to engage in struggles for control of their party's apparatus (Harmel *et.al*, 1995:7).

Boucek's (2012) definition of *factionalism* somewhat confirmed the earlier claims by Harmel and his co-authors. He defined the concept as the segregation of a political party into sub-groups in pursuit of party dominance. However, Zariski's assertions on factionalism which were given six decades ago provided more insights into the concept. He asserted that:

We might define a faction as any intra-party combination, clique, or grouping whose members share a sense of common identity and common purpose and are organized to act collectively - as a distinct bloc within the party -to achieve their goals. These goals may include any, several, or all of the following: patronage (control of party and government office by members of the faction), the fulfilment of local, regional, or group interests, influence on party strategy, influence on party and governmental policy, and the promotion of a discrete set of values to which members of the faction subscribe (Zariski, 1960:33).

The common denominator of these assertions is that factions are inevitable in any political entity and challenges the unitary actor assumptions of political parties. This is because there are mostly cabals of individuals who pursue dominance within any political entity in order to promote their own interests. Factionalism manifests in distinctive forms. Boucek (2009) argued that factionalism within political parties can be degenerative; mostly attributed to lack of conflict resolution machinery or excessive fragmentations, competitive; characterized by incongruities, and finally, cooperative; where existing conflict resolution mechanisms are employed. The outcome of factionalism, though could be cooperative, is mostly disastrous. In view of this, scholars like Köllner & Basedau (2005:13) argued that "factionalism can destabilize the party system and can lead to growing cynicism on the part of voters". Factionalism within political parties is noted for its ability to trigger intra-party conflicts and fragmentations. What then are intra-party conflicts and party fragmentations?

Awofeso et. al. (2017:100) defined intra-party conflict as "the usual natural conflict of human beings to struggle for that limited social value within the group in terms of prestige, wealth, positions and even recognitions". These types of conflicts are mostly on egoistic grounds which are largely exacerbated by pure sabotage and high levels of sycophancy among individuals

within the same political entity (Ibid). Excessive factionalism and internal conflicts within political parties normally lead to the last concept, party fragmentation. Party fragmentation mostly occurs when the inherent dissatisfaction among individuals and a dearth of consensus within a party compel leaders to break away to form their own political parties (Morgan, 2008).

From the foregoing, we can infer that the three concepts, factionalism, intra-party conflicts, and party fragmentation are interrelated because the causal factor remains the struggle for power and dominance within a social group. From all indications, fragmentation remains the last stage of the factionalism and intra-party conflict cycle because it mostly culminates into unwarranted defections and the emergence of splinter groups. These studies help to contextualize the scope of this study.

Besides the explanations of the concepts, some studies have also contributed to the issue of intra-party conflicts, factionalism and fragmentations within some political parties across the world (Ceron, 2012; Aleyomi, 2013; Bob-Milliar, 2012b; Akuamoah, 2017; Okonkwo & Unaji, 2016; Morgan, 2008; etc.).

From the European perspective, Ceron (2012) in her study gave some insights into intra-party politics and factional conflicts that characterize political parties, citing practical examples from the Italian political system. She raised relevant questions like why do parties break up? In an attempt to provide answers, Ceron theorized that intra-party rules, long-standing loyalty to party symbols and colours in event of party mergers can cause party fissures (Ibid).

Morgan (2008) also pointed out how the politics of the Republic of Vanuatu became polarized as a result of the fragmentations and emergence of splinter parties from Vanuatu's first political party, the Vanua'aku Pati (VP). The work cited growing bitterness among some members within the party as the possible cause of their fragmentation (Ibid). The author further revealed numerous splinter parties that emerged as a result of the expulsion of dissidents from the VP.

These parties included the National United Party (NUP), Melanesian Progressive Party (MPP), People's Action Party (PAP) (Ibid). He emphasized that:

Historically, the major precipitants of party fragmentation have been leadership challenges within the major parties, prompted by the highly personalized nature of Vanuatu politics, in which MPs vie for factional and, ultimately, party dominance as a matter of routine. The losers of such contests often form their own parties, attracting factional supporters to their new banners and temporarily reducing the influence of the original party (Morgan, 2008:135).

It has been observed that “the politics of factions has been evident in African political life throughout the independence era” (Jackson & Rosberg, 2003:28). Scholars like Aleyomi (2013) and Okonkwo & Unaji (2016) contributed to the debate by drawing classical examples from the Nigerian political system. They outlined factors such as party financing, party executive arrogance and lack of internal party democracy as the causal factors for internal wrangling within political parties in Africa (Ibid). Furthermore, they cited practical evidence of how intra-party squabbles and factionalism within the People's Democratic Party (PDP) led to unwarranted political defections and the inadvertent hijacking of the party by political financiers in Nigeria (Ibid).

From the literature, intra-party conflicts, factionalism, and fragmentation are ubiquitous in the field of politics. It has provided some empirical foundations for this study. However, these studies can be critiqued on grounds of generalizability. In effect, claims made from the political systems of the Republic of Vanuatu, Italy, and Nigeria may not necessarily apply to the party systems of Ghana. In line with this, my study complements these growing debates by exploring the issue of party fragmentation in Ghana, using the Nkrumahist tradition as a case study.

Interestingly, some studies on Ghana have given evidence of intra-party conflicts, factionalism and party fragmentation (Chazan, 1983; Fordwor, 2010; Bob-Milliar, 2012b; Akuamoah, 2017). Chazan (1983) in her book *Anatomy of Ghanaian Politics* made some stunning revelation of how intra-party conflicts and warring factions within the Progress Party (PP) and

the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) affected the fortunes of both parties in the Second Republic of Ghana. She remarked that:

The PP's house was divided not only ethnically but also on an age basis. Similar cleavages developed in the NAL, as young educated Ewes, disconcerted with the leadership, revolted against the party hierarchy (Chazan, 1983:53).

Fordwor's (2010) book, *The Danquah-Busia Tradition in the Politics of Ghana*, to a larger extent re-echoed Naomi Chazan's claim. Fordwor gave an account of how ideological rift between Kwame Nkrumah and the remaining leadership of the UGCC led to the formation of the first splinter party in Ghana, the CPP in 1949. He also referred to the belligerent factions within the PP which subsequently led to its disintegration and the formation of the Victor Owusu-led Popular Front Party (PFP) and the William Ofori Atta-led United National Convention (UNC) (Ibid). The fragmentation of the PP tradition ahead of the 1979 elections was believed to have offered the Nkrumahist-inspired PNP an electoral victory (Ibid). Finally, Fordwor recounted how the rivalry between the PFP and UNC compelled the UNC (Danquah-Busia) to support their political enemy, the PNP (Nkrumahists) in the 1979 presidential run-off between Hilla Limann and Victor Owusu (Ibid). According to him:

In the presidential elections, the results of the first-round voting showed that the only way Victor Owusu could win the second round was if those who voted for Paa Willie and the UNC would swing behind their former allies in the PFP and vote for Victor Owusu. But this did not happen. Indeed, the figures would seem to suggest that many UNC supporters rather switched their votes to Dr. Limann (Fordwor, 2010:166).

These studies establish evidence of intra-party conflicts and fragmentation among political traditions in Ghana. Even though these studies provide some historical antecedents of party fragmentation to the study, they over-concentrated on its prevalence within the Danquah-Busia-Dombo tradition from the pre-independence era to the Second Republic without any perspective from the Nkrumahist tradition. This study expands on these works to include the Nkrumahist fragmentation.

Bob-Milliar (2012b) contributed to the debate by outlining evidence of party fragmentation and internal conflicts within the NDC in the past. He showed how intra-party squabbles between the pro-Rawlings group - Friends of Konadu Agyemang-Rawlings (FONKAR) and anti-Rawlings - Get Atta Mills Elected (GAME) nearly plunged the party in chaos (Ibid). Furthermore, he provided evidence of how the National Reform Party (NRP) and the Democratic Freedom Party (DFP) splintered from the NDC in 1999 and 2006 respectively, but rejoined the NDC fold when they failed to live up to expectation (Ibid). Consequently, some studies have sought to establish the impact of intra-party conflicts on the electoral successes of parties in Ghana. For instance, Nugent (2001) in his analysis of the 2000 general elections, attributed the NDC's defeat partly to its succession problem which was exacerbated by internal wrangling of competing factions within the party.

Similarly, Akuamoah (2017), in his recent study, expanded Fordwor and Bob-Milliar's works. According to him, some of the factors that contributed to intra-party conflicts and party fragmentation within the NDC and NPP in the past include lack of internal democracy, struggle for power, ethnicity, factionalism, "paucity of ideology", and "political god-fatherism". Although these studies point out evidence of factionalism and fragmentation within the Danquah-Busia tradition and the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) government in the past, it is worth noting that these political traditions have over the years mastered the art of managing the problem to avoid unwarranted fragmentations and defections.

What then accounts for the inability of the Nkrumahist parties to recover from their fragmentation? Just like the earlier works by Chazan and Fordwor, these works failed to account for the recurrent fragmentations within the Nkrumahist parties. This study extends these works by interrogating the persistent fragmentation within the Nkrumahists parties to ascertain the root causes of the problem and to attempt to offer remedial measures.

Admittedly, Addae-Mensah's (2016) biography on Ex-President Dr. Hilla Limann and the recent publication by Bob-Milliar (2019) gave some hints on the possible causes of the fragmentation of the Nkrumahist parties. For instance, Addae-Mensah emphasized that:

The re-emergence of factional inner-party struggles of the sixties and the competition for leadership contributed to the divisive nature of the Nkrumahist front ahead of the 1992 general elections in Ghana (Addae-Mensah, 2016: 605).

Bob-Millar (2019) gave party patronage as the reason for the fissures in the Nkrumahist groups. However, these studies point to sole causal factors. My study complements these works by examining the multi-causal factors that have made it difficult for the Nkrumahist parties to recover from their recurrent fragmentations in Ghana's Fourth Republic.

2.1.3 Studies on Nkrumahism

Nkrumahism, as a political ideology, can be traced to the socio-political ideas and writings of the first President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. He used most of his work to develop the principles and philosophies of the ideology. The most notable ones are *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization* (1964), *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (1965), *Class Struggle in Africa* (1970), etc.

Nkrumah (1964) in his *Consciencism* work established the link between the African personality of communal living and socialism as a political ideology. He theorized that the western imposed capitalism will compel most newly African to relapse into the old exploitative systems under colonialism (Ibid). In line with this, Nkrumah stressed that "Capitalism at home is domestic colonialism" (p. 74). Similarly, Nkrumah (1970a) attributed colonialism and neo-colonialism to the bourgeoisie political and economic aspirations of capitalism. He further cited the growing level of tribalism in Africa as an end result of class conflicts in African society (Ibid). As a way forward, Nkrumah advocated the need for newly independent African states to adopt what he generally described as 'African socialism' (Ibid).

In his 1965 publication *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, Nkrumah warned newly African states on the dangers of neocolonialism. He argued that colonialism, though, has ended, still manifests in situations where African countries are independent and have international sovereignty in theory, but controlled from the outside in reality, citing the use of ideological and cultural means (Ibid). As a remedial measure, Nkrumah in his work *Africa Must Unite* advocated for a continental union government for African states to deal with the vestige colonialism and neo-colonialism (Nkrumah, 1970b).

Though some of the assertions in these works have been critiqued as ‘utopian’, the manifestations of the ills of the international order as pointed by Kwame Nkrumah are the realities of the international system now. These works provide the study with some philosophical foundation of Nkrumahism.

Equally, some scholars have also written extensively on Nkrumah’s political philosophy and personality (MacRae, 1966; Carmichael, 1973; Jones, 1976; Afari-Gyan, 1976, among others).

The works of Carmichael (1973) and Jones (1976) converged when both authors referred to Nkrumahism as the scientific socialism adopted by newly independent African states in the 1960s. These assertions were validated through MacRae’s rendition of the concept as proposed by the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute. According to him:

Nkrumahism is the ideology of the new Africa, independent and absolutely free from imperialism, organized on a continental scale, founded upon the conception of one and united Africa, drawing its strength from modern science and technology and from the traditional African belief that the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all (MacRae, 1966:536).

The Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, as noted earlier, was established at Winneba in Ghana to push a Pan-African agenda and to support freedom fighters in most colonized states in Africa to fight for independence in the 1960s (Apter, 1972). Three things can be inferred from the studies. Firstly, Nkrumahism was a widely adopted political ideology of newly

independent African states in the 1960s, which in one way or the other benefited from the support of Nkrumah in the fight against colonialism. Secondly, the ideology embraces socialist propositions and state-led approach to development. Finally, Nkrumahism sought to promote the welfare of the masses within an economy. These works help this study to appreciate Nkrumahism as a political idea and what its associated parties stand for.

Afari-Gyan (1976) in his book *Political Ideas of Kwame Nkrumah*, provided a summary of Nkrumah's philosophies. There are three (3) main guiding principles of *Nkrumahism*. These are: (i) "African Socialism - underpinned by the principles, ideals, practices, habits, and orientations that are peculiar to Africa" (Ibid:197); (ii) Strict abhorrence of neocolonialism, which in Nkrumah's view is the existence of "international capitalist, neocolonialist conspiracy against Africa's reconstruction" (Ibid: 217); and (iii) "African Unity - the need to form a continental union government to close the ranks against neocolonialist forces" (Ibid: 219).

Notwithstanding the major propositions of Nkrumahism as advanced by Afari-Gyan, he had some reservations about some aspect of Nkrumah's conceptions. He remarked:

First, some aspects of it [Nkrumah's conceptions] are objectionable. These should be discarded and appropriate substitutes found for them. Second, some of his concepts require timing and further elaboration. Third, even those of his ideas that are particularly pertinent to the African situation do not so much offer solutions to Africa's problems as suggest a framework for analysis (Afari-Gyan, 1976: 234).

Some of the reservations raised by Afari-Gyan are plausible because, the African Socialism aspects of Nkrumahism, just like Julius Nyerere's Ujamaa, have generally been seen as social theorization without the required blueprint to ensure their realization. Indeed, it has been maintained that if the blueprint of Nkrumahism was sound, the dream of a socialist united Africa would not had faded after Nkrumah's demise (Frimpong, 2012). The onus, however, lies with African intellectuals to develop new theories or substitutes for the objectionable aspects of existing ones to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

Bekoe's (2014) study substantiated the principles raised earlier by Afari-Gyan. He outlined self-determination, Pan-Africanism and anti-imperialism as the major principles of Nkrumahism. However, the principles of Nkrumahism, as highlighted by the works of Afari-Gyan and Bekoe somewhat defeat the relevance of the ideology in contemporary times due to its over-concentration on the liberation of colonized states. Debrah (2004) affirmed this challenge when he argued that the changes in the international order in the mid-1980s rendered the CPP's conceptions of Nkrumahism unattractive to the ordinary Ghanaian voter. Furthermore, African scholars like Ali Mazrui critiqued the resilience of the ideological blueprint of Nkrumahism (Mazrui, 1997). To Mazrui, Nkrumahism as an ideology lost its relevance after the withdrawal and demise of its architect, Kwame Nkrumah (Ibid). Gordon's (2017) work also pointed to the lack of clarity in the ideology as the likely cause of the recurrent fragmentation of the Nkrumahist parties. Interestingly, scholars like Chazan rebutted some of these critiques that were leveled against the ideology in the 1960s. For instance, she stressed that:

...Nkrumahism dealt extensively, and systematically with colonialism and anti-colonialism...Nkrumahism laid out a vision of the key instrument of state construction... Nkrumahism propounded a vast, ambitious notion of political pan-Africanism that envisaged the future consolidation of a major all-Africa superpower (Chazan, 1983:120).

