

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

**THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE GHANA POLICE SERVICE TO THE PROMOTION
OF PEACEFUL ELECTIONS IN GHANA: A CASE OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC.**

BY

**MENSAH HENRY
(10481213)**

**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL
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DECLARATION

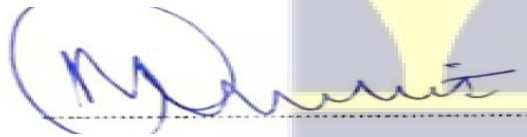
I, MENSAH HENRY, hereby declare that this thesis is an independent and personal work produced under the supervision of **DR. ISAAC OWUSU-MENSAH** and **DR. LLOYD G. A. AMOAH** towards the award of a Master of Philosophy in Political Science in the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana. Secondary materials used for this study have been duly acknowledged.



MENSAH HENRY
10481213

27/07/2022

Date



DR. ISAAC OWUSU-MENSAH
Principal Supervisor

27/07/2022

Date



DR. LLOYD G. A. AMOAH
Co-Supervisor

28/07/2022

Date



DEDICATION

This study is humbly dedicated to my parents Mr. Henry Felix Mensah and Mrs. Anna Mensah. I also dedicate this work to my brother Enoch Yeboah Mensah.



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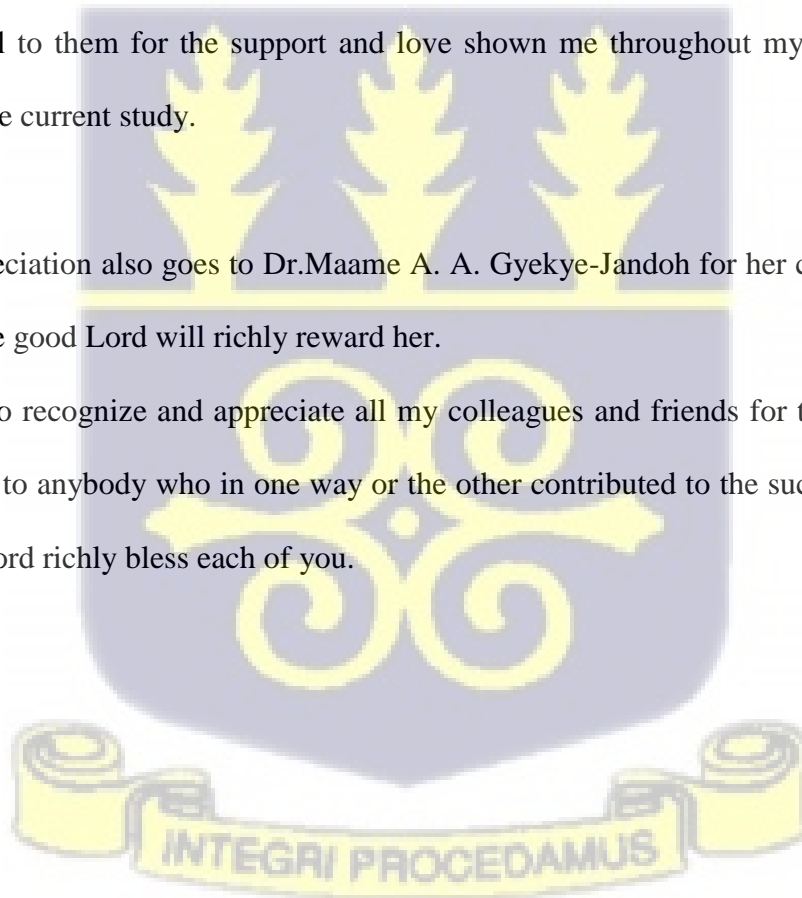


TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration.....	i
Dedication.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of tables and Figures.....	ix
List of Abbreviations.....	xi
Abstract.....	xii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	
1.0 Background of the Study.....	1
1.1 Statement of Problem.....	6
1.2 Research Objectives.....	8
1.3 Research Questions.....	8
1.4 Research Rationale.....	8
1.5 Significance of the Research.....	9
1.6 Operationalization of Concepts.....	10
1.7 Brief Methodology of the Study.....	12
1.8 Organization of Chapters.....	12
1.8 Chapter Summary.....	13
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL REVIEW	
2.0 Introduction.....	14
2.1 Empirical Review.....	14
2.1.1 Police Forces and Peaceful Elections in East Africa.....	14
2.1.2 Police Forces and Peaceful Elections in West Africa.....	19
2.1.3 Overview of Peaceful Elections in Ghana within the Fourth Republic.....	25

2.1.4 Challenges of Police Forces in Contributing To Peaceful Elections	29
2.1.5 Measures to address Challenges of Police Forces in contributing to Peaceful Elections	33
2.2 Theoretical Framework	36
2.2.1 The Systems Theory	36
2.2.2 Brief Overview of the Systems Theory.....	36
2.2.3 Application of the System Theory in Various Disciplines.....	38
2.2.4 Applying the Systems Theory to the Current Study	40
2.3 The Broken Windows Theory.....	43
2.3.1 Brief Overview of the Broken Windows Theory	43
2.3.2 Applying the Broken Windows Theory in Other Studies	44
2.3.3 Applying the Broken Windows Theory to the current study	46
2.3.4 Justification for Theoretical Framework.....	49
2.5 Chapter Summary.	49
CHAPTER THREE: OVERVIEW OF THE GHANA POLICE SERVICE AND RESEARCH	
METHODOLOGY	
3.0 Introduction.....	51
3.1 Overview of the Ghana Police Service	51
3.1.1 Brief History of the Ghana Police Service.....	52
3.1.2 Transition of the Ghana Police Service.....	52
3.1.3 The Legal Frameworks of the Ghana Police Service.....	53
3.1.4 The Vision, Mission, and Values of the Ghana Police Service.....	55
3.1.5 Structure of the Ghana Police Service	55
3.1.6 Special Units of the Ghana Police Service.....	58
3.2 Research Methodology	59
3.2.1 Research Design.....	59

3.2.2 Scope of the Study	60
3.2.3 Population of the Study	61
3.2.4 Techniques and Procedures of Sampling	61
3.2.4.1 Determination of Sample Size	61
3.2.4.2 Method of Sampling	62
3.2.5 Methods of Data Collection	62
3.2.6 Data Gathering Instruments	63
3.2.7 Validity and Reliability of Instruments.....	63
3.2.8 Procedures for Data Gathering.....	64
3.2.9 Data Processing and Analysis	65
3.2.10 Ethical Considerations	65
3.2.11 Limitations of the Study.....	66
3.3 Chapter Summary	66
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION	
4.0 Introduction.....	68
4.1 Background of Respondents	68
4.1.1 Gender of Respondents	69
4.1.2 Level of Education of Respondents	69
4.1.3 Categories of Respondents.....	70
4.1.4 Number of Participations in Elections	71
4.2 The Contribution of the Ghana Police Service to Peaceful Elections in Ghana	72
4.2.1 Readiness of Ghana Police to tackle Election Tensions	85
4.3 Challenges of the Ghana Police Service in Contributing to Peaceful Elections of Ghana	87
4.4 Measures to address challenges faced by the Ghana Police Service in Promoting Peaceful Elections within Ghana	92
4.5 Semi-Structure Interviews with Respondents	94

4.5.1 The contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the Promotion of Peaceful Elections (Pre-Electoral Phase).....	95
4.5.2 The contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the Promotion of Peaceful Elections (During Electoral Phase)	97
4.5.3 The contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the Promotion of Peaceful Elections (Post-Electoral Phase).....	97
4.5.4 The Challenges of the Ghana Police Service in the Promotion of Peaceful Elections in Ghana Before, During, and After Elections (Minor and Major Challenges).....	99
4.5.5 The Solutions to the Challenges of the Ghana Police Service in the Promotion of Peaceful Election in Ghana (Before, During, and After Elections).	101
4.6 Chapter Summary	102
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS	
5.0 Introduction.....	103
5.1 The Contribution of the Ghana Police Service in Promoting Peaceful Elections within Ghana’s Fourth Republic	103
5.1.1 Contribution of the Ghana Police Service in Promoting Peaceful Elections (Pre-election Phase)..	104
5.1.2 Contribution of the Ghana Police Service in Promoting Peaceful Elections (During-election Phase)	104
5.1.3 Contribution of the Ghana Police Service in Promoting Peaceful Elections (Post-election Phase)	105
5.2 Challenges that the Ghana Police Service face in Contributing to Peaceful Elections in Ghana.	107
5.3 Means of Enhancing the Contribution of the Ghana Police Service in Promoting Peaceful Elections in Ghana.....	107
5.4 Chapter Summary	109
CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	
6.1 Introduction.....	110

6.2 Summary	110
6.3 Conclusion	113
BIBLIOGRAPHY	115
Appendix A: Sample Questionnaire	126
Appendix B: Interview Guide for the Ghana Police Service Respondents.....	131
Appendix C: Interview Guide for Other Stakeholder Respondents.....	131



LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 1: The Political System	39
Figure 2: Electoral System of Ghana	40
Figure 3: Figure 3: GPS and Peaceful Outcome of the Elections in Ghana	48
Figure 4: Rank Structure of the Ghana Police Service; Senior Police Officers	56
Figure 5: Organizational Structure of the Ghana Police Service.	57
Table 4.1 Gender of Respondents.	68
Table 4.2 Level of Education of Respondents	68
Table 4.3: Categories of Respondents.	69
Table 4.4 Number of Participations in Elections.	70
Table 4.5: Ghana Police Service and Minor Electoral Security Threats (Pre-Electoral Phase)	72
Table 4.6: Ghana Police Service and Major Electoral Security Threats (Pre-Electoral Phase)	72
Figure 6: GPS and Peaceful Outcome of the Elections in Ghana (Pre-Electoral Phase)	75
Table 4.7: Ghana Police Service and Minor Electoral Security Threats (During-Electoral Phase)	76
Table 4.8: Ghana Police Service and Major Electoral Security Threats (During-Electoral Phase)	76
Figure 7: GPS and Peaceful Outcome of the Elections in Ghana (During-Electoral Phase)	79
Table 4.9: Ghana Police Service and Minor Electoral Security Threats (Post-Electoral Phase)	80
Table 4.10: Ghana Police Service and Major Electoral Security Threats (Post-Electoral Phase)	80
Figure 8: GPS and Peaceful Outcome of the Elections in Ghana (Post-Electoral Phase)	83
Figure 9: Promotion of Peaceful election by Ghana Police Service.	84
Table 4.11 Level of Elections-Related Tension	85
Figure 10: Readiness of Ghana Police to Tackle Election-Related Tension	86

Table 4.12: Challenges of the Ghana Police Service in Contributing to Peaceful Elections in Ghana (Minor Challenges) 87

Table 4.13: Challenges of the Ghana Police Service in Contributing to Peaceful Elections in Ghana (Major Challenges) 89

Figure 11: Measures to Address Challenges of the Ghana Police Service. 91



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BNI	Bureau of National Investigations
CAP	Contingency Action Plan
CEPS	Customs, Excise and Preventive Service
D.I.G.P	Deputy-Inspector General of Police
DESTF	District Election Security Task Force
DISEC	District Security Council
EMB	Election Management Body
GPS	Ghana Police Service
GAF	Ghana Armed Forces
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IGP	Inspector General of Police
IPAC	Inter-party Advisory Committee
NADMO	National Disaster and Management Organization
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NESTF	National Election Security Task Force
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NPC	National Peace Council
RESTF	Regional Election Security Task Force
SPOs	Senior Police Officers



ABSTRACT

Ghana has gained both local and international recognition for conducting peaceful, credible, free, and fair elections in West Africa. The Ghana Police Service has been a core stakeholder in the conduct of credible, free, fair, and peaceful elections in Ghana. The current study examined the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to peaceful elections within the Fourth Republic of Ghana. The study also examined the challenges facing the Ghana Police Service in contributing to peaceful Ghanaian elections and recommends solutions to such existing challenges. The mixed research approach and descriptive research design were adopted for the study. The study also made use of the key informant sampling and simple random sampling techniques to sample respondents for the study. The primary data was collected using questionnaires and semi-structured interviews while secondary data was obtained from existing reports, journals, and books on the subject matter. The data were analyzed with the use of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and Microsoft Excel into frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations. The findings of the study indicated that the contributions of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful Ghanaian elections within the Fourth Republic were through maintaining public order, protecting electoral materials and officers, and protection of lives and physical structures associated with the conduct of elections. The study also revealed that the challenges facing the Ghana Police Service in contributing to peaceful Ghanaian elections within the Fourth Republic include: political intimidations and influence, shortages of logistics and personnel, limited funds and logistics for security operations. Based on the findings of the study, recommendations for restructuring the recruitment process of the Ghana Police Service, a constitutional amendment to allow for the appointment of the Inspector General of Police by an Independent body, and early release of funds for electoral security operations by the government among others were made.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Study

Democracy in contemporary times has spread throughout the world with many countries being governed by elected representatives (Beetham et al, 2008). The trending of the third wave of Democracy began in the mid-1970s and was more dominant among Southern European countries. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, democratization had spread to the shores of countries in Southern America. In the late 1980s countries in East, Southeast, and Southern Asia had also metamorphosed into democratic states. By the end of the 1980s, the third wave of democratization had extended to Central America, Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union and finally, the trend of the third wave of democracy reached the shores of Africa in 1990 (Diamond, 1997; Hounkpe and Gueye 2010).

The widespread of democracy can be attributed to both internal and external factors. Internally, the dramatic changes in socio-economic activities, activities of Civil Society Groups and Social Movements, Class Treaties, Revolutions and Challenges, Elite consensus, and compromise contributed to the spread of democracy. Externally, globalization, international interventions, and military conquest have worked to spread democratic principles and ideologies across the world (Beetham et al, 2008).

The practice of democracy is widely accepted by several countries because democracy guarantees, among other things, political freedom, the rule of law, security, equality before the law, liberties, and freedoms to elect democratic leaders (Beetham et al, 2008). Birch (2011)

states that in a democratic system, the means by which citizens of a country can elect their leaders and participate in collective decision-making is through the conduct of elections. Elections are core to the practice of democracy whether in a fragile or strong democracy (Mesfin, 2008). Boafo-Arthur (2008: 9) states that “...elections are the heartbeat of any democratic process and this is why any mishandling often leads to destabilization or loss of legitimacy”. The conduct of elections in a democracy provides a mechanism for institutionalizing, deepening, and promoting civil liberties and a sense of liberalization (Lindberg, 2006). Ayanleye (2013) also states that an important role of elections in a democracy is the improvement in the lives of the voters. Elections, for example, do not only allow political parties to develop the best policies and present the best candidates but they also allow the electorates to choose the best party with the best policies and candidates (ibid).

Elections also promote accountability and make political leaders responsive to the needs of their people. Elections provide a mechanism for voters to hold their political leaders accountable for any policy or action while in office. The voters can either vote a non-performing government out of power or maintain a government that performs well (Przeworski et al, 1999). The selection of political representatives and elites, legitimizing political power, exercising control on authorities, guaranteeing political accountability, developing political programs, and rebranding of public opinions are indeed among the various roles an election performs in a democracy (Wojtasik, 2013). “Elections are the indispensable marker of the progress of democracy throughout the world” (Clark, 2000: 27).

The conduct of an election is indeed core to the practice of democracy and as such, successful and violent free elections are dear not only in political terms but also in personal aspects. Political leaders are therefore encouraged to win elections at any cost (Birch, 2011). In most African countries, periodic elections are characterized by corruption, massive rigging, snatching of electoral materials, and political violence as strategies for electoral winnings (Ajayi, 2006). Schedler (2002) states that the conduct of elections can therefore have negative effects on a democratic system. Elections, for instance, can lead to the coming into power of authoritarian leaders who may manipulate an electoral process just to remain in power with Morocco and Brazil between 1964 and 1985 as typical cases. Elections have also resulted in violence in countries like Kenya, Zimbabwe, Iraq, and Afghanistan (Ndulo & Lulo, 2010). Despite these assertions, the primary purpose of an election in a democracy is not just for electing leaders by the people, but to also ensure that the source of power to govern a country is only obtained through the people (Harrop, 1987). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 21, affirms this purpose of election by emphasizing that;

“The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be held by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures”
(Assembly, 1948: 3).

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the conduct of periodic elections has been the source of power transition in countries like Ghana. Ghana after the 2000 and 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections consolidated its democracy by passing Samuel Huntington’s two turn-over test (Alidu, 2014).

Ammar-Attoh and Robertson (2014: 1) state that “Ghana is widely applauded by the international community as the ‘Golden Child’ of West Africa for the manner in which the democratic process appears to be consolidating, and for leading the way for peaceful, free and fair elections in the sub-region”. Ghanaian elections are considered by many as peaceful and the 2012 elections can arguably be considered as more peaceful than other previous elections such as the 2004 and 2008 elections (Amankwaah, 2013).

Elections in Ghana despite the progress, however, do record pockets of violence and insecurity. The activities of vigilante groups belonging especially to the major political parties threaten the peaceful conduct of Ghanaian elections. Vigilante groups such as Azorka Boys and the Hawks are associated with the National Democratic Congress (NDC) while Invisible Forces and the Delta Force belong to the New Patriotic Party (NPP) (Asamoah, 2020).

In 1992, the Electoral Commission of Ghana in collaboration with various Ghanaian Security Agencies established a Joint National Election Security Task Force (NESTF) which was formalized in 1996 to combat electoral security challenges in the country. The Regional Election Security Task Force (RESTF) and the District Election Security Task Force (DESTF) were also established in 2000 and 2004 respectively to assist and decentralize the operations of the National Election Security Task Force. The National Election Security Task Force (NESTF), Regional Election Security Task Force (RESTF), and the District Election Security Task Force (DESTF) together make up the Electoral Security structure of Ghana (Agordzo & Osei-Tutu, 2016).

The National Electoral Security Task Force (NESTF) is made up of various security agencies of the country such as the Ghana Police Service (GPS), Ghana Defense Forces (GAF), Customs, Excise and Protective Service (CEPS), Ghana Fire Service, Ghana Immigration Service, the Prison Service, the National Investigation Bureau (BNI) and the Foreign Intelligence Service. Other existing associate members include the Information Service of Ghana, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), the National Disaster and Management Organization (NADMO), and the Ghana National Ambulance Service. The Election Security Task Force also has sub-committees for its operations including; the committee for planning, monitoring, implementation, and coordination, prosecution and legal committee, the committee for election liaison officers, financial, investigations, and the transport committee (Aubyn & Abdallah, 2013).