My study contributes to the debate on the relevance of Nkrumahism to the politics of Ghana's Fourth Republic, looking at the continued dominance of the NPP and NDC and also to test Gordon's claims of the nexus between ideology and party fragmentation. For the purpose of clarification, parties that traces their roots and profess to Nkrumahism in Ghana includes the Convention People's Party (CPP), People's National Convention (PNC), Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP), Progressive People's Party (PPP) and All People's Congress (APC). Though the NDC in its formation co-opted most Nkrumahists, the party does not profess to Nkrumahism but subscribes to social democracy.

2.1.4 Studies on Ghanaian politics

Several studies have been devoted to the politics of Ghana from the pre-colonial era through to independence (Kimble, 1963; Austin, 1970; Nugent, 1995; Gyekye, 2008). Kimble (1963) gave an account of the political development in the Gold Coast from the 1850s through to the introduction of the elective principle in the 1920s, where traditional leaders and indigenous elite were included in the administration of the Gold Coast.

Austin (1970) contributed to the discourse on the politics of Ghana when he recounted how the growing nationalism and the heightened call for independence in the then Gold Coast led to the formation of the UGCC and the CPP. He argued that the UGCC emerged in August 1947 as the first political party in the then Gold Coast to demand self-government and Kwame Nkrumah was brought in on January 1948 to serve as the party's general secretary (Ibid). Furthermore, the difference in ideology between Kwame Nkrumah and the leadership of the UGCC compelled him and other young members of the UGCC's youth wing such as Kojo Botsio to break away to form the CPP in June 1949 (Ibid). This, according to Austin paved way for the emergence of the two main political cleavages in Ghana – the Danquah-Busia and Nkrumahist traditions (Ibid). Finally, he gave a graphic account of how the CPP dominated the 1951, 1954 and 1956 elections and subsequently oppressed the opposition through the use of the Preventive Detention Act (PDA) (Ibid).

Nugent (1995) added other interesting dynamics to the literature when he described the politics in Ghana as an interplay between the 'big men' versus 'small boys'. He described the CPP's 1951 electoral victory over the UGCC as a triumph of the 'Small boys' over the 'Big men' (Ibid). Furthermore, he argued that there is always "the tendency for 'small boys' to transform themselves into 'big men' once they are in office" (Nugent, 1995:6). To back these claims, Nugent showed how senior CPP politicians capitalized on their portfolios to propel themselves into 'big men'.

Two things can be deduced from these studies. First, the act of nationalism and the quest for colonial liberation necessitated the formation of political movements in Ghana. Second, party fragmentation is not a new phenomenon in Ghanaian politics because it can be traced to the colonial politics of Ghana with the breaking away of the CPP from the UGCC as an example. These scholarly works provide some historical antecedents to the study. However, they are limited in scope. For instance, Austin's work overly concentrated on the pre-independence to the post-1960s politics of Ghana, citing numerous reasons for the continued electoral dominance of the CPP, but failed to account for the sudden decline in support for the party in subsequent years. Nugent's work extended the history to cover the politics of the early 1990s, but overly concentrated on the PNDC-NDC era. In lieu of these, my study sets out to extend Austin's (1970) work to cover the politics of Ghana's Fourth Republic to ascertain the political dilemmas of the CPP, an independence party that once dominated the politics of Ghana.

Apart from the interesting renditions of the pre- and post-independence politics of Ghana, the period 1972-1986 witnessed a torrent of writings on the turbulent periods in Ghanaian politics. Some notable ones are *Ghana in Transition* by Apter (1972), Austin & Luckham (1975) edited *Politicians and Soldiers in Ghana (1966-1972)* and *Ghana: Coping with Uncertainty* by Pellow & Chazan (1986). Other works include Hutchful (1979) and Agyeman-Duah (2008). Apter (1972) in his book *Ghana in Transition* set the tone for discourse on turbulent periods in Ghanaian politics.

To him:

...Ghana transitioned from a liberal democratic form of government with a dominant one-party state at independence, overthrown in a military coup... the military regime restored liberal democracy, with a dominant political party which was thrust aside by a second military coup" (Apter, 1972: 362).

Austin & Luckham (1975) extended Apter's conclusions. Their book found how the fifteen-year rule of the CPP's regime was brought to an abrupt end in February 1966 with its heroic

days blotted. It further identified factors such as the general cutbacks in government expenditure on the security forces, the personal ambitions of some officers and, the perceived anti-Ewe attitude of the Busia administration as the reasons for the overthrow of the Progress Party (PP) in 1972 (Ibid).

Hutchful (1979) re-echoed the earlier findings by Austin and Luckham when he argued that persistent economic crises after the 1966 and 1972 coups might have served as the basis for subsequent coups. He emphasized that:

The repeated overthrow of civilian politicians, the assumption of direct power and the increasing dominance of the military and bureaucracy, has been essential due to the failure of civilian political cadres, also rooted in the Ghanaian petty-bourgeoisie (Hutchful, 1979: 41).

Furthermore, Pellow & Chazan (1986) described the period 1966-1981 as the “pendulum of Ghanaian politics” (p. 36). To them, the post-independence political history of Ghana was marred by what they generally described as “sharp fluctuations and growing uncertainty” under different regimes (Ibid). They recounted how the SMC I (reconstituted NLC) was overthrown in a palace coup in 1978 by General Fred Akuffo-led SMC II (Ibid). It is worth noting that the SMC II was also toppled by the Rawlings-led AFRC in 1979 and Ghana was returned to a civilian rule after the 1979 elections (Ibid). Interestingly, the authors further recounted how the AFRC which was lauded for its return of political power to a civilian government staged a comeback in 1981 to overthrow the same civilian government they relinquished power to in 1979 (Ibid).

Oquaye’s (1980) and (2004) works gave a graphic description of the 1979 and 1981 coups and detailed instances of human rights abuses by the military juntas. In his 2004 work, he attributed the 31st December 1981 coup to Limann’s disregard for the people, political liberty, rule of law and fundamental rights of Ghanaians.

Agyeman-Duah's (2008) edited book validated the earlier assertions by scholars like Apter, Austin, Chazan, and others. He showed how the regimes in Ghana were short-lived through multiple coups d'état in 1966, 1972, 1978, 1979 and 1981 by the NLC, NRC, SMC II, AFRC, and the PNDC respectively. Professor Francis Nkrumah (Nkrumah's first son) in an interview with Jacob Gordon attributed the fragmentation of the Nkrumahist tradition to the 1966 coup and the absence of cohesive leadership like that of Nkrumah (Gordon, 2017).

These works help to trace Ghana's political transitions (democratic and undemocratic) from post-independence to the Third Republic. It can also be inferred that out of the five (5) coups, two of them, notably, 1966 and 1981 overthrew two legitimate Nkrumahist governments – views echoed in Gordon's book. This study sets out to complement these works in two ways. First, to ascertain the nexus between the 1966 and 1981 coups and the recurrent fragmentation of the Nkrumahist parties. Second, to unravel the impact of these coups on the performance of the Nkrumahist tradition in Gordon's work.

2.1.5 Studies on the Nkrumahist Tradition and Ghana's Fourth Republican Politics

There is a burgeoning literature on the politics of Ghana's Fourth Republic. However, most of these works only increased our understanding of elections and voter behaviour (Arthur, 2009; Ayee, 2011; Ayee, 2017, Frempong, 2017; etc.), governance (Agyeman-Duah (ed.), 2008; etc.) and democratic consolidation (Jeffries, 1998; Abdulai & Crawford, 2010; Akuamoah, 2017, etc.). However, just a few have devoted attention to the political strategies and problems of the Nkrumahist parties in the politics of Ghana's Fourth Republic. The most notable ones include Essuman-Johnson (1993), Jeffries & Thomas (1993), Addae-Mensah (2016) and Bob-Milliar (2019).

For instance, Essuman-Johnson (1993) noted the challenge of intraparty democracy among political parties in Ghana, citing evidence of the splits in the Nkrumahist tradition and PNDC

government as the effects. He argued that splits in political parties normally occur when there is a dearth of democratic values like compromise and tolerance (Ibid). He pointed out how the Nkrumahist front got divided by the emergence splinter parties like the People's National Convention (PNC), National Independence Party (NIP), the People's Heritage Party (PHP) and the National Convention Party (NCP) ahead of the 1992 elections (Ibid). In view of this:

The leader of the PNC - Dr. Hilla Limann left the CPP fold to form his own party on realizing that he might not get the leadership if he stayed in the fold. The rumblings and various reasons being given for not staying together in the CPP fold smacks of an internal party machine being manned by people whose minds have been made upon who should be the presidential candidate, and of the lack of a spirit of compromise" (Essuman-Johnson, 1993: 201).

Jeffries & Thomas (1993) resonated with Essuman-Johnson's view when they attributed the poor electoral performance of the Nkrumahist parties to their inability to present a united front ahead of the 1992 elections. They emphasized that:

The National Independence Party (NIP) had the largest concentration of CPP 'old guard' politicians and appeared to be dominated, more especially, by its seventy-six-year-old leader, Kojo Botsio. The ex-President of the Third Republic, Dr. Hilla Limann, found little support in the NIP (or any other Nkrumahist party) for the idea of his standing as their presidential candidate in 1992 and so formed his own vehicle, the People's National Convention (PNC). The People's Heritage Party (PHP) grew out of a grouping of younger, more seriously policy minded Nkrumahists, who were reluctant to accept domination by, or even too close an association with, the 'old guard' politicians (Jeffries & Thomas, 1993: 343).

Similarly, Addae-Mensah (2016) contributed to this debate in his biography of Dr. Hilla Limann. He outlined some factors that stalled the unity of the Nkrumahist tradition at the inception of Ghana's Fourth Republic. He argued that "... the re-emergence of factional inner-party struggles of the sixties and the competition for leadership" contributed to the divisive nature of the Nkrumahist front ahead of the 1992 general elections in Ghana (Addae-Mensah, 2016: 605). He also gave an account of attempts to unify the Nkrumahist front in the past, citing issues of personality ego and a dearth of consensus as the key problems that stalled unity talks in the past (Ibid).

Two major issues can be deduced from these studies. First, these studies point to the fact that lack of internal democratic elements within any political entity can lead to fissures and its eventual collapse. Second, party fragmentation, to some extent, can affect the electoral performance of any political party. These works provided some background information in the study by indicating the genesis of the tradition's problem and its effect on its electoral performance in the past. It is sad to note that the fragmentation of the Nkrumahist parties still persists and affected their chances in 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012 and the 2016 elections in Ghana.

This study sets out to contribute to the debate by extending the works of Jefferies and Thomas and Essuman-Johnson in two main ways. First, it finds out the impact of party fragmentation on the performance of political parties. Second, it proffers some recommendations to deal with the recurring fragmentation of the Nkrumahist parties to make them viable in Ghanaian politics

Political scientists have established the rationale behind the political behaviour of minor parties in competitive party systems across the globe. Satori (2005), for instance, argued that the poor performance of most minor parties across the globe compels them to devise numerous political marketing strategies to survive and avoid extinction (Ibid). These normally include inventing coalition and patronage potentials with 'major' parties in return for political spoils (Ibid). The resultant effect sometimes ends up creating internal problems for these minor parties. The works of Kufour (2008) and Bob-Milliar (2019) on Ghana in which they cited the case of the Nkrumahist parties like the CPP and PNC in Ghana's Fourth Republican politics reinforced Satori's findings.

Kufour (2008) provided instances where minor parties in Ghana like the CPP and PNC activated coalition and political patronage strategies to advance their own interests. He showed how the CPP and PNC supported the NPP to win the 2000 election run-off and were

subsequently rewarded with ministerial portfolios and seats on boards of public corporations and enterprises (Ibid). He also recounted how this strategy was repeated in the 2008 election run-off, with the CPP and PNC rooting for the NDC (Ibid).

Similarly, Bob-Milliar (2019) re-echoed Kufour's findings. He indicated how the Nkrumahist parties resorted to playing 'king-maker' roles in the politics of Ghana's Fourth Republic due to their poor electoral performance. He averred that "the survival of the Nkrumahist minor parties can only be understood within the wider context of competitive elections and their related opportunities for party patronage" (Bob-Milliar, 2019:18). He further argued that the party patronage strategy adopted by the Nkrumahists parties to secure some political spoils from the two leading parties in Ghana's Fourth Republican politics, namely, the NPP and NDC deepened the pre-existing factionalism within their ranks as well as diminished their electoral prospects.

Kufour and Bob-Milliar's works are significant to this thesis in two ways. Firstly, they emphasized party patronage by the Nkrumahist minor parties as a contributing factor to the fragmentation of the tradition in Ghana's Fourth Republic. Secondly, the studies helped to appreciate the rationale behind the actions (coalition and patronage potential) of minor parties. This thesis complements these studies by exploring other dynamics that equally contribute to the recurrent squabbles of the Nkrumahists parties and its effect on their performance.

With respect to electoral gains in Ghana's Fourth Republic, a large chunk of existing literature has sought to explain the rationale for the political duopoly of the NPP and NDC (Agyeman-Duah, 2005; Daddieh & Bob-Milliar, 2014; Yobo & Gyampo, 2015; Agomor, 2019; etc.). Most of these works have outlined factors such as ethnic-bloc voting, dominant party identification, etc. as the reasons for the continued dominance of the NPP and NDC in Ghana's Fourth Republic. In effect, other parties, mostly Nkrumahists have been relegated to the political

fringes with little or no representation at all. A look at the electoral results in Ghana from 1992 indicates the poor electoral performance of all Nkrumahists parties that have contested elections in Ghana since 1992 to 2016 (Tables 2.1 and 2.2).

Table 2.1: Percentage Vote (Presidential Elections) of the Nkrumahist Parties:1992-2016

PARTY/ YEAR	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
PHP	1.85%	-	-	-	-	-	-
NIP	2.85	-	-	-	-	-	-
CPP	-	-	1.8%	1%	1.3%	0.18%	0.24%
PNC	6.7%	3%	2.9%	1.92%	0.9%	0.22%	0.21%
GCPP	-	-	1%	-	-	0.35%	-
PPP	-	-	-	-	-	0.59%	1%

Source: Author's compilation from Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2019.

Table 2.2: Number of Parliamentary Seats won by the Nkrumahist Parties: 1992 -2016

PARTY/YEAR	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
NCP	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
PCP	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
CPP	-	-	1	3	1	-	-
PNC	-	1	3	4	2	1	-
GCPP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PPP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Author's compilation from Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2019.

The abysmal performance of the Nkrumahist tradition has been attributed to several factors, with the prominent one being its excessive fragmentation. In addition to the factors of fragmentation, this thesis also examines some measures that can be instituted by the Nkrumahist parties to help them recover from the endless fragmentation and make them a more viable third force to be reckoned with in the 2020 general elections.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section of the chapter is devoted to the theoretical foundation of the study. The theory of party change forms the theoretical framework of this study. The origin, propositions, justifications, strengths, and weaknesses of the theory will be discussed.

2.2.1 Origin of the theory of party change

The theory of party change traces its philosophical underpinnings from the work of Kenneth Janda, *towards a performance theory of change in political parties*, which was published in 1990. The theory later got empirical validations in 1995 after Janda's subsequent works with scholars like Robert Hamel, Uk Heo Alexander Tan, Christine Edens and Patricia Goff on "Performance, Leadership, Factions and Party Change: An Empirical Analysis", "An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change", and "Changes in Party Identity: Evidence from Party Manifestos" respectively contributing to it.

Some recent publications have also employed the theory to explain certain changes that occur within political parties. For instance, Harmel & Tan (2003) adopted the theory of party change to explain the impact of factionalism on party actors and party change in general. Somer-Topcu (2009) also used the theory to establish the effect of past elections on policy changes within political parties.

2.2.2 Propositions of the theory of Party Change

The theory of party change has the following assumptions:

1. Leadership crises and unwarranted factional displacement within any political entity can culminate in party change. The struggle for party dominance and control of apparatus as noted earlier remains inevitable in any political party (Hamel *et.al.*,1995). Harmel & Janda (1994) theorized that almost all political parties have recognizable factions, but the displacement of a faction within a party by another leadership

(victorious faction) on the basis of difference in party identity, organization and structure lead to party change. These changes, mostly result in the organizational breakdown of the party which manifests in the emergence of splinters, mergers, and coalitions with other parties or voluntary dissolution of the parties (Harmel & Tan, 2003; Janda, 1990).

2. Political parties are driven by a goal-oriented motive. Therefore, “parties that do not perform well experience pressures for change” (Janda, 1990: 9). Harmel & Janda (1994) further theorized that the more electoral failures are pronounced in vote-seeking parties, the more they are likely to change. Accordingly, non- performing political parties are more likely to change their “political tactics, structures, orientations, organizational identity, and goals” (Janda, 1990: 17). In effect, a political party’s performance in elections acts as stimuli to trigger party change (Janda *et.al*, 1995; Somer-Topcu, 2009).
3. That political parties are likely to undergo some internal changes in anticipation of changes in environmental factors such as the political system and socio-economic dynamics (Janda,1990; Harmel *et.al*, 1994). Some of these changes in the political system that compel a party to make internal reforms include modifications of electoral rules and legislative frameworks (Ibid).

2.2.3 Justification for the theory of party change

One major theory that explains the conflicts within any political entity aside from the theory of party change is the elite theory. The elite theory traces some of its philosophical foundations from Robert Michels’ work on the *Iron Law of Oligarchy*. It argues that small groups of individuals within political parties over time tend to become more powerful and run the affairs of the party to suit their own benefits without recourse to the views of other members (Michels, 2009).

Another advocate of the elite theory is Thomas Dye. He postulated that “society is divided into the few who have power and the many who do not and only a small number of persons allocate values for society” (Dye, 2013: 24). In sum, the elite theory presupposes that decisions within any political setting are taken by a minority who possesses political and economic power (Higley, 2008). Furthermore, the theory predicts the possible eruption of class conflicts between the ‘elites’ and ‘non-elites’ due to the dearth of consensus and compromise among individuals involved (Ibid).

Though the elite theory has overly been used to explain class conflicts within political parties, it has failed to explain the impact of these conflicts on the operations of political parties. The theory also fell short on the vagueness of the term ‘elite’ making it difficult to distinguish an ‘elite’ from a ‘non-elite’.

The theory of party change, on the other hand, does not only identify the causes of party conflicts, but also goes a step further to describe the impact of these conflicts on the existence and performance of political parties. It highlights the effects of the interplay of dominant factions on party unity. The theory of party change also establishes the nexus between intra-party conflicts, poor electoral performance and its resultant effects on party fragmentation. These characteristics, among others, influenced the choice of the theory of party change over the elite theory as the theoretical framework of the study.

2.2.4 Strengths of the theory

The theory of party change has the following merits:

1. It provides insights into the dynamics of party fragmentation and cites evidence of how dominant faction leadership over the other within a party results in splits.
2. It explains the link between poor electoral performance and the formation of splinter and coalition parties by former leaders.
3. It offers a framework for non-performing political parties to re-structure their parties with the hope of overturning their electoral misfortunes. In line with this, Somer-Topcu (2009) argued that political parties are expected to respond to electoral losses of previous elections by amending policy positions for subsequent elections.
4. It informs what goes into manifesto drafting of non-performing political parties for subsequent elections after successive electoral defeats. In effect, non-performing parties are compelled to modify their policy prescriptions ahead of subsequent elections (Janda *et.al*, 1995).

2.2.5 Weaknesses of the theory

The theory of party change is also associated with the following weaknesses:

1. It best applies to political parties that are oriented towards winning in competitive elections. However, it can be modified to suit minor parties in other systems (Janda, 1990).
2. It over-emphasizes electoral performance as the major indicator for party change while other factors such as struggles among factions, changes in the political system, society and economy equally trigger party change.

2.2.6 Deployment of the Theory

From the review of literature, party fragmentation was flagged as a major impediment to the electoral fortunes of political parties. Since the theory of party change draws a nexus between intra-party conflicts and party fragmentation, the study employs the theory to examine the rationale behind the unending fragmentation within Nkrumahist parties in Ghana. The theory also establishes the link between electoral performance and party splits. It is worth noting that some of the splinter parties from the Nkrumahist tradition were formed by former flag bearers who led unsuccessful electoral attempts. This study adopts the theory of party change to explain why leaders of the Nkrumahist parties normally defect to form their own parties after a poor electoral performance.

2.2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an in-depth review of the literature and the theoretical framework underpinning the thesis. The literature review section of the chapter pointed out the relevance of political parties to the sustenance of modern-day democracy in any country. It also examined the impact of fragmentation on the existence of political parties and their electoral prospects. Furthermore, the literature review section stressed the evidence of party fragmentation in Ghanaian politics, citing classical evidence from the NDC, NPP and the Nkrumahist parties. Finally, it examined the recurrent failure of the Nkrumahist parties to recover from fragmentation, hence the motivation of this study to investigate this trend.

The second section of this chapter examined the theory of party change as the theoretical framework for the study. This section also pointed out justifications for the choice of the theory of party change over the elite theory which equally explains the conflicts within any political entity. Though the elite theory explained the genesis of intra-party conflicts, it failed to forecast the impact of these conflicts on the existence of political parties. The theory of party change, on the other hand, offered an all-encompassing explanation on the origin of intra-party conflicts

and its impacts on political parties. For instance, the theory of party change stressed the impact of electoral performance and the interplay of the dominant factions on party change (fragmentation, mergers, etc.). Though there were some identifiable flaws with the theory, its merits strengthened its potency to explain the fragmentation of the Nkrumahist parties in Ghana.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the methodology of the study. Specifically, it covers the research design, targeted population, sample size, sampling techniques, sources of data, tools for data collection, ethical issues and instrument for data analysis with its associated merits and demerits.

3.1 Research Design

According to Welman & Kruger (2001), research design is the technique used to determine the nature of data to be collected and the specific respondents to arrive at valid conclusions for research objectives. Creswell and Poth (2018) also indicated that a research design can either adopt the quantitative, qualitative or mixed-method approaches. This study adopted the qualitative method of inquiry in order to obtain expert knowledge on the phenomenon of party fragmentation in Ghana's Fourth Republic. The qualitative method of inquiry is essentially "inductive, with the inquirer generating meaning from the data collected in the field" (Creswell,2003:9). Creswell further pointed out that the qualitative mode of inquiry could be "narratives, phenomenologies, ethnographies, grounded theory studies, or case studies" (Creswell,2003:14-15).

Though some quantitative models can be employed to explain human behaviour as in the case opinion polls, this study employed the qualitative method of inquiry which is widely used to explore a sudden change in a behavioural pattern. Specifically, the study used the case study approach due to its potency to thoroughly explain political party fragmentation and more specifically why the Nkrumahist parties in Ghana have failed to recover from fragmentation.

3.1.1 Case Study approach

As noted earlier, this study adopted the case study approach to explain the reasons behind the recurrent failure of the Nkrumahist parties to recover from their fragmentation. The choice of the case study approach for the study was somewhat influenced by the works of Creswell (2003) and Yin (2003). For instance, Creswell pointed out that case study methods allow “researchers to explore in-depth a program, an event, an activity or a process” (Creswell, 2003:15). Researchers have always advocated the use of ‘how’ and ‘why’ in probing a phenomenon. In line with this, scholars like Yin (2003) and Baxter & Jack (2008) averred that the use of case studies in research focus on providing answers to ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions.

Advocates of the case study approach to research like Yin (2014) and Denzin & Lincoln (2018) have outlined some typologies of case studies. These include descriptive and exploratory studies, hypothesis testing and development of the normative theory (Ibid). The descriptive case study approach involves “drawing on methods of document review, participant observation, and in-depth interviews to understand the experiences, perspectives, and worldviews of people in a particular set of circumstances” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018: 607-608).

It is worth noting that the descriptive case study approach helps to explain a phenomenon from different perspectives. For instance, the works of Akuamoah (2017) and Bob-Milliar (2012b) used the case study approach to explain the dynamics of intra-party conflicts and party fragmentation within the NPP and NDC. This study contributes to the debate on party fragmentation in Ghana by using a similar approach to explain why the Nkrumahist tradition in Ghana has failed to recover from their fissures.

The adoption of the case study approach is associated with the following merits:

1. It helps researchers to generate several studies on a similar phenomenon in order to establish and examine the trends (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). In line with this, the study

used the case study approach to build on established cases on party fragmentation in Ghana by bringing into perspective the Nkrumahist case which has not received the needed attention.

2. Case studies make it possible for researchers to generate data sets that can be used to “juxtapose conflicting evidence, freeing up the curious mind to rethink the relationships between data points” (Ibid:611).
3. The approach helps researchers to conduct a detailed inquiry of a social phenomenon (Kaarbo & Beasley, 1999).

Despite the aforementioned merits, the case study research design has the following demerits:

1. It has been criticized often as unrepresentative. The case study approach has been critiqued for its over-reliance on the researcher’s subjective interpretation of a phenomenon which is mostly influenced by their biases (Bryman, 2004).
2. Academics who indulge in case study research find it difficult to generalize the findings of their studies (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). It is normally restricted to specific cases, making it difficult to generalize findings.

Nonetheless, some of the critiques leveled against the case study and qualitative approaches of inquiry, in general, have been rebutted. For instance, Bassey (1981:85) averred that the “reliability of a case study is more important than its generalizability”. The qualitative research approach and its associated typologies have proven to be an authentic means of obtaining scientific knowledge despite the criticisms.

3.2 Data Collection

The data collection stage remains paramount to every research process. It involves the design of strategies as well as data collection instruments to obtain relevant information for a study

(Burnham, *et.al*, 2008). The study employed two major data sources - primary and secondary data sources.

3.2.1 Primary and Secondary Data

Primary data is undeniably the purest form of data source because it is mostly first-hand or unfiltered information (Persaud, 2010). The primary data source remains valuable in historical research because of its potency to connect to the past (Ibid). Given the nature of the study, there is the need to obtain first-hand information from certain individuals who have in-depth knowledge of the fissures within Nkrumahist parties. In effect, the primary data of the study was obtained from party technocrats within Nkrumahist parties, academics and journalists who specialize in the political history of Ghana to validate or refute some established assertions on the fragmentation of the Nkrumahist tradition.

Just like the primary data sources, the impact of secondary data sources in any research process cannot be underestimated. According to McGinn (2008), secondary data is mostly preexisting and collected by researchers for other purposes. It is mostly obtained from existing researchers' databases, government repositories, 'public and private' archives, and institutional databases (Ibid). The secondary data for the study was obtained from journals, articles, books and other existing references that were deemed relevant to the study.

3.3 Population

The population in research has been defined as "the entire collection of entities one seeks to understand or...seeks to draw an inference" (Litt, 2010: 1053). The targeted population for this study was party technocrats of the Nkrumahist parties, academics who specialize in the political history of Ghana and journalists with a keen interest in Ghanaian politics. This helped to obtain the needed information from individuals with expert knowledge and first-hand information on the fragmentation of the Nkrumahist groups.

3.4 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

Sampling in research is a very important stage because it helps to decipher research design and methods used by a researcher. A sampling technique devoid of the researcher's bias can be described as reliable and representative of the entire population's opinion (Fritz & Morgan, 2010). This study employed the non-probability sampling technique. Non-probability sampling entails a subjective selection of respondents based on their fore-knowledge of a phenomenon under research (Crouch & Housden, 2003). It is further categorized into purposive, convenience, quota and the snow-balling effect (Sharma, 2017). The study made use of the purposive and snowball sampling techniques to draw from respondents who had in-depth knowledge of the fragmentation of the Nkrumahist tradition in Ghana. Although the purposive sampling has been criticized for researchers' bias, it remains convenient and ideal for exploratory research design (Taherdoost, 2016).

Taherdoost (2016:22) further defined the snowball technique as a “non-random sampling method that uses a few cases to help encourage other cases to take part in the study, thereby increasing sample size”. The snowball sampling helped recruit prospective respondents from and among the acquaintances of respondents who are Nkrumahists. The choice of non-probability sampling over the probability sampling method was influenced by the need to avoid the possibility of targeting respondents who have little or no information on the subject matter. In effect, the choice of the non-probability sampling method gave the leeway to draw from experts' knowledge on the phenomenon of party fragmentation in Ghana.

The sample size of every research remains a crucial component of the research design. Unlike quantitative research, the qualitative research design normally requires a smaller number of respondents in order to obtain detailed data (Borrego et al., 2009). In view of this, twenty-two (22) respondents were interviewed for the study.

The breakdown is as follows:

- Ten (10) national party executives; two each from the Nkrumahist parties- CPP, PNC, APC, PPP and GCPP.
- Two (2) past national executives; one each from CPP and PNC.
- Four (4) former flagbearers; two each from the CPP and PNC.
- Two academics with specialization in the politics of Ghana.
- Two journalists with a keen interest in Ghanaian politics.
- Two national executives from the NDC.

The selection of respondents was based on three major reasons. First, to gather expertise opinion on the Nkrumahists problem of fragmentation. Second, to get a more objective explanations on why the Nkrumahists have failed to recover from their fragmentations. Finally, respondents were drawn from the NDC to get a more objective position on the phenomenon due to their experience from similar schisms in the past and their perceived active role in co-opting some prominent Nkrumahists into their fold. Though the study had earlier added the NPP to the sample size, it is imperative to note that the NPP was later excluded due to the unavailability of its respondents for the interviews owing to the COVID-19 pandemic.

3.4.1 Research Instrument

The primary data of the study was obtained from using comprehensive interviews. Interviews are seen as crucial data gathering techniques that involve “verbal communication between the researcher and the subject” (Mathers, *et.al*,1998:1). Interviews are categorized into several typologies. The most notable ones include structured (standardized), semi-structured (semi-standardized) and unstructured (unstandardized) interviews (Frances, *et.al*, 2009). The structured interview as the term suggests allows researchers to ask questions based on a pre-determined scheme (Mathers, *et.al*,1998). These types of interviews are mostly closed-ended

questions with pre-coded responses (Ibid). Semi-structured interviews combine series of open-ended questions to offer the interviewer and the interviewee the chance to discuss the topic into detail whereas, the unstructured gives the researcher the freedom to ask different sets of questions per respondent without any form of restrictions (Ibid).

In the light of these expositions, the study used a semi-structured interview guide to gather information from party technocrats and renowned Nkrumahists as well as academics and journalists on why the Nkrumahist tradition failed to overcome their issue of fragmentation.

3.5 Framework for Data Analysis

Data analysis is a very fundamental step in qualitative research (Flick, 2013). Kawulich (2004) indicated that the data analysis stage of every study is the process of reducing huge data collected from the field into simple manageable units with the view of making sense out of them. The study adopted the Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) as the framework for data analysis. The choice of QCA was largely influenced by Hsieh & Shannon's (2005) claim of its suitability to the qualitative research. The QCA basically analyses "written, verbal or visual communication messages" (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008:107). In view of this, the QCA approach was used to compare and contrast obtained data from the fieldwork and existing literature to establish some trends of similarities and differences. Findings were analyzed and interpreted thematically to reflect the objectives of the study.

3.6 Ethical Issues

Ethics are very central to the research process (Parveen & Showkat, 2017). Burnham *et.al* (2004) pointed out five (5) major ethics that must be considered in the conduct of any political research. These were informed consent, respect for privacy, ensuring anonymity and confidentiality, avoidance of deception and harm (Ibid).

In strict adherence to these ethics, an introductory letter from the Department of Political Science of the University of Ghana, stating the purpose of the study was sent to the targeted respondents to seek their consent to participate in the study and availability for the interview sessions. Additionally, the consent of the respondents was sought before recording the interviews. The principle of confidentiality and anonymity was maintained due to the sensitive nature of the study and to avoid unforeseen victimization. In addition, the names and contact addresses of respondents were expunged from the report to ensure the respect for their privacy.