The activities of the Election Security Task Forces can be categorized into Static Task Force duties, Mobile Task Force duties, and Standby Task Force duties. The Static Task Force takes charge of protecting the borders, polling stations, collation Centers, offices of Election Management Bodies, political campaigns, and meetings, electoral materials, voters, and election officers throughout elections. The Mobile Task Forces on the other hand are responsible for all patrol duties before, during, and after elections while the Standby Task Force exists as backup support to the Static and Mobile Task Forces. The Ghana Police Service is the leading security agency of the Election Security Task Force (Aubyn & Abdallah, 2013). This study was therefore aimed at examining the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in Ghana.

1.1 Statement of Problem

The conduct of peaceful elections is essential for democratic stability and consolidation. Peaceful and credible elections with limited violence often require effective collaboration among election management bodies, security forces, and other election stakeholders performing their individual roles in a transparent, free, and fair manner (OSCE, 2017). In Africa, elections have been described as a source of conflict and violence as about 19-25% of African elections have over the years contributed to a high rate of violence and human rights abuses (Bekoe, 2010). For instance, in Kenya, the 2007/2008 elections resulted in human rights violations, displacement, and death of several Kenyan citizens (Okia, 2011). Abdullahi and Dantani (2016) have also classified Nigerian elections as characterized by violence, intimidation, and harassment.

Elections in Ghana, however, have over the years gained international recognition as generally being peaceful, credible, free, and fair (Alidu and Braimah, 2014; Ammar-Attoh and Robertson, 2014). Hounkpe and Gueye (2010) argued that the local police forces are essential components for credible and peaceful elections since the mitigation of violence and the provision of security during elections are the roles of police forces. Ndulo and Lulo (2010) supported their argument by stating that the maintenance of law and order, mitigation of violence, protection of electoral offices and materials, protection of political campaigns and rallies, and the general safety of an electoral process during the conduct of an election are the basic responsibilities of security agencies particularly the local police force in promoting credible, free and fair elections in a country.

However, the existing works of Mediyanose (2018), Afolabi (2018), and Okia (2011) have associated the high level of violence, intimidation, and rigging in the conduct of elections

especially in Nigeria and Kenya to the activities of security forces particularly the Police Force. Mediayanose (2018) argues that no political party can successfully rig elections in Nigeria without the support of the Nigeria Police Force. In the case of Kenya, Okia (2011) associated the Kenya Police Force with the majority of deaths caused by bullet wounds during the 2007/2008 electoral violence in the country. Even though these scholars have been able to unravel the circumstances surrounding the Police Force and peaceful elections in Nigeria and Kenya, they have generally failed to unravel the circumstances surrounding the police force and peaceful elections in the case of Ghana.

In Ghana, existing literature works on the involvement of the Ghana Police Service in Ghanaian elections such as Hounkpe and Gueye (2010) and Aubyn and Abdallah (2013) have indeed acknowledged that the Ghana Police Service has been responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the general safety of elections in Ghana. However, whilst the study of Hounkpe and Gueye (2010) was focused on a comparative study of six West African countries and limited to the legal framework of the local police forces of these countries in their electoral process. Aubyn and Abdallah (2013) focused on the role of the National Election Security Task Force during the 2012 election of Ghana. These studies however failed to demonstrate the extent to which the Ghana Police Service has contributed to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana since 1992, thereby leaving a lacuna which this study seeks to fill. Therefore the purpose of the current study was to investigate the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana within the Fourth Republic.

1.2. Research Objectives

1. The primary objective of the study was to look at the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections within Ghana's Fourth Republic. The study also focuses on two additional objectives.
2. To examine the challenges that the Ghana Police Service face in contributing to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana.
3. To identify the various means of enhancing the role of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in Ghana.

1.3 Research Questions

The study aimed at examining the following research questions to achieve the research objective:

1. How has the Ghana Police Service Contributed to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana within the Fourth Republic?
2. What challenges has the Ghana Police Service been facing when contributing to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana within the Fourth Republic?
3. In what ways can the challenges facing the Ghana Police Service when contributing to peaceful elections be addressed?

1.4 Research Rationale

The Ghana Police Service is an important aspect of the security apparatus of Ghana. The Ghana Police Service also plays an important role in the maintenance of the domestic security of Ghana. They are the first point of contact in the event of a disorder or any instability that threatens the

democratic state of Ghana and are also called upon in matters of internal violence in any part of the country by an individual, group, or institution.

The Ghana Police Service is the main security agency that ensures the smooth conduct of democratic elections in Ghana. They are very significant when it comes to the security aspect of Ghanaian elections. The peacefulness of elections in Ghana is by extension therefore in the bosom of the Ghana Police Service. The peaceful conduct of elections within the Fourth Republic of Ghana calls for the need to investigate the relevance of the Ghana Police Service towards the achievement of peaceful elections in Ghana. This will help indicate the contributions of the Ghana Police Service in Ghanaian elections, bring to light challenges facing the service in contributing to peaceful elections, and solutions to the existing challenges to help deepen the democracy of Ghana by ensuring more peaceful elections.

1.5 Significance of the Research

The study serves as an addition to current literature on the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana's democracy by looking at how the Ghana Police Service has helped in shaping peaceful Ghanaian elections. The study has also increased the body of knowledge on the institutions needed for peaceful elections in Ghana with an emphasis on the Ghana Police Service as a core factor to peaceful elections, bringing to light:

- The contribution of the Ghana Police Service in the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana.
- The challenges facing the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in Ghana.

- The recommended solutions to the challenges facing the Ghana Police Service in Ghanaian elections.

Finally, the study serves as a foundation for further studies on the subject of conducting elections peacefully in Ghana and the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in the conduct of elections and the consolidation of democracy in Ghana as a whole.

1.6 Operationalization of Concepts

In order to put the current study into perspective, there is the need to clearly define particular concepts that form the central theme of the study. This is to broaden the reader's view in terms of the meaning of keywords used throughout the study. These central themes are the concept of elections and the concept of peaceful elections.

Concept of Election: An Election is defined by Mediayanose (2018) as the process by which qualified citizens of a country select political representatives to address the problems facing the majority of the people. It is described as a decision-making process by which individuals are selected into formal positions, typically a public related position by a group (Yeboah-Assiamah et al, 2020). In the view of Katz (1997), an election is a means by which individuals or groups seeking political power present their programs and policies to eligible citizens in a healthy competition to get selected into public office. Nohlen et al (1999) posits that an election is a means by which the citizens of a country are guaranteed the power to select leaders who are responsible and accountable to them and who the citizens have the power to maintain or change over a period of time. From the above definitions, it can be seen that election is not necessarily an event but a process that has its ultimate goal of giving the citizens the power to select their

political leaders. For the purpose of this study, an election will be considered as the period before, during, and after the selections of political office holders by the citizens.

Concept of Peaceful Election: Peaceful election is defined by Njogu (2013) as the absence of any form of thuggery, violence, intimidation, and assault which can negatively affect the legitimacy of an electoral process. The South African Development Community (2015) described peaceful elections to be one that is calm and devoid of violence, intimidation, or conflicts in such a manner that citizens can exercise their franchise and take part in all electoral activities. In the view of Lindberg (2009), peaceful elections does not necessarily mean the absence of violence or intimidation but the proper management of violence and intimidation should they occur before, during, or after the election to the extent that they do not affect the legitimacy of the electoral process. From the above definitions, it can be seen that Njogu (2013) and the South African Development Community (2015) describe a perfect situation where there is no room for any form of violence or intimidation but this is highly impossible in the empirical world. Lindberg (2009), however, presents a more realistic definition of a peaceful election which puts emphasis on the management of violence and intimidation rather than a perfect system devoid of them. This study, therefore, adopts the definition of Lindberg (2009) which defines peaceful election in relation to how incidents of violence and intimidation are managed to ensure they do not affect the integrity of the electoral process. In adopting the definition of Lindberg (2009), the contribution of the Ghana Police Service becomes very important in the realization of peaceful elections. This is because the management of violence and intimidation is carried out through the enforcement of law and order which is the mandate of the Ghana Police Service.

1.7 Brief Methodology of the Study

The purpose of this research was to evaluate the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana. The mixed research approach involving qualitative and quantitative techniques was employed for the study. The research design chosen for this study was descriptive. The research study population comprised of personnel from the Ghana Police Service, Electoral Commission of Ghana, National Peace Council, Civil Society Organizations, the General Public, and Political Parties. The researcher adopted the simple random and key informant sampling technique to sample the research participants. A semi-structured interview helped to gather data from the respondents aside from data that were personally collected by the researcher from secondary sources. In analyzing the data collected descriptive and narrative techniques were adopted.

1.8 Organization of Chapters

This study was organized into six chapters that deal with major sections of the research process aimed at addressing the study objective. The components of the six chapters are as follows.

Chapter One: Chapter one of the study dealt with the introduction of the study by defining the research background, the problem statement, the objectives of the study, the rationale for the study, and the significance of the study. The chapter also dealt with the operationalization of concepts, a brief methodology, and the organization of chapters.

Chapter Two: The second chapter of the study was focused on the review of the literature. This chapter was comprised of two main components which were the review of theories, that is the theoretical review, and the review of empirical studies, that is empirical review.

Chapter Three: The third chapter was focused on giving an overview of the Ghana Police Service the main subject of the study. The chapter also outlined the methodology adopted for the study.

Chapter Four: Chapter four of the study was centered on data analysis and presentation based on the data gathered through the use of various tools described in the research methodology.

Chapter Five: In the fifth chapter of the study, a discussion of the findings deduced from the analysis of data was undertaken by comparing the findings with existing literature.

Chapter Six: Chapter six, which is the final chapter was dedicated to the summary and conclusion of the study with recommendations being made for the improvement of the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of Peaceful election in Ghana's Fourth Republic.