3.7 Limitations and Challenges of the Study

The issue of party fragmentation is not new to the politics of Ghana because almost every political tradition in Ghana had experienced it in one way or the other. In effect, the choice of the Nkrumahist parties as a case study from similar cases seems to have limited this study. As noted earlier in the research design, the choice of case studies limits the generalization of findings. Consequently, findings from this study might contradict the findings from other cases. It must, however, be emphasized that these limitations do not in any way compromise the validity of the findings of the study.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter elaborated on the research methods and techniques that were used by the study. It has provided justifications for the choice of the case study approach of the qualitative research design due to its strength to unravel the issues behind a phenomenon. It also provided information on the use of semi-structured interviews as the main instrument for data collection. Finally, it highlighted the strict adherence of the study to the rigors of methodology while at the same time conceded some of the limitations and challenges of the study without compromising the validity of the findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the analysis and discussion of data obtained from the fieldwork. The study was guided by the theory of party change and sought to examine why the Nkrumahists parties had failed to recover from fragmentation. It also discusses the impact of the problem on the Nkrumahist tradition and suggests some feasible ways that the tradition can be rebuilt to be more relevant to the politics of Ghana's Fourth Republic.

Accordingly, this chapter presents findings from the fieldwork and discusses the conclusions vis-à-vis existing literature. Through a purposive sampling approach, the findings of the study were obtained from the views of technocrats from the Nkrumahists parties, national executives of other parties, academics, and journalists with a keen interest in the politics of Ghana. Given the research objectives, the analysis and discussion have been categorized into the following three (3) major themes:

1. Antecedents to the unity within the CPP (1949- early 1960s);
2. Dynamics of fragmentation within the Nkrumahist parties;
3. The Impacts of the fragmentation on the Nkrumahist parties; and
4. Dynamics to the inability of Nkrumahist parties to recover from fragmentation.

4.1. Antecedents to unity within the CPP (1949- early 1960s)

To appreciate the dynamics of the divisions within the Nkrumahists tradition, it was prudent to highlight some forces of cohesion that kept the Nkrumahist tradition together from 1949 to the late 1960s where some schisms manifested within the tradition until their eventual overthrow in 1966. This section of the chapter outlined some of these factors.

First, the study found that Nkrumah's charisma gave him an unquestionable leadership and the leeway to unite potential warring factions within the CPP. His trait as a unifier somewhat stabilized the party (**Fieldwork, 2020**). This reinforced Hagan's (1991) claim on Nkrumah's leadership style. He maintained that, though, some factional strife emerged within the CPP, Nkrumah's leadership skills coupled with his communication competence helped to sustain the party's unity. Second, the clarity in the CPP's ideology, to a large extent, contributed to the harmony within the party. Socialism, as the CPP identified itself with, is a complex dogma that has its challenges, but Nkrumah's ability to explain the ideology in simple terms to both the educated and uneducated members within the party cleared all forms of doubts and rifts (**Fieldwork, 2020**). This finding strengthened Afari-Gyan's (1991) expositions on *Nkrumahism* as a formidable ideology of the CPP. He maintained that Nkrumah's quest to reconstruct the Ghanaian society from the colonialism influenced his choice ideology which emphasized social justice, unity and the common good of all Ghanaians.

Third, the CPP's project to free Ghana from colonialism was believed to have pushed a lot of Ghanaians onto the party's bandwagon and gave Nkrumah and his CPP some unquestionable loyalty from the members (**Fieldwork, 2020**). Botwe-Asamoah (2005) attested to this finding in his work on Nkrumah's politico-cultural thought and policies. He argued that unlike, the conservative members of the UGCC who took politics as a 'hobby', The CPP came in as the only nationalist party with the sole objective of attaining political independence for the then colonial Ghana. Consequently, most Ghanaians jumped onto CPP's movement.

Finally, Nkrumah's unconventional means of sponsoring the CPP through the establishing institutions somewhat sustained the party. For instance, the National Development Authority (NADECO) was established in 1952 and as part of its financial commitment to the CPP, the board of directors resolved to allocate their bonuses to finance the CPP (Ayee, 1993). Though Ayee (1993) traced the nexus between party financing and corruption in Ghana to the CPP, this move, however, helped sustain the vibrancy, finances and cohesion of the party in the past.

Having revealed some of the cohesive factors, the next section of the chapter highlights the factors that overwhelmed the Nkrumahist tradition and brought about its fragmentation.

4.2 Dynamics of fragmentation within the Nkrumahist parties

A major objective of the study was to examine the undercurrents of the fragmentation within the Nkrumahist parties. The essence was to highlight the multi-causal factors behind the fissures and numerous coalition failures among the Nkrumahist parties since the inception of Ghana's Fourth Republic. From the fieldwork, a confluence of factors emerged which include the following:

1. Personality cult and the absence of effective party structures;
2. Deliberate annihilation of the tradition;
3. Selfishness, hypocrisy, and greed;
4. The destabilization ploy by major parties;
5. Political opportunism;
6. Issues with party financing; and
7. Ideological rift.

4.2.1 Personality cult and absence of effective party structures

Khrushchev (1956) in his speech *On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences* cautioned the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the devastating effects of personality cult on party unity at its 20th party congress. Heller and Plamper (2004) defined a personality cult as the excessive glorification of a political leader. The study found that the excessive deification of Nkrumah and the CPP's failure to institute effective party structures that could outlive its founder nurtured the grounds for their schisms (**Fieldwork, 2020**). Saaka (1994) maintained that the personalization of authority by charismatic leaders like Kwame Nkrumah always had 'a ready corps' willing to offer emotional support. The extensive display of the personality cult of Nkrumah stifled the CPP's ability to run effectively and independently from the dictates of its founder. As a result, the CPP machinery was found to be in disarray after 1962 due to the break in the chain of command between the national headquarters and the lower levels of the party. This finding was substantiated by Cohen's work, *The Convention People's Party of Ghana: Representational or Solidarity Party?* He argued:

In the examination of the structure of the CPP reveals two main points. Firstly, the CPP was not a unified, monolithic party with a clear chain of command and smoothly-working articulation. It was a disjointed, sporadically functioning, a fragmented party dominated by local and regional bosses and including groups of younger, more ideologically-oriented members... Secondly, the CPP had no real powers of policy implementation of its own, or final powers, of decision-making, for important decisions were taken at the top in the President's office (Cohen, 1970:185).

Consequently, the schisms that emerged within the CPP affected its internal democratic structures and capacity to mentor potential successors in the absence of its founder and leader, Kwame Nkrumah. Congruent to this finding, a former flag bearer of the CPP averred:

The force of Nkrumah as a unifying factor was his charisma. This is important because the CPP after the 1966 coup searched for a successor with Nkrumah-like traits and was not successful. This succession problem can be attributed to Nkrumah's failure to establish proper mechanisms for selecting successive leaders in the future. As a result, Nkrumah found it difficult to endorse some of his close associates like K. A Gbedemah and Kojo Botsio, etc. as his potential successors (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Max Weber in his expositions on the typologies of leadership championed the need for charismatic leadership to be routinized by establishing mechanisms for selecting successors (Gerth & Mills, 1946). However, Weber's advocacy was not suitable in the management of the CPP. The study further found that a contributory factor to this anomaly was the fusion of central government administration and the CPP apparatus by Nkrumah (**Fieldwork ,2020**). This finding resonated with what Amonoo (1981) described as *institutional dualism*. He argued that the combination of a triad of institutions: the 'old bureaucratic order', the party, and the 'new order' by Nkrumah affected the internal structures of the CPP. This was believed to have degenerated into conflicts and competition between state apparatus and the CPP (Hagan ,1991). For instance, Hagan averred:

The CPP failed to evolve acceptable modalities of interaction between the party and some state institutions that had every reason to consider themselves supreme in the state structure... Nkrumah merely succeeded in creating institutional opposition between the CPP and the vital organs of the state (Hagan, 1991:204).

Aside this, a close analysis of the CPP's structure after 1962 as indicated in Cohen's work confirmed Nkrumah's total hijack of the party apparatus after he was made life chairman (Figure 4.1). In the view of Cohen (1970: 185):

In ultimate control of the party was, of course, Nkrumah: President of the Republic, life chairman of the party, general secretary of the party after 1961, and executive secretary of the party from 1965. In 1962, at the 11th and last national delegates conference of the CPP, he had been elected unilaterally to change the party constitution and the membership of the central committee, so his authority in the party was unchallenged from that time... The central committee, in the name of which all party decisions were taken, had been an important organ of control up until 1961, but with the dismissal of Gbedemah, Botsio, Edusei and finally Adamafio in August 1962, there was no countervailing force in it to Nkrumah.

Consequently, Nkrumah's overthrow created succession problems and divisive tendencies within the remnants of the CPP tradition. For instance, Dr. Hilla Limann's nomination to lead the People's National Party (PNP) when the Nkrumahists resurged in 1979 was met with great

discontent from some old CPP guards who described him as a political novice, hence, the pro-Limann and the old CPP guard factions (**Fieldwork, 2020**). Dr. Obed Asamoah in his book *The Political History of Ghana (1950-2013)* confirmed this finding when he recounted how the power struggles between Nana Okutwer Bekoe, a former National Chairman and Imoru Egala, Convener over the leadership of the PNP affected party unity after the 1979 elections (Asamoah, 2014).

Though personality deification was not only particular to the Nkrumahist tradition, the early detection and correction of the anomaly by the Danquah-Busia and the Rawlings traditions seemed to have significantly contributed to their current viability. This was reinforced by an official from the NDC:

The personalization of political parties has always been the biggest cause of fragmentation factors across the world and in particular for the Nkrumahist tradition. If parties are not run as institutions with effective structures, they run into crises in the absence of their founders. I made this point strongly in the past and nearly run into trouble when I assumed a position as a national executive of the NDC some years back. But the party later understood the position, I revealed how everything about the party was about our leader [Rawlings] and indicated how his political absence would spell doom for our party (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

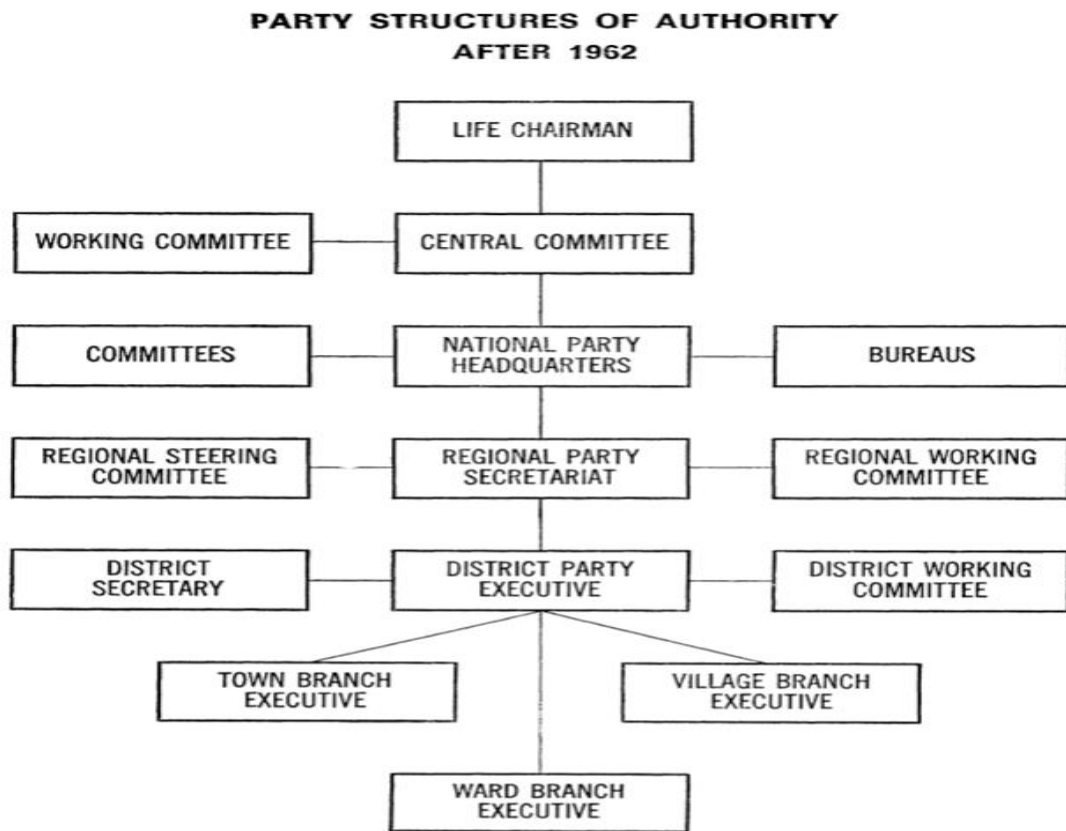
Similarly, Agomor (2019: 62) while writing on the formation and administration of political parties in general argued that:

Parties built around a personality cult will struggle to survive in a competitive political environment when the leaders either exit the political landscape or are taken away by a natural occurrence.

Juxtaposing the findings with Agomor's claim, it can be inferred that, indeed, the excessive personality deification of Kwame Nkrumah and lack of effective party structures significantly contributed to the schisms within the Nkrumahist tradition. These findings give credence for the need for political parties to adhere to strict democratic principles to ensure internal cohesion. For instance, Scarrow (2005) maintained that a party built around a dominant leader

often undermines the institutionalization of democratic principles and leadership. Democratic leadership as defined by Gastil (1994) entails the art of distributing responsibility as well as empowering members to actively participate in decision making process in any organization. Nkrumah's one-man show within the CPP clearly defied the tenets of democratic leadership as advocated by Scarrow (2005) and Gastil (1994).

Figure 4.1 Hierarchical Structure of the CPP (1962-1966)



Source: Cohen, D.L. (1970). The Convention People's Party of Ghana: Representational or Solidarity Party? *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 4(2), p.193.

4.2.2 Deliberate annihilation of the tradition

Undoubtedly, military juntas across the globe have often removed legitimate governments and subsequently scattered their associated elements. The Ghanaian case somewhat confirms this claim (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Military overthrows of legitimate governments in Ghana (1966-1981)

Parties		Political traditions	Year of overthrow	Splits after coups
Convention Party (CPP)	People's	Nkrumahists	1966	NAL, United Nationalist Party (UNP), etc.
Progress Party (PP)		Danquah-Busia-Dombo	1969	PFP/UNC split
People's Party (PNP)	National	Nkrumahists	1981	PNC, NCP, NIP, PHP.

Source: Author's compilation.

The study found that the fissures within the Nkrumahist tradition can also be attributed to the deliberate extermination of the tradition by both internal and external forces for their perceived monopolization of power after independence (**Fieldwork, 2020**). In line with this finding, an academic emphasized:

It is worth noting that the declaration of the CPP as the national party in 1964 sparked some agitations in Ghana. So, Nkrumah's overthrow was synonymous with the annihilation of the CPP. There was a conscious effort to make sure that the CPP was disintegrated and never to re-group (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

A cursory scrutiny of military coups in Ghana (see Table 4.1) confirms that the Nkrumahist tradition was overthrown twice, that is, in 1966 and 1981. The aim was to annihilate the tradition as well as restrain some close associates of Nkrumah like Kojo Botsio, K.A.

Gbedemah, etc. from active participation in Ghanaian politics (Asamoah, 2014; Agomor, 2019) and to co-opt some key members into other political traditions (Addae-Mensah, 2016; Fordwor, 2010). The words of Colonel Kotoka, a member of the NLC on the day of the 1966 coup seemed to confirm the intention to exterminate the Nkrumahist tradition. According to him:

The myth surrounding Kwame Nkrumah has been broken today. Parliament is dissolved and Kwame Nkrumah is dismissed from office. All ministers are also dismissed. The Convention People's Party is disbanded with effect from now (Austin & Luckman, 1975:16).

Asamoah (2014) also recounted some of the turns of events after NLC's 1966 coup. He averred:

The Political Parties Decree (NLCD 345) was duly published on 28 April 1969, and it contained a disqualification clause stating that any person who had been a Minister under Nkrumah after 1 July 1960, who had been a member of the Central Committee, or who had been a General Secretary of the CPP, inter alia, could not found or lead a political party (Asamoah, 2014: 144).

A former flagbearer of the CPP supported the earlier assertions by Asamoah (2014) and, Austin and Luckman (1975). He indicated that:

When Nkrumah was overthrown, the CPP was smashed and its remnants could not re-organize because its associated symbols and slogans were proscribed. Some key leaders of the tradition were also imprisoned and subsequently barred from contesting elections upon their release. All these impediments were put in place deliberately to ensure that the CPP was not able to recover. So, from that point on, the CPP was dealing with fragments that were struggling to reunite (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Similarly, other respondents had these to share:

Most parties that led independence struggles in Africa were lucky enough to have escaped military overthrows and this, to a larger extent, explains their survival and resilience. Sadly, the Nkrumahist tradition even though managed to re-capture power in 1979 after their overthrow in 1966 was toppled again in 1981 and all of its strength sapped by the coup makers (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

The 1966 coup truly destroyed the CPP tradition because most of its associates were banned from contesting public office. Though the PNP resurged in 1979, it was a half returned CPP because most of the strong Nkrumahists could not contest and be part of the government. So those who worked with Nkrumah and understood his way of doing things had to rebrand into something else and in doing so lost touch with the tradition. This later became a bane to their unity at the turn of the twentieth century (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

The Nkrumahist tradition was hampered as a result of the 1966 coup and 1981 revolution by the NLC and PNDC respectively and that has fundamentally affected its ability to mend their broken fence. Sadly, it takes political power to fix these mess but the Nkrumahists absence in government has further deepened their pre-existing problems (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

In sum, the study found that unlike the Danquah-Busiasts, who managed to regroup in 1992 after their overthrow in 1972, the Nkrumahist parties have not been able to regroup as a single united front after they were ousted from office in 1966 and 1981.

4.2.3 Selfishness, hypocrisy, and greed

Another intriguing factor that has unscored the divisive tendencies within political parties has to do with self-centeredness and sheer avarice of some members to control party apparatus at all costs (Harmel *et.al*, 1995). The study found that the pre-existing fragmentation of the Nkrumahist front keeps deepening as a result of the utter display of greed, egotism, and insincerity by some individuals within the tradition (**Fieldwork, 2020**). Ninsin (2006) and Pokoo (2012) maintained that such actions have often resulted in some party bigwigs either imposing candidates during internal elections or hijacking the entire party machinery. Almost all respondents alluded to this finding during the fieldwork. For instance, a former general secretary of the PNP remarked:

The main reason for the fragmentation over the years has to do with the selfishness and greediness on the part of some members. Everyone wants to be seen as the leader of the tradition so that they can enjoy the prerequisites of being seen as leading political parties. The display of such traits affected the unity of the Nkrumahist groups in past elections and still does (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Similarly, some officials from the CPP admitted that:

Our failure to unite is on the membership or those who claim to be believers of the CPP tradition. We have failed to do away with our egos and selfishness or rise above individual personal differences in the interest of our party. I am guilty and I think many of our comrades are guilty as well. Because if we can bury our differences, I think we have fantastic ideas that could help us to unite. Leftists are difficult individuals to convince because the righteousness of their convictions is sometimes exhibited through arrogance (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

When people are bent on pursuing their interests, there is very little you can do about it. For instance, Kwesi Nduom, a former flagbearer our party [CPP] left with some elected officials to form the PPP after realizing he had lost grounds and his sponsored candidate for the chairmanship position had lost in our 2011 congress at the Trade Fair site. The council of elders spoke to them but they were determined on what they were doing. Again, we have our Flagbearer for 2012, Dr. Abu Sakara who has decided that he is no longer interested in CPP politics but national interest politics and has subsequently formed the National Interest Movement (NIM) to galvanize some electoral support on his own (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

The study also established the nexus between the pursuance of selfish ambitions by some Nkrumahists and the numerous coalition failures since 1992. This is because each of the parties has leaders who equally have personal political ambitions to protect. Therefore, any attempt to unite fragments of the old CPP stock as one Nkrumahist tradition will mean some leaders will have to sacrifice their political ambitions. For obvious reasons, most of them are not ready to offer such sacrifices (**Fieldwork, 2020**). This finding was reinforced by an academic:

A merger between the CPP, PNC, and other parties would mean that individuals who occupy top positions in these parties and are in the limelight politics of Ghana would have to submit their interest to the collective goal of the tradition. This is quite a herculean task to achieve because some individuals are likely to have their political ambitions suppressed (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

The evidence of greed within the Nkrumahist parties has been linked to the monetization of the formation of political parties in Ghana. It was asserted that some individuals with the optimism of amassing some wealth tend to form minor political parties with Nkrumahist orientation to accumulate some wealth from either state sponsorship through the Electoral Commission or by pledging their support to the two major parties in Ghana in return for political favours (**Fieldwork, 2020**). A journalist confirmed this finding when he posited:

The monetization of the formation of political parties in Ghana influences some members within the Nkrumahist tradition to break away to form their parties or support others to form parties. For instance, parties and political movements with Nkrumahist orientations keep coming up with the recent ones being the Ghana United Movement (GUM), Economic Fighters League (EFL), and National Interest Movement (NIM) which from all indications are being sponsored by some known members of the Nkrumahist tradition. These movements are not in to make any significant impact on our elections but are in for the patronage (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

The monetization of politics in Ghana according to Suhuniyi (2018) has led to the sale of political positions to the highest bidders on the open political market in Ghana. Ayee (2019) on a national stakeholder consultation platform advocated for the need for Ghana to design legislations to prevent monetization in politics due to its effects on democratic governance. He further posited that the monetization in politics often serves as conduits for corruption (Ibid). These assertions by the Ayee (2019) and Suhuniyi (2018) strengthened the findings on monetization in Ghanaian politics. Similarly, a former Speaker- Parliament of Ghana, Rt. Hon. Doe Adjaho, bemoaned on the negative impacts of the excessive monetization of Ghanaian politics (Adjaho, 2015). He stated:

We have monetized our politics. So, the mantra now for voters is that if you don't pay, we won't vote for you

Adjaho's claims was somewhat reiterated by leadership of the parliament of Ghana when they lamented on the impact of the 2020 NPP parliamentary primaries on the attrition of 'fine' brains from the floor of parliament (PG June, 2020). The Minority Leader stated:

Mr. Speaker, I wish to congratulate the majority leader, the first deputy speaker and others who survived what I describe as a 'political tsunami' in the just ended NPP parliamentary primaries. But Mr. Speaker, there are concerns as to whether those that lost are unpopular or money is popular. For many of our experienced MPs to be swept away by the power of money politics is problematic. Mr. speaker, we will need to have a next conversation on the monetization of our politics.

4.2.4 Destabilization strategies by other political traditions

Undeniably, political survival games across the globe have often been characterized by the use of unconventional means of sabotaging political opponents to sustain dominance (Ripley, 1972). The study found that there is a deliberate ploy by the other political traditions [Danquah-Busia and Rawlings] to subvert the Nkrumahists and to keep them fragmented (**Fieldwork, 2020**). These political traditions have often resorted to intrusive or co-opting tactics to entice

members of the Nkrumahist parties into their fold (Ibid). An official from the CPP re-echoed this point when he asserted that:

One thing that became obvious in the mobilization of the Danquah-Busia and Rawlings traditions was their machinations to ‘cannibalize’ the CPP and to co-opt some core members and strong organizers. There was a deliberate attempt by the PNDC to identify with the CPP tradition when they decided to convert their movement into a political party in 1992. The UP [Danquah-Busia] tradition also used some of the CPP elements. So, the Nkrumahist found it difficult to re-organize because these forces were tearing them apart (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Similarly, a journalist who has been following Ghana’s politics since 1992 indicated:

After Ghana had experienced a military junta under Rawlings and his PNDC for eleven (11) years, he later conceived the idea of forming the NDC. The grounded political traditions were the Nkrumahists and the Danquah-Busiasts. So, Rawlings and his cohort chose to fragment the Nkrumahist front so that they could use their structures to mobilize after failing to reach some form of agreement with elements within the Danquah- Busia tradition (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Some earlier works by Oquaye (1995; 2004), Addae-Mensah (2016) and Debrah (2004) to some extent highlighted some of these machinations. For instance, Oquaye (1995) and Addae-Mensah (2016) argued that the Nkrumahists had merger issues in 1992 because their camp was infiltrated by the PNDC through some prominent members of the NCP (a splinter from the CPP tradition) like Capt. Tsikata and Prof. Kofi Awoonor, etc. The aim was to carve a following for Rawlings’ NDC and to pre-empt defections within the Nkrumahists (Oquaye, 2004; Debrah, 2004). However, an official from the NDC refuted these claims and indicated that the CPP fold that joined their camp did so willingly and not through any form of an orchestrated plans of infiltration.

He argued:

It will be intellectually wrong to assume that some parties infiltrated into the camp of others to keep them fragmented. We [NDC] in our organization in 1992 made proposals to both the Nkrumahists and Danquah-Busia traditions. However, the Danquah-Busiasts rejected the offer because of their reservations about Rawlings. I do not think it is a defensible position for you to write away the wishes of a group of people who would want to form a party to protect their interests. Some splinter groups which emerged from the CPP tradition were ready to do business with the NDC and we did business with them (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Nonetheless, a further probe into the circumstances and individuals surrounding the restoration of the proscribed CPP in 1998 gave some credence to the destabilization claim due to the questionable loyalty of some self-professed Nkrumahists like Freddie Blay, Alhaji Asuma Banda, Kweku Baako, Kwesi Pratt, etc. who have either defected to or do the bidding of either the NPP or the NDC presently (**Fieldwork, 2020**). For instance, Freddie Blay, a leading Nkrumahist has aligned with their political opponent, the NPP, and currently serves as its national chairman. Others like Alhaji Asuma Banda and Kwesi Pratt are now sympathizers of the NDC whereas Kweku Baako constantly pushes the bidding of the NPP (Ibid). In line with these observations, some former national executives of the CPP had these to share:

It is very crucial to look into how the current CPP came into being. It is strange to note that some individuals like Freddie Blay, Kwesi Pratt, and few others who prayed the court to restore the CPP are far from the party now and are either sympathizers of the NPP or NDC. These individuals still claim to be Nkrumahists but in practice, they are not who they portray themselves to be. Strangely, the minor parties that profess Nkrumahism are 'fake' in the sense that they have become arenas for fighting between the major parties [NPP and NDC]. So, the real owners of these parties are not the faces we see but individuals within the major parties (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

The CPP we are seeing today is not Kwame Nkrumah's CPP. A group of people took legal action against the state in 1998 to overturn the decisions of the NLC decree and prayed the court to allow them to use the name and symbols that were associated with Nkrumah's CPP. Luckily, their petition was upheld. The motive for seeking to replicate Nkrumah's CPP was to cripple its fortunes and render it only viable to support other parties. So 'the kingmaker' role of the CPP as we see today was a deliberate creation of some external forces to project Ghana as a multi-party democracy when in practice there is a two-party arrangement between the NPP and the NDC (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Aside from these, the study found a semblance of orchestrated intrusions by the NDC to co-opt members of the Nkrumahist group. For instance, there were some machinations by the NDC in 2009 to entice some of the leaders and Members of Parliament (MPs) of the CPP and PNC with power largesse (Wikileaks, 2009). Consequently, Madam Samia Nkrumah [former Chairperson and MP for the CPP] was ostracized by some members of the NDC for her refusal to align with them in parliament (Ibid). An interview with Madam Samia Nkrumah confirmed this intelligence. According to her:

My experience with the NDC when I was National Chairperson and MP on the floor of parliament from 2008-2012 was complicated. There were instances where the NDC detested me for voting against them on the floor of parliament. My vision of building an independent CPP received backlashes from unknown faces outside our party [CPP] (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

These assertions somewhat give credence to why Samia Nkrumah lost her second parliamentary bid in 2012 and subsequently the CPP's flagbearership race ahead of the 2016 elections. The general impression was that some individuals within the major parties sabotaged her efforts (**Fieldwork, 2020**). A national executive of the PNC substantiated this claim when he postulated:

In 2016, Samia Nkrumah contested to be the flagbearer of the CPP and there was an understanding that if she becomes the leader of the party, she was going to partner with us [PNC] to ensure the realization of a formidable coalition. Unfortunately, she lost and what accounted for her loss was attributed to some external forces within the major parties to keep the Nkrumahist groups fragmented (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

These assertions resonated with the point made by Broadway (2019) that:

...Depending on with whom one speaks, the reason for Samia's loss varies between her ineptitude, on the one hand, and external interference, particularly by the NDC, on the other.

Juxtaposing these observations and claims, it is only reasonable to conclude that the deliberate and persistent intrusions of the Nkrumahist camp by the two major political parties in Ghana have contributed to their inability to recover from fragmentation. These findings reinforced some claims by Addae-Mensah (2016) on how the Nkrumahist camp was infiltrated and members co-opted by other political traditions. He argued that some influential people within the Danquah-Busia and Rawlings traditions used money to entrap some leading members of the Nkrumahist tradition and controlled their actions. He further highlighted instances where some influential old CPP guards stalled the unity agenda of the Nkrumahist elements in 1992 which compelled Limann to announce the formation of the PNC. In the words of Limann:

We cannot allow ourselves to be bogged down any longer by unnecessary wrangling, open demonstrations of contempt, and the dictatorial proclivities of one political guru. The struggle ahead is formidable. We cannot sit back or remain unconcerned. We are clearly being misled by persons whose dedication and commitment to the legacy bequeathed to us by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Alhaji Imoru Egala, are questionable in the extreme (Addae-Mensah, 2016:33).

4.2.5 Political Opportunism

Rational theorists have always maintained that human beings are incurably opportunistic in all their dealings (Simon, 1995; Levi, 1997; Elster, 2000). In effect, it has been observed that most politicians in Ghana by way of seeking office do so to enrich themselves either through conventional or unconventional means (Amartey, 2018; Gyampo, 2019). This study also established the link between evidence of political opportunism among some leaders of the Nkrumahist parties and their recurrent fragmentation. It found that some individuals within the Nkrumahist parties seek leadership positions as conduits to amass wealth or gain some political favours from other political parties and to undermine any unity attempts within their rank and file (**Fieldwork, 2020**). To buttress this observation, a former national chair of the CPP noted that:

My association with the smaller parties has made me suspect that some individuals come into these parties, seeking leadership positions at times to simply earn money. My experience within the current CPP affirms people's intentions of earning money on the back of politics. Why do these leaders get richer while their parties are performing abysmally in elections? Consequently, the Nkrumahist parties are kept fragmented so that some individuals amongst us can enjoy the spoils from their paymasters (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

An official from the PNC supported this claim when he averred:

Some of us [PNC] have paymasters outside the party who tend to control their actions in exchange for political rewards. This cabal of individuals tends to do everything within their capacity to gratify these external forces within the major parties. When major decisions are taken at the party level, these unseen forces influence certain individuals to reject party positions. For instance, in the run-up to the 2008 presidential run-off, our party was tasked to either support the NPP or NDC. Surprisingly, there was a tie, so each side went ahead to support whichever side that was convenient for them. So, after the elections, it became difficult reconciling these two factions within the party and that has been a major source of our destabilization (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Similarly, an official from the NDC posited:

The politics of Ghana now seems to suggest that the election of leaders within any of the splinter CPP groups is done on the sponsorship of some individuals within the major parties. So, these sponsored individuals find it difficult to operate independently. In effect, such individuals have resorted to using the ‘shell’ of the parties to help other major parties do their business (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

These assertions point to the fact that it is in the interest of some leaders of the Nkrumahist tradition to keep it fragmented so that they can enjoy ‘political crumbs’ from the major political parties. Table 4.2 shows a list of some Nkrumahists who have benefited from the spoils of the NDC and NPP since 1992.