1.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the background to the study on the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in the Fourth Republic. The statement identified the research problem to be the lacuna in existing literature concerning the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in the promotion of peaceful elections. The objectives of the study were therefore aimed at investigating the role of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections and to identify challenges they face in the performance of this role. The chapter threw light on the rationale, significance of the study, and key concepts of the study. The mixed research approach was revealed as the research approach for the study and the chapter concluded with a presentation of how the chapters are organized.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The chapter focuses on reviewing existing literature works relevant to the current study. The existing literature reviewed in this chapter was categorized into theoretical review and empirical review. The Theoretical review considers the various theories that relate to the current study whilst the empirical review considers the various studies carried out and their finding that relates to this current study.

2.1 Empirical Review

This section presents the review of existing studies that relate to the subject matter of the study; the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana. The review consists of various studies undertaken on the broad subject of peaceful elections in Ghana with specific reference to roles played by various institutions and organizations in the peaceful electoral process of Ghana. The section presents the review of the empirical studies with the aim of clearly identifying the research lacuna in the area of research and the role this current study plays in filling the gap.

2.1.1 Police Forces and Peaceful Elections in East Africa

The conduct of peaceful elections has the benefits of ensuring democratic consolidation in a country. Successful and peaceful elections, deepen the roots of democracy over time, promote a sense of accountability, promote good governance and, ultimately, enhance the rule of law. Peaceful elections, however, cannot be conducted in an atmosphere characterized by conflict,

violence, and tension (Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2012). Security forces particularly, the Local Police Force are therefore essential in attaining peaceful and credible elections in a country (Obi, 2007). The exiting works of Shaka (2013) and Edson (2018) in support of this position examined the contribution of the Kenya Police Force and the Uganda Police Force to the promotion of credible, free, fair, and peaceful elections in Kenya and Uganda respectively.

In the case of Uganda, Edson (2018), in his study, focused on the contribution of the Uganda Police Force in the 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections of the country. He identified the contribution of the Uganda Police Force before, during, and after the election to be the protection of electoral materials, protection of voters and voting process, mitigation of violence, investigation of criminal and electoral offenses, enforcement of laws and electoral codes of conduct, provision of escort teams to election candidates, regulation of public order and preparedness to respond to emergency situations.

In relation to the protection of election materials, Edson (2018) posits that the Ugandan Police Force throughout the 2016 elections did not only ensure the safety of election materials during Election Day, but before, during, and after the election as well. Measures were taken by the Ugandan Police Force to prevent unauthorized destruction, tampering, manipulation, and theft of election materials. The Ugandan Police Force also enforced the electoral laws and codes of conduct that governed the entire electoral process. Security of voters and the voting process were guaranteed throughout elections and this encouraged eligible voters to partake in the electoral process. The police forces also played a role in ensuring that the voters and the voting process were void of intimidation and the fear of harm before, during, and after the elections. The study

concluded that the successful and peaceful outcome of the 2016 presidential and parliamentary election of Uganda was largely due to the contribution of the Uganda Police Force throughout the electoral process. The above studies particularly that of Edson (2018), have unraveled the extent to which the Ugandan Police Force was willing to contribute towards peaceful elections in Uganda. To do this, Edson (2018) indicated, the Police Force took the trouble upon themselves to ‘enforce’ the existing rules governing elections in Uganda. This study, thus, allowed the researcher to examine the extent to which the Ghana Police Service tends to ‘enforce’ the electoral rules in order to promote successful and peaceful elections in Ghana.

Akpan (2008) posits that it is the duty of the police in an election to ensure that electoral materials are not hijacked, stolen, altered, or destroyed by any persons or groups. Police Forces must ensure the safety of systems and procedures and prevent the inclusion of false or unauthorized election material or data and attempts to vote fraudulently. In the view of Akpan (2008), police forces throughout elections are also responsible for the security of properties and citizens during election campaigns and voter registrations among other electoral activities. Mangu (2015) posits that police forces ought to consider the principles of necessity, justification, and proportionality in their use of force in the enforcement of electoral laws and codes of conduct. In Ghana, the protection of election materials forms part of the major roles expected of the Ghana Police Service before, during, and after elections.

Shaka (2013), in his study on the 2013 General Elections of Kenya, also examined the contribution of the Kenya Police Force in the 2013 peaceful elections of the country. The study disclosed that the Kenya Police Force ensured that maximum security was guaranteed for all

election stakeholders particularly the voters. The Police Force deployed security personnel days before the election and prepared a Contingency Action Plan (CAP) to regulate security operations. Security was provided at all vital places associated with the election especially the National Tallying Center. The Kenya Police Force cooperated well with other election stakeholders like the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) and the public prosecutor's offices to ensure the election was devoid of any form of intimidation and political tension and this contributed to the promotion of a peaceful election in 2013. The police engaged in the investigation of criminal and other election-related offenses. He emphasized that the use of excessive force was also limited by the Kenya Police Force throughout the 2013 elections except in life-threatening situations. The Kenya Police Force maintained a politically neutral position and responded quickly to all electoral security issues before, during, and after the election which reduced the level of violence that threatened the peaceful conduct of the 2013 Kenya elections.

Shaka (2013) posits that throughout the electoral process, the Kenya Police Force appeared prepared in attending to security emergencies that occurred before, during, and after the election. In Mombasa city, the Inspector General of Police in response to rising tensions, violence, and political unrest airlifted three hundred paramilitary officers to augment security as a strategy to mitigate violence in the area. The Kenya Police Force also maintained regular security surveillance in hotspot areas like Kisumu and Kibera regions and this reduced the level of violence which threatened the peaceful conduct of the 2013 Kenya elections. The presence of police officers ensured calm and prevented political violence before, during, and after the election. The study concluded that the contribution of the Kenya Police Force resulted in the peaceful outcome of the 2013 elections of Kenya. Shaka's (2013) study contributed to enhancing

the current study because it hints at the deployment of a Contingency Action Plan (CAP), effective collaborations between and among stakeholders, the political neutrality of the police, and the absence of the use of hard power in the 2013 Kenyan elections. Here, one sees how the Kenyan Police Force sought to deploy a special force, CAP, to handle emergency situations, and this allowed the student to examine the deployment of Special Forces in the Ghanaian elections. In addition, the student was interested in looking at the extent to which the Ghana Police Service had collaborated with other stakeholders to make elections peaceful and successful in Ghana. The question as to whether the use of hard power has worked to undermine elections in Ghana was also looked at, as well.

Ndulo and Lulo (2010) posits that the mitigation of violence and investigation of criminal and election-related offenses are also among the responsibilities of police forces during elections. Based on the assertion that peaceful election is not necessarily an election devoid of violence but an election within which violence if it occurs is managed within certain limits, the police forces have a role to play in the management of violence before, during, and after elections. In the case of Ghana, the Ghana Police Service is the security agency mandated by the 1992 constitution to maintain law and order in the country. The Ghana Police Service is also responsible for responding to security emergencies.

The existing studies of Edson (2018) and Shaka (2013) identify the protection of election materials, protection of voters and the voting process, mitigation of violence, investigation of criminal and election offenses, enforcement of laws and codes of conduct of elections, provision of escort teams to election candidates, maintenance of public order and preparedness to respond

to emergency situations as the contribution of police forces to the promotion of peaceful elections, particularly in Uganda and Kenya. The findings of Shaka (2013) and Edson (2018) strengthened the current study in examining the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana. The current study, however, differs from the above studies because while Edson (2018) and Shaka (2013) focused on the police and peaceful elections of Uganda and Kenya in East Africa, the current study focuses on the contribution of the Ghana Police Service towards peaceful elections in Ghana.

2.1.2 Police Forces and Peaceful Elections in West Africa

Vaaseh and Danladi (2010) posit that in many West African countries, Police Forces are the main security agencies in charge of electoral security issues. This makes the Police Force within West Africa indispensable components in ensuring peaceful elections. For example, in Nigeria, the largest democratic country in West Africa, the Police Force has been in charge of the country's electoral security issues especially within Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The maintenance of law and order and mitigation of electoral violence before, during, and after elections are common responsibilities expected of the Nigeria Police Force throughout the conduct of elections in the country. The promotion of peaceful elections in Nigeria depends largely on the contribution of the Nigeria Police Force (ibid). Afolabi (2018), in support of this position, emphasized that electoral security has been a critical component in Nigeria's elections. Elections in Nigeria are periods usually characterized by high levels of political tension, fear, and violence. The country has historically recorded electoral violence in almost every election conducted within Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Electoral security issues, therefore, play a key role in guaranteeing and ensuring credible, free, fair, and peaceful elections in Nigeria. Nigeria's

Electoral Security issues since the inception of Nigeria's Fourth Republic however remain mainly within the domain of the Nigeria Police Force. This makes the Nigeria Police Force *sin qua non* to the organization and attainment of peaceful electoral processes in the country, particularly within Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Vaaseh and Danladi (2010) posit that the involvement and contribution of police forces in the conduct of elections within West Africa particularly in Nigeria is vital to the conduct of peaceful electoral process. These studies bring to light the extent to which elections are often characterized by high levels of political tensions before, during, and after elections in Nigeria. Here, the student was led to examine election-related tensions and the readiness of the police to tackle that tension in Ghana. Here, the student asked the public to rate their tension levels (high, moderate, and low) before, during, and after elections in Ghana.