Table 4.2. List of Nkrumahists who benefited from the NDC and NPP Administrations (1993-2020)

Name	Party	Position in Party	Administration	Portfolio	Period
Ekow Nkensen Arkaah	NCP	Party Leader	NDC	Vice President of Ghana	1993-1997
Anthony Forson	NCP	Founding member	NDC	Attorney General and Minister of Justice	1993
Dr. Kwabena Duffour	CPP	Committee Chairman	NDC	Finance Minister	2009-2013
Bernard Monah	PNC	General Secretary	NDC	Member, Local Olympic Committee	2009-2012
Dr. Sulley Gariba	PNC	Founding member	NDC	Policy Advisor to the Vice-President & High Commissioner to Canada	2009-2013; 2013-2016
Prof. Raymond Atuguba	PNC	Party Lawyer	NDC	Executive Secretary to the President	2013-2015
Dr. Edward Gyader	PNC	Former Parliamentary candidate	NDC	Member, Council of State	2013- 2017
Prof. Nii Noi Dowuona	CPP	Former General Secretary	NDC	Member, N.C.T. E	2009- 2013
Kwabena Darko	NIP	Flagbearer, 1992 elections	NPP	Board Member, Bank of Ghana	2001-2005
Lt. Gen. Emmanuel Erskine	PHP	Flagbearer, 1992 elections	NPP	Member, National Reconciliation Commission	2002- 2005
Mallam Issah	PNC	Financier	NPP	Minister for Youth and Sports	January-May 2001
Moses Dani Baah	PNC	Former MP, Sissala East	NPP	Deputy Minister of Health	2001-2004
Ambrose Dery	PNC, Defected to NPP	Party Lawyer, NPP MP for Nandom constituency	NPP	Regional Minister, Upper West & Interior Minister	2005-2007 2017-
Dr. Edward Mahama	PNC	Former Flagbearer	NPP	Ambassador-at-large	2017-

Alhaji Ahmed Ramadan	PNC	Former National Chairman	NPP	Ghana's Ambassador to the United Arab Emirates (UAE)	2017-
Abu Ramadan	PNC	Former National Youth Organizer	NPP	Deputy Director, NADMO	2017-
Prof. George Hagan	CPP	Former flagbearer, 2000 elections	NPP	Chairman, National Commission for Culture Board Chair, Energy Commission of Ghana	2001-2007 2017-
Kojo Armah	CPP	Former MP, Evalue-Gwira	NPP	MCE, Nzema East	2001-2004
Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom	CPP	Former MP, KEEA	NPP	Energy Minister; and Minister for Public Sector Reform	2003- 2004; 2005-2007
Frederick Blay	CPP	Former MP, Ellembelle	NPP	1st Deputy Speaker of Parliament	2005-2009
Prof. Agyemang Badu Akosa	CPP	Former, Flagbearer Aspirant	NPP	Director-General, Ghana Health Service	2003-2007

Source: Compiled and updated from Bob- Milliar, G.M. (2019). 'We run for the crumbs and not for office': the Nkrumahist minor parties and party patronage in Ghana. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 57(4), p.461.

In line with this reflection, an academic averred that:

Major parties in Ghana have realized that electoral competition is keen and the only way to win is with the support of the Nkrumahists. So, NPP and NDC always capitalized on their proxy factions within the CPP and PNC. For instance, the current National Chairman of the PNC [Bernard Mornah] has come up with the inter-party resistance for the compilation of a new voter register whereas the former General Secretary [Atik Mohammed] and other sections within the PNC support the NPP and the Electoral Commission's call for a new voters' register (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

These observations resonate with Bob-Milliar's (2019) view that some leaders within the Nkrumahist parties activate either the 'coalition potential' or the 'blackmail potential' to gain some form of support from the major parties. This, to a larger extent, has institutionalized 'a-two-horse-race' between the NPP and NDC, dwindled the electoral fortunes of the Nkrumahist parties as well as kept them fragmented.

4.2.6 Issues with party financing

Aleyomi (2013) in his work *Intra-Party Conflict in Nigeria* highlighted party funding as a major contributing factor to the crises within political parties. Similarly, Ayee, *et.al.* (2007) attributed the lack of internal party democracy in Ghana to private financing of political parties. This is because party financiers often capitalized on their services to hijack party apparatus. Though the issue of party financing is valid for the squabbles within every political party in Ghana, the study found that its prevalence within the Nkrumahist parties has contributed immensely to their fissures and some respondents alluded to this fact (**Fieldwork, 2020**). For instance, some respondents from the CPP posited:

What is further deepening the cracks within the Nkrumahist parties has to do with funding. You look into our accounts and there is nothing there. So, whoever has the ‘deep pocket’ would want to use it as a medium to dominate and influence key party decisions and this has often been met with agitations and disagreements (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Unfortunately, it is a fact that a few big personalities control political parties with money and influence our politics. This can only end when there is public funding of political parties (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Prempeh and Asare (2017) in their exposition on party financing in Ghana have maintained that financing of political parties by private individuals has undermined internal party democracy, served as conduits for criminal activities, and further entrenched the existing political duopoly by the two major political parties. Aside from this, issues of alleged mismanagement and embezzlement of party funds were highlighted as a potential causative factor to the internal conflicts within the Nkrumahist parties. As noted earlier, some individuals within the Nkrumahist fold have over the years used the tradition as conduits to amass wealth. The study found that some of these monies are sometimes accrued through the siphoning of party funds (**Fieldwork, 2020**). In line with this finding, an old Nkrumahist who doubles as a research librarian alleged that:

The name of Nkrumah and his good works have made the CPP attractive to certain individuals in Ghana and at the diaspora who support the party financially. However, some of these funds are at times channeled into private accounts. It has been the norm over the years and the current acting national executives are no exception. Funds meant for running our party are squandered without proper justification (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Juxtaposing these findings with Prempeh and Asare's work, it can be argued that some provisions within the 1992 constitution [Article 55 (15)] and the Political Parties Act [Act 574 (23-24)] of Ghana have not been enforced leading to some unscrupulous individuals to indulge in illicit activities such as money laundering and corruption, all in the name of financing political parties. In sum, the study found that some businessmen who are not Nkrumahists have over the years capitalized on their goodwill and under the pretense of party financing to launch their political careers, amass wealth for themselves and plant 'seeds' of discord among members of the tradition (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

4.2.7 Ideological rift

The paucity of ideology within political parties and traditions has also been a major source of intra-party conflicts and fragmentations (Akuamoah, 2017). Though Ninsin (2006) maintained that political parties in Ghana have failed to operate along their ideological spectrum, the lack of ideological clarity has been a major source of conflict within parties in Ghana. The study found that the ideological rift between the CPP and the PNC as to the meaning and principles of Nkrumahism has significantly contributed to their numerous coalition failures (**Fieldwork, 2020**). Findings from the fieldwork indicated that whereas the CPP parades itself as hardcore leftists, the PNC is considered moderates though they all profess to the socialist principles of Kwame Nkrumah (Ibid). The study further found that the issue is an old problem that predates to when the CPP was in government. It is believed that some close associates of Nkrumah did not comprehend his values and principles of Nkrumahism. Hence, the rift and divergent views among members of the CPP tradition after his demise (**Fieldwork, 2020**). Consequently, this old problem was rekindled when Dr. Hilla Limann was made leader of the Nkrumahists ahead

of the 1979 polls. For instance, Addae-Mensah (2016) recounted how Dr. Hilla Limann was regarded as a political novice by some CPP old guards because of his moderateness to the Nkrumahist call. An academic confirmed this challenge when he argued:

A major reason behind the fragmentations of the Nkrumahists has always been on a clear-cut ideology for the tradition. Some claim to be leftists but is not inclined to the left but want to remain in their camp to mobilize some political support. Nana Okutwer Bekoe, a former chairman of the PNP admitted some time ago that, there were about five or six factions that emerged within the PNP as a result of differences in ideological positions. Limann was seen as a moderate. So, Limann leading the PNP sparked agitations between the remnants of hardcore radical leftists and the moderates (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

This challenge, to a large extent, underscored the formation of splinter parties from the Nkrumahist tradition by remnants of the old ideological factions at the inception of Ghana's Fourth Republic. Therefore, the renaissance of the CPP in 1998 somewhat gave them leeway to monopolize the Nkrumahist ideology over the PNC. Consequently, the CPP's posture in dictating the terms of engagement in previous coalition attempts of all Nkrumahist parties has been a bane to the realization of their merger attempts in the past. In line with this, an academic opined:

The CPP's position of regarding itself as the true Nkrumahists with the PNC and the others as just an off-shoot has been a major factor that has stalled unity talks in the past (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

These findings to a large extent confirmed Gordon's (2017) claim on the nexus between ideology and party fragmentation. He argued that the lack of clarity in the ideology of Nkrumahist parties has further deepened their pre-existing divisions.

The next section of this chapter discusses the negative impacts of the fragmentation and recurrent internal conflicts on Nkrumahist parties.

4.3 The Impacts of the fragmentation on Nkrumahist parties

The study found some negative impacts associated with the fragmentation of the Nkrumahist tradition. They include the following:

1. Poor electoral performance;
2. Entrenched the political duopoly of major parties;
3. Inability to advance alternative governance proposals; and
4. Conduit to amass wealth.

4.3.1 Poor electoral performance

The viability of political parties at times is measured on their ability to win an election and to form a government (Downs,1957; Schlesinger,1991). However, internal feuds and fragmentations have proven to be a bane to achieving these feats. The study found that the fissures within the Nkrumahist tradition have significantly affected their viability in Ghanaian elections (**Fieldwork, 2020**). An analysis of electoral results (presidential and parliamentary) in Ghana from 1951 to 2016 indicates how the votes of Nkrumahist parties have dwindled from 1992 to 2016 (Tables 4.3 and 4.4).

Table 4.3: Percentage Vote (Presidential Elections) for Nkrumahist Parties: 1960-2016

<i>PARTIES/ YEARS</i>	<i>1960</i>	<i>1979</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>2016</i>
<i>CPP</i>	89%	-	-	-	1.85%	1%	1.3%	0.18%	0.24%
<i>PNP</i>	-	61.98%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>PNC</i>	-	-	6.7%	3%	2.9%	1.92%	0.9%	0.22%	0.21%
<i>PHP</i>	-	-	1.85%	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>NIP</i>	-	-	2.85%	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>GCPP</i>	-	-	-	-	1%	-	-	0.35%	-
<i>PPP</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.59%	1%

Source: Author's Compilation from Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2020.

Table 4.4: Number of Parliamentary seats won by Nkrumahist Parties: 1951 -2016

<i>PARTIES/ YEAR</i>	<i>CPP</i>	<i>PNP</i>	<i>NCP</i>	<i>PCP</i>	<i>PNC</i>	<i>GCPP</i>	<i>PPP</i>
<i>1951</i>	34/38	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>1954</i>	71/104	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>1956</i>	71/104	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>1979</i>	-	71/104	-	-	-	-	-
<i>1992</i>	-	-	8/200	-	-	-	-
<i>1996</i>	-	-	-	5/200	1/200	-	-
<i>2000</i>	1/200	-	-	-	3/200	-	-
<i>2004</i>	3/230	-	-	-	4/230	-	-
<i>2008</i>	1/230	-	-	-	2/230	-	-
<i>2012</i>	-	-	-	-	1/275	-	-
<i>2016</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Author's Compilation from Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2020.

As indicated in table 4.4, Nkrumahist tradition dominated elections in Ghana from 1951. For instance, the CPP managed to win thirty-four (34) out of the thirty-eight (38) contested parliamentary seats in 1951. The CPP increased and maintained their seats at seventy-one (71) in 1954 and 1956 when seats were increased from thirty-eight to one hundred and four (104). The PNP maintained the Nkrumahists seats at seventy-one after the 1979 elections. The inception of the Fourth Republic came with an increased in contested seats from the previous 104 to 200. The Nkrumahists started experiencing a decline in parliamentary representation from eight (8) in 1992, six (6) in 1996 and four (4) in 2000 after their fragmentation at the inception of the Fourth Republic. An additional thirty (30) constituencies were created for the 2004 and 2008 elections. Again, the Nkrumahist parties only secured seven (7) and three (3) respectively. In 2012, forty-five (45) seats were created, bringing the number of constituencies to two-Hundred and seventy-five (275). As fate would have it, the Nkrumahists secured only a seat in the 2012 parliamentary election but failed to secure any seat in the 2016 elections. Similar to this finding, a renowned journalist and electoral pollster in Ghana stated that:

From the 2000 elections till now, this concept of ‘mesei mi vote’, translated to mean ‘wasted votes’ has always influenced the dwindling fortunes of the Nkrumahist smaller parties due to their fragmentations. As a result, they keep losing votes to the two major parties [NPP and NDC] which are perceived as properly organized (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Some academics had also reinforced the point:

A quick analysis of electoral results since 1992 shows a persistent decline in electoral supports for the Nkrumahist parties in every election and the story is likely to be the same for the upcoming 2020 elections if some drastic measures are not put in place to address the challenge (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

The fortunes of political parties are attached to elections because political parties are meant to win political power. Electoral votes for the Nkrumahist parties have dwindled over time. Apart from 1992 where Nkrumahist parties were able to amass about 12% in the presidential election, analysis of subsequent electoral results, especially the 2016 election indicated not more than even up to 2% including votes from independent candidates. They have also lost all seats in parliament, making it difficult for them to be kept in the political limelight (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Juxtaposing these findings to Fordwor's (2010) work on the Danquah-Busia tradition, it can be inferred that the fragmentation of political traditions in Ghana dwindles their electoral fortunes. For instance, Fordwor (2010) recounted how the split of the PP into PFP and UNC led to the Danquah-Busiasts' defeat in the 1979 elections.

4.3.2 Entrenched political duopoly by major parties

Agomor (2019) argued that the competitive nature of Ghana's electoral politics requires only better organized political parties to survive and compete effectively. This is because politics has been reduced to a two-horse race between the NDC and the NPP due to the little impact the minor parties, mostly the Nkrumahist ones have on electoral outcomes. The study found that the role of third parties in Ghana has been restricted to 'king-makers', and thereby only viable in supporting other parties to win elections (**Fieldwork, 2020**). The 'king-maker' role of the Nkrumahist parties largely exists due to their inability to present a common front.

This has made it difficult for them to amalgamate their pool of support and rendered them unappealing to the Ghanaian electorate (Ibid). To diffuse the existing political duopoly in Ghana, Yobo and Gyampo (2015) advocated for the need for like-minded political parties to coalesce into a stronger third force so that they can significantly influence electoral outcomes.

They contended:

To secure an effective third force in Ghana's electoral politics, it is suggested that like-minded (similar political philosophy) fragmented political parties coalesce, possibly with new branding (name and symbol) to reflect their shared ideology. By so doing, adequate resources, both in terms of human and material, may be available to fund their political activities (Yobo & Gyampo, 2015:15).

In the absence of what has been advocated and with the recurrent internal conflicts within the Nkrumahist parties, it is difficult, if not impossible, to diffuse the two-horse race between the NPP and NDC. This is because the major parties have succeeded in rendering other existing parties as fringe parties. This major finding is congruent to Otto Kirchheimer's (1966) 'catch-all party' thesis. He predicted the fading of smaller parties as a result of the all-embracing ideological positions and policies of major parties. This according to Kirchheimer will eventually render smaller parties like Nkrumahist-inspired parties in the Ghanaian case less relevant to political competition (Ibid).