Ajayi (2006) however, presents a different view on the contribution of Police Forces in promoting peaceful elections within West Africa particularly in Nigeria. In examining the 2003 Nigeria elections, Ajayi (2006) discovered that the Nigeria Police Force contributed massively to the rigging of the 2003 elections in favor of the incumbent political party. The Police officers and sister security forces throughout the electoral process availed themselves for election rigging and perpetuation of electoral violence. These activities had a negative effect on the peaceful and credible outcome of the 2003 elections of Nigeria. Similar observations were made concerning the 2007 elections by Nwolise (2007). Nwolise (2007) in assessing the 2007 elections of Nigeria posits that the entire electoral process was characterized by the worse form of political violence the country has ever experienced since independence. He pointed out that although the role of the Nigeria Police Force was to provide security and promote peaceful elections, police officers were

involved in electoral malpractices and violence that undermined the credibility and peacefulness of the entire 2007 electoral process. In the view of Awopeju (2011) the involvement of the Nigeria Police Force in electoral activities is often not with the aim of providing security for successful, free, and fair elections but rather to serve as a tool for ruling governments to prevent opposition parties from acquiring political power. The Nigeria Police Force often serves as tools of intimidation rather than promoters of peaceful elections. These studies unraveled interesting but ironic situations in Nigeria: the body (the Nigeria Police Force) designated to prevent electoral rigging and snatching of ballot boxes is now involved in electoral rigging and snatching of ballot boxes in favor of incumbent governments. The student, thus, sought to examine the extent to which these ironic situations play out in Ghana.

According to the study of Nwogbaga (2011) insecurity issues still persist throughout the conduct of elections in Nigeria. The Nigeria Police Force, the primary electoral security agency for Nigeria elections has over the years been associated with every violence, rigging, and electoral insecurity issue in the country. Rosenau et al, (2015) in their study on “Security during Nigeria’s 2015 national elections: what should we expect from the police?” further argued that the Nigeria Police Force failed to respond quickly to rising electoral tensions and violence in some parts of the country during the 2011 elections. They noted that unarmed protestors were reportedly subjected to beatings and teargas by the police force during elections. Abdullahi and Dantani, (2016) posit that victimization of opposition members, unlawful arrest, detention and harassment, and frequent denial of public gathering mainly to opposition parties has been the major focus of the Nigeria Police Force (NPF) in elections. In the 2007 Nigeria Elections, the Nigeria Police Force engaged in the harassment and oppression of opposition parties before,

during, and after the electoral process. The law enforcement agencies particularly the Nigeria Police Force in many instances acted as investigators, prosecutors, and at the same time judges of electoral security issues (Osiki, 2010). The report concluded that the entire electoral process was characterized by violence and intimidation. In the view of Mediayanose (2018) the Nigeria Police Force does not contribute to the conduct of credible elections as they often truncate the efforts of Nigerians in choosing good leaders as they are induced by candidates of political parties and government. These studies allowed the student to examine the factors that often trigger the use of force (if any) in elections in Ghana.

In the case of Ghana, Agordzo and Ossei-Tutu (2016) posit that electoral security issues continue to dominate the focus of Ghanaian elections within the Fourth Republic, and the Ghana Police Service has been the security agency responsible for the country's electoral security issues but often assisted by sister security agencies of Ghana through the National Election Security Task Force. Aubyn and Abdallah, (2013) in support of this position examined the role of the National Election Security Task Force (NESTF) in the 2012 elections of Ghana using face-to-face interviews and participant observations. Aubyn and Abdallah (2013) posit that the National Election Security Task Force (NESTF) was able to manage the violence that characterized the 2012 electoral process. In the view of Hounkpe and Gueye (2010) the Ghana Police Service has been an essential component to the conduct of Ghanaian elections. In assessing the role of security forces in the electoral process of six West African countries, Hounkpe and Gueye (2010) emphasized that though all the six countries examined had legal frameworks governing the involvement of police forces in their electoral process which were brief and vague the

involvement of the police force particularly in Ghanaian elections was still important especially if elections are to be conducted in a credible manner.

Sanny and Logan (2020), however, present a varied view of the Ghana Police Service. They posit that the Ghana Police Service is the least trusted organization in Ghana. When compared to other existing institutions like the tax Officials, Judges and Magistrates, and other governmental agencies, public confidence in the Ghana Police Service appears to be the lowest. Opong (2010) in support of this position states that opposition parties in Ghana during elections find it more useful to engage the services of vigilante groups in matters of electoral security than depend solely on the Ghana Police Service. In the view of Osei-Adubofour (2017), the Ghana Police Service has over the years demonstrated a lack of interest when it comes to investigating and prosecuting crimes perpetrated by members of a ruling government. During elections, offenses committed by members of an opposition party are dealt with more severely and harshly by the Ghana Police Service than those committed by members of a ruling government. He posits that activities of the Ghana Police Service during Ghanaian elections often appear more favourable to a ruling government than existing opposition parties. Betz (2018), also discovered that media personnel sometimes suffer police brutalities and abuses in the course of performing their electoral mandates in Ghana. He posits that the subjecting of media personnel to police brutalities and abuses during elections makes police officers in Ghana, Liberia, and Sierra Leone fall short in the promotion of peaceful elections.

The findings of the above studies indicate that Peaceful Elections as posited by Vaaseh and Danladi (2010), Obi (2007), and Hounkpe and Gueye (2010) cannot be achieved without the

contribution of police forces in any African country particularly within West Africa. Shaka (2013) and Edson (2018) in their works examined the 2013 and 2016 elections of Kenya and Uganda respectively and concluded that the Kenya Police Force and the Uganda Police Force contributed to the peaceful conduct of elections in both countries in support of the position of Vaaseh and Danladi (2010), Obi (2007) and Hounkpe and Gueye (2010). However, in Nigeria, the largest democratic country in West Africa, the existing works of Ajayi (2006), Nwolise (2007), and Awopeju (2011), among other scholars, have identified the Nigeria Police Force as contributing factors to the non-peaceful conduct of Nigeria elections and existing electoral violence which has characterized Nigeria elections.

Ghana, on the other hand, is recognized as a country that has conducted peaceful elections within its Fourth Republic. Hounkpe and Gueye (2010), Aubyn and Abdallah, (2013), and Agordzo and Osei-Tutu, (2016), among other existing works on the Ghana Police Service, have identified the legal framework governing the involvement of security forces in the electoral process, the dominance of security issues in Ghanaian elections and the role of the National Election Security Task Force (NESTF) in averting possible election related conflicts respectively. Although these studies to some extent identify the role of the police service in the electoral process of Ghana, they do not specifically address the issue of the contribution of the police service towards the promotion of peaceful elections and hence present a gap in the literature. There is, therefore, the need to address this lacuna in the literature by assessing the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in Ghana particularly within the Fourth Republic of Ghana.

2.1.3 Overview of Peaceful Elections in Ghana within the Fourth Republic

The conduct of elections in most African countries has often resulted in violence according to Hounkpe and Gueye (2010). However, Bukari and Guuroh (2013) assert that Ghana has gained both local and international acknowledgment by virtue of having conducted elections peacefully in its Fourth Republic. Omotola (2012) posits that the 1996, 2000, 2004, and 2008 elections of Ghana were peacefully conducted and the political parties involved generally accepted the election results. Similar assertions are made about the 2012 and 2016 elections of Ghana by Alidu and Braimer (2014) and Aryee (2017) who also concluded the elections were generally peaceful. The above studies provide an interesting view of the peaceful nature of elections in Ghana. Here the student was led to examine the role of the Ghana Police Service in achieving such peaceful nature of elections in Ghana.

Otchere-Darko (2010) presented a different view in his study of elections in Ghana in which he states that Ghanaian democratic elections are not as peaceful as many people will hate to admit. Boahen (1995) in supporting this position noted that elections in Ghana are mostly characterized by tensions and violence citing the 1992 elections, he indicated that the New Patriotic Party (NPP) which was the main opposition party accused the Independent National Electoral Commission of siding with the incumbent government, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) to rig the election. The New Patriotic Party rejected the presidential results, boycotted the parliamentary election, and subsequently published a book “stolen verdict” to detail their grievances in the 1992 election.

The study of Bob-Miller (2014) indicated that elections in Ghana are witnessed with a low-intensity form of violence at every stage of the electoral process citing cases of ballot snatching and stiffing during elections. Locations such as Wenchi, Berekum, Alajo, and Kumasi were also identified to have recorded violence in the 2000 election run-off according to the study of Ayee (2002). Amankwaa (2013) posits that in the Northern part of Ghana, elections have contributed to chieftaincy disputes among the people of Yendi and Bawku. Jockers et al, (2013) in their study asserted that the violence that occurred in the 2008 elections of Ghana was largely ignored by the international community to present Ghana as a model for peaceful elections. The above studies bring to light issues of ballot snatching and stiffing as setbacks to the conduct of peaceful elections in Ghana and this allowed the student to examine how the Ghana Police Service ensures the protection of electoral materials throughout elections.

Despite the assertions made by the above studies, Dunne (2006) is of the view that the conduct of elections does not eliminate the possibility of confrontation but rather the management and controlling of such confrontations within reasonable limits determines the peacefulness of the election. Alidu and Braimah (2014) and Asante (2013) therefore consider elections of Ghana in the Fourth Republic to be largely peaceful because the country over the years has been able to manage and control the violence which occurs before, during, and after an election. Aning and Danso (2012) in their study posited that electoral violence in Ghana is often isolated and localized and mostly managed in a manner that prevents it from escalating into a national crisis.

In the study of Langer (2007), he pointed out that Ghana has a mixture of multi-ethnic groupings such as Akans and Ewes, different religious sects mainly Christians and Muslims, and a wide

socio-economic gap between the Northern and Southern parts of the country. Sithole (2012) however concludes that the existence of these factors mixed with high political competitions over the years has not been sufficient enough to cause national wars or conflict, the country has been able to conduct elections peacefully with peaceful transitions of power. In the view of Gyimah-Boadi and Prempeh (2012), the periodic conduct of elections as a means of achieving political power has been institutionalized in Ghana, and political parties appear to respect the will of the Ghanaian electorates by peacefully handing over power. The above studies reveal an interesting nature of electoral violence in Ghana as being well managed and localized. Here the student was interested in examining how the Ghana Police Service manages the electoral violence of Ghana.

Asante (2013) and Alidu and Braimah (2014) conclude that elections in Ghana in the Fourth Republic are generally peaceful. Van Gyampo (2017) noted that collaborations among election stakeholders over the years have resulted in the electoral successes of Ghana. Meissner (2010) in supporting this position noted for instance that, the 2008 elections of Ghana ended peacefully due to the contribution of the Electoral Commission of Ghana. He emphasized that during the 2008 elections, the chairman of the Electoral Commission before announcing the official results provided regular updates to the political parties and other election stakeholders and this reduced the high levels of tension and political mistrust in the country. Meissner (2010) posits that, throughout the 2008 electoral processes, the Electoral Commission of Ghana held fast against all manner of pressures which also contributed massively to the success and peaceful conduct of the 2008 election. In examining the 2012 peaceful elections of Ghana, Alidu and Braimah (2014) in their study on Ghana's Peaceful Election 2012: A Lesson for Africa?, also focused on the

contribution of the National Peace Council (NPC) in the peaceful 2012 elections of Ghana. The study discovered that the National Peace Council (NPC) was actively involved throughout the electoral process in advocating for peaceful elections through the mass media, the establishment of a peace accord known as the Kumasi Peace Accord, and worked to reduce political tension among supporters of the various political parties particularly the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC). Alidu and Braimah (2014) in their study concluded that the National Peace Council played a contributing role to the peaceful outcome of the 2012 elections of Ghana.

The work of Asante (2013) also focused on the contribution of the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) in the conduct of peaceful Ghanaian elections. The study discovered that through the efforts of the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) various electoral concerns and grievances of election stakeholders of Ghana particularly among the political parties have been addressed over the years and this largely contributed to the conduct of peaceful Ghanaian elections in 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008 respectively. The above studies provide an interesting revelation on the contribution of various institutions including the Electoral Commission of Ghana (E.C.G), the National Peace Council (NPC), and the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) towards the promotion of peaceful Ghanaian elections. The current study seeks to contribute to the existing studies on peaceful Ghanaian elections by examining the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana. The current study also looked at challenges facing the Ghana Police Service in contributing to peaceful elections and possible solutions to such existing challenges.

2.1.4 Challenges of Police Forces in Contributing To Peaceful Elections

Obi (2007) posits that police forces are often faced with several challenges which limit their efforts at ensuring peaceful electoral outcomes. Igini (2013) identifies political manipulation as a major challenge faced by police forces in ensuring free, fair, and peaceful elections. Afolabi (2018) in support of this position posits that in Nigeria, police forces play significant roles in electoral malpractices. Governments in power often depend on police forces to gain electoral advantages over other existing opposition parties. The Nigeria Constitution mandates high-ranking police officers like the Inspector General of the Nigeria Police Force to take directives from the government (Agbiboa, 2015). This puts the Nigeria Police Force at the mercy of corrupt politicians who manipulate and use police forces as tools for electoral malpractices and riggings (ibid). In the view of Oluwaniyi (2011) the high level of bribery and corruption within the Nigeria Police Force also makes them more vulnerable and easy prey for political manipulations and influences during elections. Activities of the Nigeria Police Force throughout elections often appear more favorable towards a ruling government than existing opposition parties. Public confidence and trust within the Nigeria Police Force are therefore low as police forces are regarded as mere tools and agents of the ruling government to rig elections and cause electoral violence and tension.

In the view of Verma (2005), the use of police forces by governments for electoral gains is an old existing phenomenon. Political parties when in government tend to use police forces in settling personal scores and gaining electoral benefits. This limits the ability of police forces to operate independently in ensuring a credible electoral process. Elections must reflect the will of the electorates within a country however this purpose cannot be achieved when police forces are

used as instruments to cheat, rig, and cause electoral violence to the advantage of one political party over the others. The above studies bring to light the issue of political influence and manipulations in police electoral duties as a major challenge facing police forces in promoting peaceful elections. The findings of the above studies strengthened the current study in examining whether political manipulations and intimidation constitute a challenge to the Ghana Police Service in ensuring peaceful elections.

Okia (2011) also noted that during the 2007 Kenya elections the Kenya Police Force resorted to shootings and beatings of unarmed protesters which were against established electoral codes of conduct for the Kenya Police Force. He posits that the many killings that occurred in the 2007 violent elections of Kenya were largely caused by bullet wounds inflicted by the Kenya Police Force. Police personnel aided by the armed forces engaged in excessive force and resorted to shootings and beating of unarmed protesters. The Kenya Police Force, in addition, failed to respond quickly to rising security threats and tensions and this paved the way for more electoral violence, deaths, and human rights abuses. Bekoe (2010) therefore identified the failure of police forces to adhere to rules and standards set for elections as a challenge to ensuring credible and peaceful elections.

Mutahi and Ruteere (2019) in support of this emphasize that though the Kenya Police Forces during the 2017 Kenya elections appeared better trained, equipped, and prepared compared to previous Kenya elections, the police forces demonstrated a sense of unprofessionalism in their conduct during the 2017 elections. Officers of the Kenya Police Force in response to rising tensions in some parts of the country engaged in the use of live ammunition and beating of

people. The unprofessional conduct of the Kenya Police Forces contributed to the occurrence of electoral violence, intimidation, and deaths that occurred in the 2017 elections. In the case of Nigeria, some police forces appear ignorant of existing electoral laws and codes of conduct. This has contributed to increasing police misconduct and malpractices before, during, and after elections in Nigeria (Idowu, 2010). The above studies also emphasize on the inability of police forces in adhering to rules and standards of election as a hindrance to the contribution of police forces in ensuring peaceful elections. This strengthened the current study in determining whether the Ghana Police Service follows laid down electoral rules when conducting their electoral security duties.

The activities of political thugs also pose a threat to the conduct of peaceful and credible elections. Nigeria as a country is challenged with issues of high unemployment and poverty. These conditions make the youth in particular very vulnerable to political misuse for electoral malpractices. The conduct of peaceful elections in Nigeria since the inception of the Fourth Republic has been challenged with the activities of political thugs belonging to the various political parties within the country. Some of these political thugs also exist as parallel security agencies (Meagher, 2007). In the view of Olufowobi and Adebayo (2004) the formation of parallel security agencies poses a threat to the contribution of police forces in ensuring credible elections. The activities of political thugs and parallel security agencies have been identified in the above studies as challenges to police forces in ensuring credible and peaceful elections, particularly in Nigeria. The findings of the above studies allowed the student to examine whether the activities of vigilante groups and parallel security agencies pose a challenge to the Ghana Police Service in ensuring peaceful elections.

In the view of Hounkpe and Gueye (2010) limited personnel, resources and funds have over the years been a challenge to the activities of security forces, particularly the police force in the conduct of credible and peaceful elections. Police forces in many West African countries lack adequate personnel and security logistics needed for electoral security duties. The effect of this is the inability of the police forces to effectively respond quickly to security threats and emergencies during elections. Nwolise (2007) posits that the inability of the Kenya Police Forces to respond quickly to rising electoral security threats and violence contributed to the 2007 Kenya electoral violence which resulted in many deaths and displacement of people. The level of security funds available for electoral security operations in the view of Dune (2006) is also inadequate. Funds are needed by police forces to better prepare for electoral security duties. In Ghana, the government provides the police service with funds for electoral security operations. The findings of the above studies also strengthened the current study in examining how inadequate personnel, funding, and security logistics pose a challenge to the Ghana Police Service in contributing to peaceful elections in Ghana.

The above studies identify political manipulation and influence of police forces, non-adherence to rules and codes of conduct, activities of political thugs and parallel security agencies, and inadequate security logistics and funds as challenges of police forces in promoting credible, free, fair, and peaceful elections, particularly in Nigeria and Kenya. The findings of the above studies strengthened the current study in achieving its second research objective which is to examine the possible challenges facing the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in Ghana.

2.1.5 Measures to address Challenges of Police Forces in contributing to Peaceful Elections

The involvement of political parties and other election stakeholders in electoral security issues can promote the trust and confidence of election stakeholders in police forces as agents of credible and peaceful elections. The conduct of peaceful elections is a shared responsibility among various election stakeholders. Police forces must therefore ensure the security concerns of other election stakeholders are taken to consideration when planning electoral security issues (Hounkpe & Gueye, 2010). According to Zayyan (2002), the strategy of consolidation can improve the confidence of political parties, media organizations, and other election stakeholders in police forces as agents of credible and peaceful elections. Obi (2007) in support of this position posits that the Nigeria Police Force can better guarantee credible and peaceful elections by consolidating the views and opinions of various election stakeholders in Nigeria when planning and performing their electoral security functions. The findings of the above studies emphasize on the consolidation of the views and concerns of other election stakeholders by police forces during electoral security planning as a necessary means for promoting peaceful elections. Here the current study examined whether the Ghana Police Service consolidates the opinions of other election stakeholders when performing their electoral roles.