4.3.3 Inability to advance alternative governance proposals

The ability to convince the electorate has been a major political marketing tool for most political parties to secure political power. This has been exhibited through contributions to national debates on alternative governance. The NPP and NDC since 1992 have dominated the politics of Ghana's Fourth Republic and have offered alternative proposals for governance. However, the minor parties in Ghana, mostly the Nkrumahist ones in orientation have lost out on national debates due to their fissures. The study found that the internal conflicts among the Nkrumahists have made it difficult for them to advance a common alternative governance proposal to counter the policies of the NPP and NDC (**Fieldwork, 2020**). One would assume that since most of the minor parties profess Nkrumahism as a political ideology, it could have relatively been easier for them to advance common proposals to sway some median voters who are fed up with the two-horse race by the NPP and NDC. However, the narrative remains the opposite and this has rendered most of them irrelevant to national debates.

Melusky (2000) contended that most minor parties often face the challenge of being excluded from major national debates and media coverage due to poor organization. In line with Melusky's claim, the study found that the fragmentation of the Nkrumahist front has somewhat rendered them unattractive to policy think-tanks and the media when it comes to advancing feasible policies to mitigate the developmental challenges of Ghana (**Fieldwork, 2020**). In line with this finding, an academic had pointed out that:

The fragmentation of the Nkrumahists has affected their ability to present an alternative to the governance of the NPP and NDC. Even though they [Nkrumahists] have been in government before they have failed to present a viable alternative. Owing to their fissures, they have failed to convince the Ghanaian electorate into accepting a viable alternative other than what has been provided alternately by the NDC and NPP since 1992. In sum, they lack that common voice to present alternative policies and be taken seriously (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

An official from the PNC had admitted that:

The divisions have affected our [Nkrumahists] ability to sell our policies and programs to the ordinary Ghanaian. For instance, think-tanks like the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) are known for creating platforms for political parties to showcase their policies. Unfortunately, most of these invitations to such platforms are mostly based on a party's impact and representation in parliament. Currently, none of us [Nkrumahists] have any seat in parliament and this makes it difficult for us to propagate our message to the ordinary Ghanaian because they deliberately decide not to invite us to such national discourse. In sum, we have not been able to market ourselves because of the divisions within us (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Similarly, an official from the CPP also posited:

We [Nkrumahists] have always struggled to present to common viable alternative governance proposals to counter the existing overly liberalized policies of the NPP and NDC due to our divisions. We have always stood on socialist policies for the common good of all but have not been vocal enough to articulate our intentions to the ordinary Ghanaian voter to win their electoral support (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Given the absence of media censorship in Ghana's Fourth Republic, one would suggest that the Nkrumahists would have to put their house to enable them advance alternative viable policies to counter the political duopoly of the NPP and NDC and to attract the median voters

in Ghana but the narrative keeps worsening. For instance, Berger (2004) has maintained that some voters cast their ballot in favour of minor parties to express their frustration with major political parties and their candidates. Therefore, the onus lies on the minor parties to capitalize on these opportunities to attract median voters. However, the fragmentation of the Nkrumahist parties has made it difficult for them to contribute meaningfully to national debates as well as offer alternative governance proposals to convince median voters in Ghana.

4.3.4 Conduit to amass wealth

It has been established that the monetization of the politics in Ghana has made the business of forming political parties and political patronage viable conduits of amassing wealth easily (Mensah, 2019; Bob-Milliar, 2019). Some evidence found seems to suggest that the absence of a political ‘god-father’ to call the warring factions within the CPP and PNC to order has paved way for some non-Nkrumahists, mostly businessmen, to cling onto the tradition to advance their political ambitions and to make money in the long run (**Fieldwork, 2020**). Such businessmen normally break away to form their parties after using the Nkrumahist movement to gain some political grounds (Ibid). Classical examples are Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom and Hassan Ayariga’s departure from the CPP and PNC respectively to form their parties. In Furtherance to this claim, an eminent Nkrumahist from the CPP noted:

The CPP is the most prestigious political party one can dream of being associating with due to Nkrumah’s remarkable legacy in Ghana. However, there is no unifier or a political ‘god-father’ to unite us. This has enticed some individuals, mostly businessmen to capitalize on the situation to launch their political careers as well as accrue some wealth for themselves through patronage (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

Aside from the intrusions by businessmen, the study further found that some insiders, mostly national executives, are also in the business of using the party set-up to accrue some wealth by patronizing the major political parties. The study linked the poor mobilization and electoral performance of the Nkrumahist parties to some of these arrangements. These actions have

projected the Nkrumahist tradition and its associated parties as 'unserious' to wrestle power from the NPP and NDC or the fading hope of Ghana having a viable third force to spice up the existing political arrangement.

4.4 Dynamics to the inability of Nkrumahist parties to recover from fragmentation

Fragmentation within political parties in Ghana as noted earlier is not new because it traces its historical antecedents to independence struggles. However, juxtaposing how the Danquah-Busia-Dombo and Rawlings traditions have managed the issue to the Nkrumahists, it raises the question as to what the former are doing differently from the latter to contain their internal squabbles. Flowing from the analysis on the dynamics and the impact of the Nkrumahist fragmentation, the study found that the following reasons account for the inability of the Nkrumahists to recover from fragmentation.

1. Absence of committed leadership;
2. Continued exploitation of existing factions through patronage; and
3. Effects of the party system on minor parties.

4.4.1 Absence of committed leadership

As noted earlier, the Danquah-Busia-Dombo and Rawlings traditions have undergone phases of fragmentation which to some extent resulted in the defections of individuals who later formed their parties. Though these often have repercussions on the mother parties, they were left intact because these political parties have mastered the art of managing internal disputes. For instance, Bob-Milliar (2012b) argued that though factions exist in the NPP and NDC, it has shifted from what Boucek (2009) described as 'competitive factionalism' to 'cooperative factionalism'. In essence, notable and respected members and leaders of the major parties always devise strategies to unite warring factions for a collective course devoid of their personal interests. For instance, the leaders and council of elders of the Danquah-Busia-Dombo

tradition managed to reunite the Akuffo Addo-Alan Kyeremanteng factions that emerged after their 2007 presidential primaries (**Fieldwork, 2020**). Although the NPP lost the 2008 election, the study further found that the schisms that led to their fragmentation ahead of the 1979 polls always serve as a reminder to the NPP whenever semblance of such squabbles erupts (**Ibid**). However, the study further found that the Nkrumahist tradition lacks such leadership within their rank and file to settle the internal rifts and this has significantly contributed to their inability to recover from their schisms like the other political traditions (**Fieldwork, 2020**). Congruent to this observation, an old Nkrumahist averred:

There is no unifier or a political ‘god-father’ to unite us. You look into our tradition and its associated parties and there are virtually no respected leaders or elders to call us to order. Hence the needless squabbles and unwarranted defections. The other ‘major’ parties, though, experiences internal conflicts, are mostly called to order by their respected elders of the party (**Fieldwork, 2020**)

This finding somewhat re-echoed a similar problem identified by Addae-Mensah (2016). He maintained that the Nkrumahist elements had leadership issues when the tradition was given the chance to regroup at the inception of Ghana’s democratic rule in 1992. The problem according to Addae-Mensah was born purely out of greed.

4.4.2 Continued exploitation of existing factions

Flowing from the dynamics of the Nkrumahist fragmentation, the study also found that the tradition has remained in fissures over the years due to the continuous exploitation of existing factions within the tradition by the NPP and NDC (**Fieldwork, 2020**). These acts of manipulations have often been instituted through a patronage arrangement with some influential Nkrumahists to do their bidding. The aim of these intrusions by the NPP and NDC is to institutionalize their two-horse race and prevent the emergence of any potential third force (**Ibid**). This finding reinforced some claims by Bob-Milliar in his recent publication. He posited:

Functionaries of the PNDC engineered the splintering of the Nkrumahist tradition into competing factions and ensuring that the various Nkrumahist factions would fail to merge by exploiting existing rivalries and cleavages, mainly personal, but also involving ideological, and policy differences (**Bob-Milliar, 2019:8**).

4.4.3 Effects of the party system on minor parties

The first-past-the-post electoral system in Ghana has entrenched a political duopoly because it has over the years favoured the major parties to the detriment of minor parties (Daddieh & Bob-Milliar, 2014). The study found that the opportunities associated with winning political is an intrinsic factor in addressing squabbles within political parties because warring factions are mostly settled with some political spoils (**Fieldwork, 2020**). In line with this finding, Ex-President J.A. Kufour in his caution to the NPP indicated the comfort that comes with winning political power. He averred that:

It is better to be a messenger in a ruling government than to be a Chief Executive in an opposition political party (*Peacefmonline, 28-07-2017*)

Juxtaposing these findings to the Nkrumahist case, the study further found that the failure of the Nkrumahists to taste political office within Ghana's Fourth Republic has denied them spoils of political office (**Fieldwork, 2020**). This, to a larger extent has affected the finances of the Nkrumahist parties and remains a major affront to their unity talks (Ibid). The largesse of power often gives the NDC and NPP the fiscal space to overtly or covertly fund their party activities without any subventions for minor parties. As a result of this financial predicaments within the minor parties, most affluent individuals often go in to sponsor but these attempts have often resulted in rifts between some members and financiers over the control of party apparatus (**Fieldwork, 2020**).

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed data from the fieldwork thematically and discussed it with existing literature to reflect the objectives of the study. It showed some factors that united the Nkrumahists tradition in the past as well as the dynamics that have contributed to their fragmentation today.

First, the chapter found that Nkrumah's charisma, leadership and unique traits as a unifier a larger extent, contributed to the cohesion within the CPP at its inception and heydays. This finding was strengthened by Apter's (1968) work. Second, the clarity in the CPP's conception of socialism as indigenized through the concept of Nkrumahism united the CPP and brought many Ghanaians unto their bandwagon. Nkrumah (1964) and Afari-Gyan's (1976) works reinforced this finding. For instance, they maintained that Nkrumah's socialist principles of social justice that sought to remove all forms of social inequalities synchronized with the aspirations of Ghanaians. Third, the study established that the CPP's project to free Ghana from the shackles of colonialism somewhat sustained the unity and focus of the party in the past. This finding was strengthened by Austin's (1970) work. For instance, he argued that the CPP's demand for immediate self-government as opposed to the gradualist approach by the UGCC attracted most Ghanaians and ushered in the CPP as a formidable group in Ghanaian politics. In effect, anyone who deviated from the CPP's liberating course of action was seen as an 'enemy' of freedom. Aside from these findings, the study established some circumstances that led to the fissures within the Nkrumahist tradition and their inability to recover.

The study found that most of the factors that led to the disintegration of the Nkrumahist tradition were purely self-imposed. For instance, it was found that the CPP's disregard for effective party structures and the excessive deification of Kwame Nkrumah affected the proper functioning of the CPP and led to successive leadership crises after the demise of its founder.

This finding reinforced Nkrumah's unbridled control of the party as highlighted by Cohen (1970) and Amonoo (1981). The study also established that other self-imposed factors like greed and political opportunism exhibited by key members of the tradition in the past and currently have also affected their ability to recover from their schisms. This is shown in the works of Addae-Mensah (2016), Agomor (2019) and Bob-Millar (2019). Equally, the study found that external factors like the deliberate subversion by major parties and machinations to annihilate the tradition through coups in the past have also contributed to the schisms within the Nkrumahist groups. These findings have resonated in the works of Austin and Luckham (1975), Oquaye (2004) and Debrah (2004), among others. They showed evidence of intrusions, subversion and co-opting ploys of other political traditions against the Nkrumahists.

Finally, the study highlighted some negative impact of the fragmentation on the Nkrumahist tradition. The study found that the divisions have affected the electoral fortunes of the tradition and its associated political parties. This finding reinforces some reasons given for the abysmal performance of the Nkrumahist parties by scholars like Oquaye (1995), Frempong (2017), Gyampo and Yobo (2015), among others. In addition, the study found that the schisms have affected the viability of the Nkrumahist tradition and served as conduits for some businessmen to launch their political careers.

Juxtaposing the undercurrents and impacts of the Nkrumahist fragmentation, the study found that the tradition has not been able to recover from their schisms till today largely because the tradition lacks selfless and competent leaders to call them to order. The continued exploitation of existing factions by the NPP and NDC and the effects of Ghana's political system have equally contributed to the Nkrumahist problem. The study also established that the majoritarian political system in Ghana has a negative bearing on the finances and performance of minor parties in Ghana, mostly Nkrumahists. This according to the study often nurtures the ground for misunderstanding between party financiers and other members of the parties. Finally, the

chapter also showed that the Nkrumahist continues to experience issues of internal conflicts and fragmentation because the major parties in Ghana often exploits existing factions within the tradition to keep them fragmented and disorganized to consolidate their electoral gains.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This thesis sets out to examine the dynamics that have contributed to the cleavages that had occurred within the Nkrumahist parties and their impact on their electoral performance and cohesion. The study proceeds from the premise that internal conflicts and fragmentation are intrinsically part of political parties. While it is inevitable, its management has proven to be the ‘magic wand’ that increased the fortunes of most political parties. On the other hand, its persistence has also reduced the fortunes of most political parties across the globe. The study was guided by the theory of party change and adopted the qualitative case study approach to draw responses from technocrats within the Nkrumahist parties, journalists, academics and some national executives from the NPP and NDC on why the Nkrumahists have failed to recover from their fragmentation. The data obtained was analyzed together with some existing literature to validate or disprove the findings.

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the research findings, draw conclusions, and make some recommendations with the hope of making the Nkrumahist tradition viable and relevant to the politics of Ghana.

5.1 Summary of findings

The findings of the study were summarized under the following research questions:

- Why have the Nkrumahist political parties failed to recover from fragmentation?
- What are the dynamics of the fragmentation?
- How has the fragmentation affected the political parties?

To appreciate the dynamics of the fragmentation and their impacts on the Nkrumahist tradition, the study found some factors that sustained the unity and sanity of the CPP in the past. First, the study found that Nkrumah's charisma, leadership and aptitude as a unifier within the CPP sustained the tradition. Second, Nkrumah's ability to clarify the ideological position of the CPP prevented the possible eruption of doubts and schisms. Third, the study established how the CPP's project of 'self-government now' in the face of colonialism generated a sense of direction for members of the party and enticed most Ghanaians to join its bandwagon.

5.1.1 Research Question 1

Why have the Nkrumahist political parties failed to recover from fragmentation?

The overarching objective of the study was to ascertain the reasons that have underscored the inability of the Nkrumahist parties to recover from their internal squabbles. In line with this, the study came out with three major findings. First, the study found that the dearth of selfless leadership within the Nkrumahist tradition to resolve the issue has significantly contributed to their failure to recover from their fissures. Juxtaposing the conflict resolution mechanisms within the Danquah-Busia-Dombo and Rawlings traditions to that of the Nkrumahists, the study found leaders and elders of the NPP and NDC are committed to resolving issues of internal conflicts whenever it erupts and that to a larger extent explains their dominance of Ghana's Fourth Republican politics.

Second, the study found that the persistent intrusion and exploitation of existing factions within Nkrumahist parties by the NDC and NPP since 1992 continues to stall their unity agenda. Though this is an old strategy by the NPP and NDC, findings from the study suggest that it is a deliberate attempt by the major parties to keep them fragmented.

Finally, the study found that the inability of the Nkrumahist parties to recover from their schisms can also be attributed to the effects of the Ghanaian political system. The study further found that the two-party race between the NDC and NPP has denied minor parties the goodies associated with political office. As established in an adage, ‘a hungry man is indeed an angry man’. In effect, findings from the study suggests that the nexus between party financing and the schisms within the Nkrumahist parties can be linked to their inability to win political office. The study further found that the NDC and NPP often finance their parties from the spoils of political office.

5.1.2 Research Question 2

What are the dynamics of the fragmentation?