Tanzania police (2015) also emphasize that it is not enough for police forces to be trained and educated on electoral rules and codes of conduct before engaging them in electoral security operations. Police personnel must also be held responsible and accountable for their activities before, during, and after elections. Nwolise (2007) posits that during the 2007 electoral violence of Kenya, the Kenya Police Force with a level of impunity contributed massively to the violence and many deaths that occurred throughout the election. Officers of the Kenya Police Force are

more likely to act professionally in their conduct during elections when they are held accountable and punished for committing an electoral offense. Police forces who commit electoral offenses must be arrested, investigated, and punished to serve as a deterrent to other officers in ensuring professionalism and obedience to electoral rules and codes of conduct in elections (Hounkpe and Gueye, 2010). Hounkpe and Gueye (2010) also emphasize the need for an increase in personnel, logistics, and electoral security funds for police activities before, during, and after an election. They posit that security logistics must be adequately provided to police officers before engaging them in the performance of electoral security duties. Funds meant for electoral security operations must also be improved to enable adequate training of police personnel for electoral duties.

In limiting the influence of political parties in the activities of police forces during elections, Aning and Danso (2012) emphasize the need for constitutional amendments to ensure the non-political appointment of top-ranking police offices by governments in order to reduce the high level of government influence on police electoral duties and operations. Adequate training must also be given to police personnel on their electoral roles and responsibilities before engaging them in elections. The current study following the findings of the above studies sought to examine whether accountability, increase in personnel, provision of adequate funds and logistics, improved training, and non-political appointment of police positions can strengthen the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in Ghana.

Verma (2007) also identified the application of situational crime prevention techniques as a means of addressing the challenges faced by police forces in ensuring credible, free, fair, and

peaceful elections. Based on past experiences of electoral violence, misconduct, and security information gathered from the general public, the adoption of situational crime prevention techniques will promote police effectiveness and efficiency in responding to security threats and challenges throughout elections. Shaka (2013) posits that during the 2013 Kenya elections, the Kenya Police Force based on their experience with electoral violence undertook various measures including early deployment of security forces and increasing the presence in the number of police forces and other security personnel in the electoral process, particularly areas prone to electoral violence.

Verma (2007) emphasis that situational crime prevention techniques enable police forces to anticipate possible electoral crimes and violence and take adequate counter security measures. Edson (2018) also posit that the prohibition of quasi-military organizations and activities of political thugs can help strengthen police forces in ensuring free, fair, and peaceful elections. The activities of political thugs in Nigeria must be abolished and political parties prevented from engaging the services of such groups in elections. The findings of the above studies strengthened the current study in examining whether the adoption of situational crime prevention techniques and prohibition of political thugs can strengthen the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana.

The above studies highlight on the use of the strategy of consolidation, promotion of police accountability in elections, adoption of situational crime prevention techniques, prohibition of quasi-military organizations, and electronic voting mechanisms as means of addressing challenges of police forces in promoting credible and peaceful elections. The findings of the

above studies strengthened the current study in achieving its third research objective which is to examine possible solutions to the challenges facing the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in Ghana. The current study however differs from the above studies as it relied on the Broken Windows Theory in investigating various mechanisms for addressing issues confronting the Ghana Police Service in ensuring peaceful elections. The Broken Windows Theory benefits the current study in seeking opinions and ideas from the Ghana Police Service and other election stakeholders of Ghana on the various measures that can be taken to improve the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in Ghana.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This section presents the review of theories concerning the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana. The theories reviewed in this section were the Broken Windows Theory and the Systems Theory. The Systems Theory was used to demonstrate the contribution of the Ghana Police Service's initiative and activities in the realization of peaceful elections in Ghana. The Broken Windows Theory was also relied on to demonstrate the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in dealing with Minor and Major electoral security challenges as a means of ensuring peaceful elections in Ghana.

2.2.1 The Systems Theory

2.2.2 Brief Overview of the Systems Theory

The Systems Theory gained much prominence through the works of Ludwig von Bertalanffy, a biologist in the 1920s (Von Bertalanffy, 1972). The Systems theory explains how different parts of an entity function as a complete unit to produce a given output. Systems are complex units

made up of different parts. Each part of a given system performs a unique function. The component units of the system depend on each other in their functions to make the larger system produce an output. The output produced by the system is released into the environment. The environment supplies the system with inputs for processing before an output occurs. Systems theory, therefore, establishes the relationship between a system and its environment. Systems relate with their environment based on an input and output form of relationship (Lai & Huili, 2017).

Ansari (2004) establishes that the systems theory fundamentally explains the arrangement and relationship existing among various components of an entity that operates as a single unit to perform specific functions or achieve a specific goal. Adams et al (2014) also posits that the systems theory exists as a “unified group of specific propositions which are brought together to aid in understanding systems, thereby invoking improved explanatory power and interpretation with major implications for systems practitioners”.

Laszlo and Krippner (1998) posit that the systems theory is trans-disciplinary and beneficial in understanding critical and normative explanations to the relationships existing between concepts and perceptions relating to their worldview. The systems theory furthermore, has over time proven to be very useful in studies relating to cognitive development and human understanding. The theory in addition provides sufficient evidence for understanding complex human bio-psycho-socio-cultural changes, and finally, the systems theory is relevant for inquiries as it provides a holistic approach to the understanding of natural and human-made phenomena which usually involves the combination of complex fields and multifaceted situations (Laszlo &

Krippner, 1998). The systems theory in the context of the current study allows for a holistic understanding of Ghana's Peaceful Electoral Process by examining the contributions of each stakeholder in Ghanaian elections, especially within the Fourth Republic. The Ghana Police Service is a major stakeholder of Ghanaian elections within the Fourth Republic and the current study sought to examine its contribution to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana.

2.2.3 Application of the System Theory in Various Disciplines

The system theory has been applied in several disciplines. Jurich and Myers-Bowman, (1998) for instance adopted the systems theory in their study on human sexuality. In the field of political science, scholars like David Easton also used the systems theory to explain how political systems function and produce results. Easton (1957) posits that a political system can be compared to an entity consisting of different parts which are interdependent in their functions. The Political System operates within a larger environment and relates with the environment based on an input (demand and support) and output (decisions and policies) form of relationship as illustrated in the diagram below.

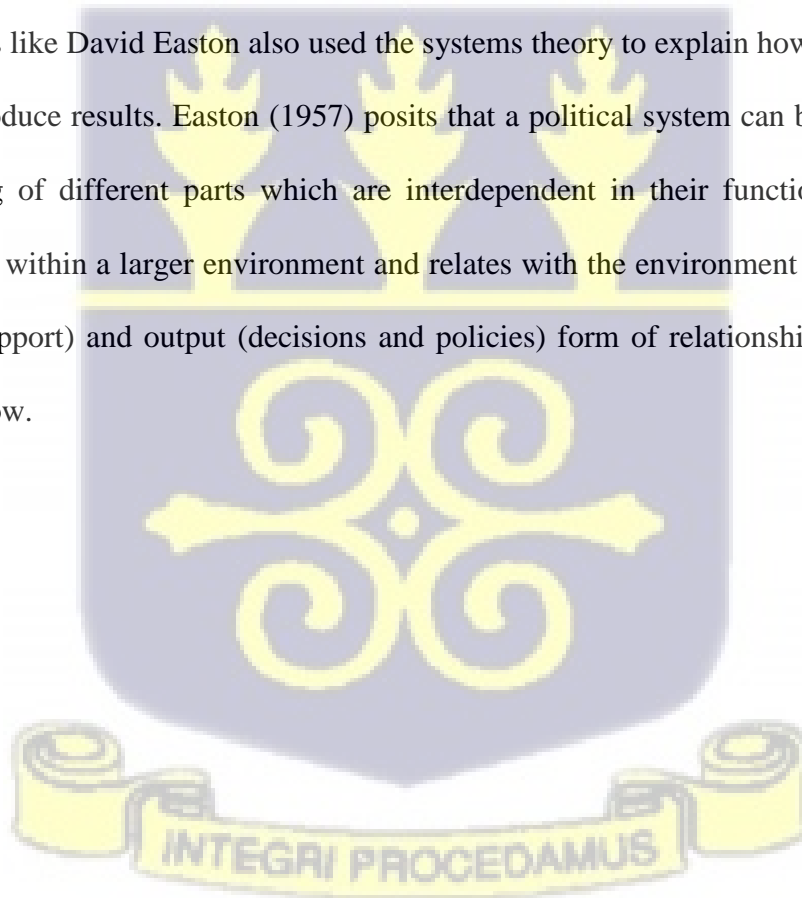
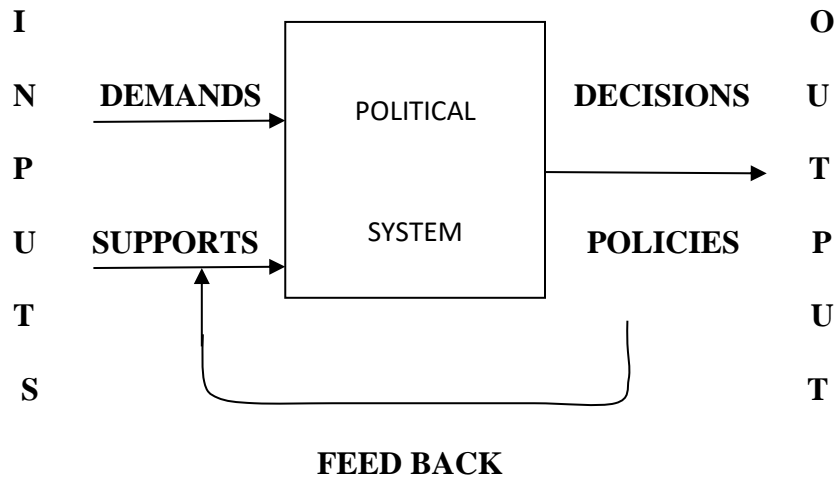