The study found a number of dynamics to the divisions within the Nkrumahist parties. First, the study found that the schisms were largely underpinned by self-imposed factors. For instance, the study showed that the unbridled powers of the CPP’s founder, Kwame Nkrumah, nurtured the grounds for their implosions. For instance, Nkrumah’s subsequent fusion of the CPP and state administrative apparatuses created enmity between officials in government and executives of the party at all levels. This depleted the supremacy and structures of the CPP. Consequently, the CPP had imploded internally before its overthrow and proscription in 1966.

Second, the study found another self-inflicted factor that was exhibited by some Nkrumahists when they were given the chance to re-group ahead of the 1992 general elections. The study found that the vicious display of greed and selfishness by some Nkrumahists stalled their plans of reviving the tradition once more after being banned from Ghanaian politics. Findings from the study showed that some members of the tradition were lured with monetary rewards and political portfolios by other political traditions. Sadly, the study showed that these

manipulations still persist and the major parties often capitalize on these patronage arrangements to keep them divided.

Third, the study showed that party financing is a major source of conflict within political parties. In effect, the study found that the schisms within the Nkrumahist parties were equally underscored by mismanagement of party funds. As a result of these fiscal challenges, the study found that most businessmen hid under the guise of party sponsorship to hijack the party's apparatus to support their political career. This often plunged the parties into chaos and resulted in some Nkrumahists defecting to form their parties.

Furthermore, the study found that the sense of entitlement of the Nkrumahist ideology between the CPP and PNC stalled their merger plans in the past. For instance, the study found that the CPP, being the oldest Nkrumahist party always dictated the terms of their coalition rather than building consensus with the other parties involved. As a result, decisions often resulted in deadlock without any headway in the choice of symbols and slogans to be used.

Aside the self-imposed factors, the study found some additional factors that equally contributed to the divisions within the Nkrumahist tradition. The study showed evidence of orchestrated ploys against the Nkrumahist parties through the 1966 and 1981 coups. The study found that these plans were carried out for three main reasons. First is to annihilate the tradition. Second is to pre-empt divisions among surviving elements, and, thirdly, to co-opt some experienced Nkrumahists into their fold. Findings from the study to a larger extent reinforced claims of continued interference in the affairs of the CPP and PNC by some core members of the NPP and NDC to keep them fragmented to increase their political fortunes. Sadly, these intrusions still persist because some opportunists within the tradition are committed to selling their loyalty for 'political crumbs' from the major parties as aptly captured in Bob-Milliar's (2019) work.

5.1.3 Research Question 3

How has the fragmentation affected the political parties?

Undeniably, the division within the Nkrumahist tradition has affected their fortunes in several ways.

First, the study re-affirmed the effects of the fissures on the electoral performance of Nkrumahist parties in Ghana. A cursory analysis of electoral results in Ghana from 1992 to 2016 and findings in electoral studies by scholars like Jeffries & Thomas (1993); Oquaye (1995); Kelly and Bening (2013); Frempong (2017); Ayee (2017); etc. validate the claims of persistent decline in votes for the Nkrumahist parties in both presidential and parliamentary elections. Yobo and Gyampo (2015) also reinforced this finding in their work in which they argued that:

The impact of third parties in Ghanaian electoral politics has been quite minimal and unimpressive. For instance, even though the PNC has contested every single national election held under the Fourth Republic, its electoral fortunes have diminished steadily since its enviable show in the 1992 elections. The party has subsequently failed to become a formidable third force in Ghana's electoral politics (Yobo & Gyampo, 2015:14).

Juxtaposing the performance of the Nkrumahist tradition in the First and Third Republics to the Fourth Republic, it can be inferred that the tradition increased its electoral fortunes when it acted with a united front. Findings from the fieldwork suggest that the narrative might be the same for the Nkrumahist parties in the 2020 general elections if some swift measures are not put in place to salvage the situation.

Second, the study found that the schisms affected the ability of Nkrumahist parties to chart a common path in providing alternative governance policies to diffuse the political duopoly of the Danquah-Busia and Rawlings' traditions in Ghana's Fourth Republic. Consequently, the Nkrumahist parties projected themselves as 'unserious' to wrestle power from the NPP and NDC, and were mostly sidelined on national debates.

This finding reinforced Melusky's (2000) claim on why some political parties are excluded from national discussions as a result of poor organization. Poor organization in this context was underscored by internal squabbles. The ravaging effect of such problems has affected minor parties in Ghana, mostly Nkrumahists, ahead of the 2020 elections. For instance, Mensah (2020) bemoaned why little was heard of the internal democratic arrangement of these parties; election of national executives, flag bearers, parliamentary candidates and other portfolios ahead of the 2020 general elections. Interestingly, the leaders of the Nkrumahist parties unanimously accused the Ghanaian media of neglect, though they admitted internal squabbles was a challenge for them.

Third, the study established that the fissures within Nkrumahist parties made them susceptible to intrusions by non-Nkrumahists, who only came in to launch their political careers, used them as conduits to amass wealth and defected to form their parties when they lost their support base. Findings from the fieldwork suggest that most of the wealth accumulated by these businessmen was mostly accrued by virtually 'selling' the support of Nkrumahist parties to the highest bidder among the major political parties ahead of major elections.

Finally, the study found that the schisms within the Nkrumahist tradition have offered the NPP and NDC the political space to institutionalize their two-party state arrangement. The study showed that the NPP and NDC had succeeded in projecting a cosmetic multi-party arrangement in Ghana. Whiles in practice, these parties continually fuel the discord among the Nkrumahists in Ghana to 'monopolize the political space' as aptly put by Yobo and Gyampo (2015).

5.2 Conclusion

In spite of the gains in political development under Ghana's Fourth Republic, the study showed that intra-party conflicts and party fragmentation still persist. Although some major parties like the NDC and NPP have managed to contain the problem over the years, the case of the Nkrumahist parties is peculiar. Consequently, the study delved into the dynamics of schisms within the Nkrumahist parties and brought to the fore a number of findings. The study found that the schisms within the Nkrumahist are underscored by both self-induced and ideological factors. For instance, the study showed the inability of the Nkrumahist parties to institute robust party structures nurtured the grounds for their implosions. Sadly, the woes of the Nkrumahists were exacerbated by their continued display of greed and selflessness to the Nkrumahist call.

The study equally found some external factors that contributed to the divisions within Nkrumahist parties. The study, to a larger extent, agreed with Ripley's (1972) claims of how some political parties devise strategies to sabotage or smear the reputations of their opponents, with the ultimate aim of annihilating them. Externally, the study showed evidence of orchestrated interferences into the activities of Nkrumahists by members of the Danquah-Busia and Rawlings' traditions. The ploys of these political traditions, as shown in the study, were carried out in their massive roles in the overthrow of Nkrumahist parties in 1966 and 1981. The study also gave credence to continued machinations by the NPP and NDC to destabilize the Nkrumahist parties to sustain their electoral fortunes.

The study also showed that the schisms within the Nkrumahist parties have made them vulnerable to the manipulations of financiers, rendered them unattractive to the Ghanaian electorate and shattered Ghanaians possible hope of a viable third force to diffuse the two-horse race by the NDC and NDC in Ghana's Fourth Republic.

5.3 Recommendations

The final objective of the study was to suggest some feasible ways of addressing the Nkrumahists challenge in particular and the issues of rifts within political parties in Ghana in general. In view of this, the study advanced the recommendations in the paragraphs below.

First, the study found that personality cult was a major source of intra-party conflicts in Ghana. Though not particular to a political tradition, the study showed that the devastating effect of the CPP and NDC experiences on their political fortunes remains a major reference point to all political parties in Ghana. Going forward, the study recommends the need for political parties to re-direct their energies into building resilient party structures, capable of managing future exigencies. This move will place party machinery at the core of the operations and help prevent excessive control from founders or leaders.

Second, the study found the lapses in the conflict resolution mechanisms within the Nkrumahist political parties. These often resulted in unwarranted defections and breakaways of members from these parties. As a remedial measure, the study recommends the need for the Nkrumahist parties to strengthen their conflict resolution mechanisms. This will help allay feelings of ill treatment and prevent the needless defections and proliferation of more parties with the same philosophy.

Third, the study showed that the Nkrumahists problem was largely underscored by the personal greed and selfishness of some members who were often accused of patronizing the major political parties for political favours. These arrangements have often been based on patron-client relationship to subvert the activities of the Nkrumahists. To manage the situation, the study recommends the need for the Nkrumahists to wean themselves off the manipulations from other parties. Such a move will offer the Nkrumahists the leeway to mend their broken front and to build a strong and independent political tradition.

Fourth, the study found that the polarization of ideologies of political parties in Ghana has rendered Nkrumahism as an ‘anachronistic’ ideology, thereby making the Nkrumahist parties ‘unattractive’. As a remedial measure, the study recommends the re-engineering of *Nkrumahism* into a more pragmatic ideology to attract median voters and the youthful electorate in Ghana.

Fifth, the study showed the challenges associated with the private financing of parties in Ghana. The study found that party financiers capitalized on their sponsorships to control the machineries of most Nkrumahist parties to either launch their political career or used them as conduits for their illicit activities, such as money laundering, etc. This major lapse in the funding of political parties and the non-enforcement of the Political Parties Act (Act 574, 2000) were found to have contributed to the excessive monetization of the politics in Ghana. Moving forward, the study recommends the strict enforcement of the constitutional provisions on the financing of political parties as enshrined in Article 55 of the 1992 Constitution and the Political Parties Act (Act 574, 2000). Furthermore, Prempeh and Asare (2017), and Ayee (2019) expressed concerns about the silence of the laws regulating the activities of political parties in Ghana on direct state funding or capping expenditure on election campaigns. Accordingly, the study recommends the need for a more robust legal framework and amendments to the existing laws to regulate campaign financing and the amount of money that can be donated to political parties or candidates. This will help promote a level playing field for all political parties in Ghana as well as help control the monetization of politics and illicit activities.

Sixth, the study showed the impacts of the schisms within the Nkrumahist parties on their electoral fortunes. The study found that the Nkrumahists divisions had affected their electoral support and representation in Ghana’s parliament. Currently, none of the Nkrumahist parties has seats in the Ghanaian legislature and it is worrying. As a remedial measure, the study

recommends the need for all the Nkrumahist parties to enter into some form of parliamentary coalition in constituencies where there is some historical support ahead of the 2020 elections. For instance, the parties can collectively agree to sponsor only CPP parliamentary candidates in Komenda Edina Eguafo Abirem (KEEA), Ellembelle and Jomoro constituencies in the Western and Central regions. Similarly, the PNC could sponsor parliamentary candidates across areas like Bimbilla, Mion, Walewale, Bolgatanga, etc. in the Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions of Ghana. This will increase their chances of winning some parliamentary seats as well as offer them the fiscal space to mobilize resources towards the realization of a full merger.

Seventh, the study found that the first-past-the-post electoral formula in Ghana has deepened the winner-takes/knows-all politics in Ghana since 1992. This arrangement has promoted ‘a party government’ rather than a ‘national government’ that could promote inclusive governance. This has affected the viability of minor parties in Ghanaian politics because they are relegated to the background once they failed to put up an impressive performance in general elections. To ensure minority representation and an all-inclusive governance, the study recommends the need for some constitutional amendments to be made on the existing first-past-the-post system to a proportional representation electoral formula. This will offer the minor parties the room to be part of governance as well as help contain the devastating effects of the winner-takes-all politics in Ghana.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PAST AND CURRENT NATIONAL EXECUTIVES OF THE CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY (CPP) AND THE PEOPLES NATIONAL CONVENTION (PNC)

Introduction

I am an M.Phil. candidate of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana researching on the topic, **“Party Fragmentation in Ghana’s Fourth Republic: A Case Study of the Nkrumahist Parties”** under the supervision of Prof. J.R.A. Ayee. As part of my write-up, I would be grateful if you could assist in providing answers to the questions below. In line with the ethics of research, the information provided will be solely for academic purposes and respondents are assured of anonymity and confidentiality. The interview section will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes and will be recorded for further analysis upon approval. For further inquiries please contact Baffour Agyeman Prempeh Boakye on 0279233655/ 0552075197 or bapboakye@st.ug.edu.gh Thank you.

1. What are your views on party fragmentation in Ghana’s Fourth Republic?
2. What do you consider to be the main reasons behind the fragmentation of the CPP/PNC?
3. What factors account for the numerous coalition failures among Nkrumahist parties?
4. What are some of the obstacles to effective conflict resolution within the CPP/PNC?
5. What are the impacts of the internal conflicts and fragmentation on Nkrumahist parties?
6. What measures can be put in place to deal with the recurrent fragmentation within the CPP/PNC?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FORMER FLAGBEARERS OF THE CPP/PNC

Introduction

I am an MPhil candidate of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana researching on the topic **“Party Fragmentation in Ghana’s Fourth Republic: A Case Study of the Nkrumahist Parties”** under the supervision of Prof. J.R.A. Ayee. As part of my write-up, I would be grateful if you could assist in providing answers to the questions below. In line with the ethics of research, the information provided will be solely for academic purposes and respondents are assured of anonymity and confidentiality. The interview section will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes and will be recorded for further analysis upon approval. For further inquiries please contact Baffour Agyeman Prempeh Boakye on 0279233655/ 0552075197 or bapboakye@st.ug.edu.gh Thank you.

1. What are your views on party fragmentation in Ghana’s Fourth Republic?
2. What do you consider to be the main reasons behind the fragmentation within the CPP/PNC?
3. What factors account for the numerous coalition failures among Nkrumahist parties?
4. What are some of the obstacles to effective conflict resolution within the CPP/PNC?
5. What accounts for the defections from the CPP/PNC?
6. What are the impacts of the internal conflicts and fragmentation on Nkrumahist parties?

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ACADEMICS AND JOURNALISTS

Introduction

I am an M.Phil. candidate of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana researching on the topic, **“Party Fragmentation in Ghana’s Fourth Republic: A Case Study of the Nkrumahist Parties”** under the supervision of Prof. J.R.A. Ayee. As part of my write-up, I would be grateful if you could assist in providing answers to the questions below. In line with the ethics of research, the information provided will be solely for academic purposes and respondents are assured of anonymity and confidentiality. The interview section will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes and will be recorded for further analysis upon approval. For further inquiries please contact Baffour Agyeman Prempeh Boakye on 0279233655/ 0552075197 or bapboakye@st.ug.edu.gh Thank you.

1. What are your views on party fragmentation in Ghana’s Fourth Republic?
2. What do you consider to be the main reasons behind the fragmentation within the Nkrumahist parties?
3. What factors account for the numerous coalition failures among Nkrumahist parties?
4. What are some of the obstacles to effective conflict resolution within the Nkrumahist parties?
5. What accounts for the defections from the Nkrumahist parties?
6. What are the impacts of the internal conflicts and fragmentation on Nkrumahist parties?

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVES OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS (NDC)

Introduction

I am an M.Phil. candidate of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana researching on the topic, **“Party Fragmentation in Ghana’s Fourth Republic: A Case Study of the Nkrumahist Parties”** under the supervision of Prof. J.R.A. Ayee. As part of my write-up, I would be grateful if you could assist in providing answers to the questions below. In line with the ethics of research, the information provided will be solely for academic purposes and respondents are assured of anonymity and confidentiality. The interview section will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes and will be recorded for further analysis upon approval. For further inquiries please contact Baffour Agyeman Prempeh Boakye on 0279233655/ 0552075197 or bapboakye@st.ug.edu.gh Thank you.

1. What are your views on party fragmentation in Ghana’s Fourth Republic?
2. What do you consider to be the main reasons behind the fragmentation within Nkrumahist parties?
3. What factors account for the numerous coalition failures among Nkrumahist parties?
4. What are some of the obstacles to effective conflict resolution within the Nkrumahist parties?
5. What accounts for the defections from the Nkrumahist parties?
6. What are Nkrumahists doing differently/wrongly from your party in the management of internal conflicts and fissures?
7. What are the impacts of the internal conflicts and fragmentation on Nkrumahist parties?