Figure 1: The Political System

ENVIRONMENT



ENVIRONMENT

Source: Figure retrieved from: (Easton, 1957.p. 384)

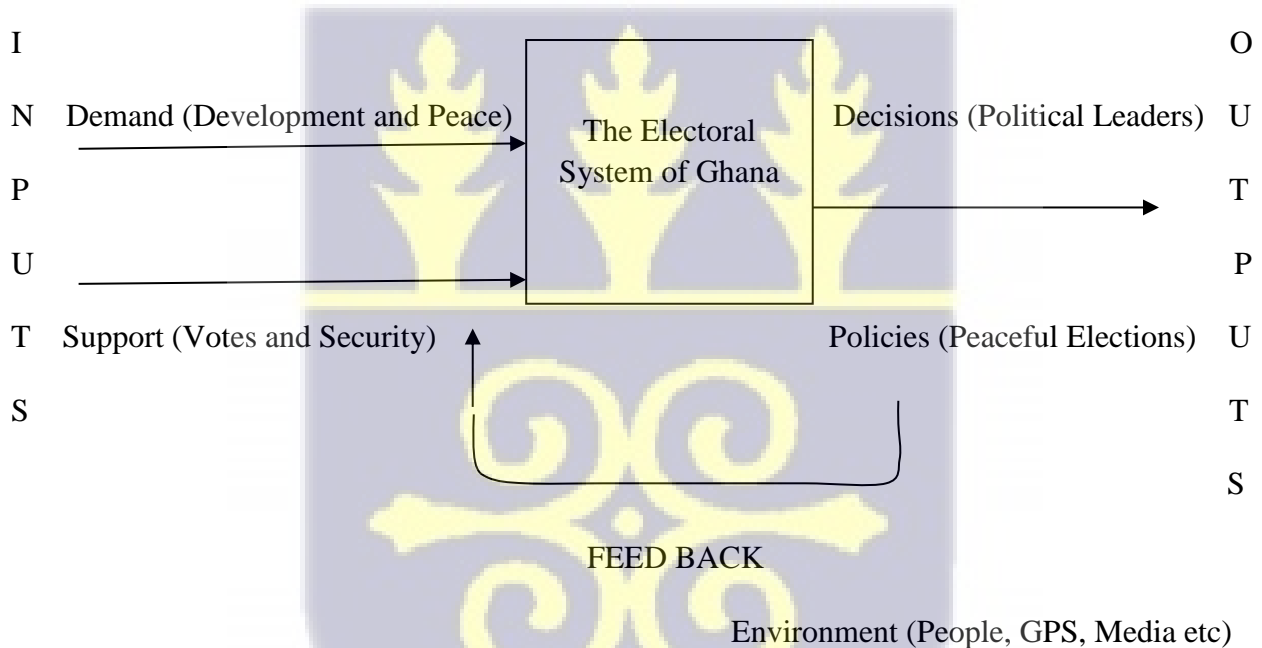
The environment, according to Easton (1957), is the immediate surroundings of a political system responsible for injecting demand and support inputs into the system. The demand inputs are the needs of the environment while the support inputs are the assistance provided to the political system from the environment. The Political System, according to Easton (1957) refers to political actions responsible for releasing outputs into the environment in the form of decisions or policies. Before a political system can release an output, however, the inputs injected in the political system must be converted through the interdependent actions (or processes) occurring within the political system. The output released into the environment has consequences for both the political system and the environment surrounding the political system. The feedback process describes the relationship between the outputs and subsequent inputs injected into the political system from the environment (ibid).

2.2.4 Applying the Systems Theory to the Current Study

The systems theory is used to explain the electoral system of Ghana and the contribution of the Ghana Police Service towards peaceful elections in Ghana. In adopting Easton's (1957) systems theory model to the current study, the electoral system of Ghana is considered as operating in an environment and shares an input and output relationship with its immediate environment as illustrated in the Diagram below.

Figure 2: Electoral System of Ghana

Environment (People, GPS, Media etc)



Source: Designed by Researcher

The Electoral System of Ghana

An electoral system is the set of rules that determine the mechanism through which political leaders are elected in a democratic country. That is mechanisms that establish the process of

converting votes into political seats or positions (Colomer, 2008). Ghana practices the first past the post electoral system where the candidate who wins the majority of votes in both presidential and parliamentary elections forms the government. The organization of elections in Ghana to select political leaders however involves forming a voter register, political campaigns, voting on Election Day, tabulation, and release of electoral results among others. These activities are performed before, during, and after elections to determine the head of state and members of parliament. The contribution of the Ghana Police Service as the security agency in charge of Ghanaian elections is therefore essential for the successful and peaceful conduct of the entire electoral process (before, during, and after elections) to elect political leaders and representatives in Ghana based on a simple majority system.

The Environment (People and Ghana Police Service).

The environment in the context of the current study consist of the Ghana Police Service and the People. The environment surrounding the electoral system of Ghana is responsible for injecting inputs into the system. Without the inputs from the environment, the electoral system of Ghana cannot function as Easton (1957) emphasized that a political system cannot function without inputs from its surrounding environment. The contribution of the Ghana Police Service in providing security to ensure peaceful elections is therefore essential particularly within the Fourth Republic of Ghana.

The Inputs (Demand and Support)

The inputs injected into the electoral system are categorized into demand and support inputs. The demand inputs are the needs of the environment and the support inputs are the assistance

provided to the electoral system. In the context of the current study, the demand inputs are the need for Development and Peace. The support inputs injected into the electoral system from the environment are the votes of the electorates and security provided by the Ghana Police Service. The support inputs (security) injected in to the electoral system by the Ghana Police Service contributes to ensuring the realization of peaceful elections as an output from the electoral system which is then released back into the environment.

The Outputs (Peaceful Elections and Political Leaders)

The outputs are the final outcomes of the converted inputs released into the environment by the electoral system of Ghana. The outputs of Ghana's electoral system in the context of the current study are the elected political leaders (the Head of State and members of parliament) and a peacefully conducted electoral process.

The Feedback

The feedback process ascertains whether the outputs of the electoral system of Ghana satisfied the demand inputs of the environment. That is, whether the final outputs (political leaders and peaceful elections) released by the Electoral System of Ghana satisfies the demand inputs (development and peace) of the environment. The feedback process therefore allows the Ghana Police Service to examine their contribution towards peaceful elections in Ghana, the shortcomings associated with such contributions and measures that needs to be taken to improve such shortcomings in subsequent elections to ensure peaceful electoral processes.

2.3 The Broken Windows Theory

2.3.1 Brief Overview of the Broken Windows Theory

The Broken Windows Theory became prominent through the works of Wilson and Kelling (1982). According to Wilson and Kelling (1982), criminal activities thrive best in communities where misdemeanor behaviors go unchecked. The term broken window is used metaphorically to represent the consequences of police forces neglecting an existing disorderly practice that poses a threat to the security and safety of a community. The Broken Windows Theory, therefore, establishes that one broken window (disorderly behavior) if not repaired could result in more broken windows within communities (more disorderly behavior). This is to mean that, an unchecked disorderly practice within a society is likely to make perpetrators of the offense feel no one cares or a general lack of state control. In this regard, one unchecked disorderly practice in a given society (broken window) will over time ignite additional forms of disorderly practices (more broken windows) leading to high insecurity issues, increase in criminal activities, and general breakdown of community life.

Skogan (1992) in his study identifies Social and Physical disorders as broken windows that pose a threat to security and peace in communities. The physical aspects relate to offenses committed against physical structures including the destruction of billboards and poster signs, destruction of vehicles, building structures among others. The social aspect of disorder also involves deviant and unacceptable social behaviors and activities such as prostitution, drug addiction, drunkenness, and rowdy teenage behaviors among others. Such unacceptable physical and social disorderly behaviors within society are broken windows that provide fertile grounds for increased criminal activities if not properly checked and managed (ibid). The above studies

provide an interesting addition to the current study in examining existing broken windows (physical and social disorders) within the conduct of peaceful elections which presents a challenge to the Ghana Police Service in contributing to peaceful elections in Ghana within the Fourth Republic.

2.3.2 Applying the Broken Windows Theory in Other Studies

The Broken windows theory has over the years been adopted by several scholars in various studies. Alford (2012) in his study adopted the Broken Windows Theory to explain the negative impact of corruption on government operations and developmental activities. Alford, (2012) identifies corruption as a broken window that has not been properly repaired by existing governments in most countries. The continued existence of corruption (broken window) within governmental systems makes corrupt officials feel a lack of concern by the appropriate authorities at fixing the problem leading to much bigger problems like the government's inability to undertake developmental programs and increased standards of living (more broken windows). In fixing corruption, Alford (2012) posits that much focus must be placed on eradicating small-scale corrupt activities like petty bribery existing in government systems.

Boyd and MacNeil (2018) also adopted the broken windows theory in their study 'Broken Windows and School Behaviour'. They discovered that minor disorderly behaviors committed by students such as the use of offensive languages, students hitting one another in the classroom, and showing blatant disrespect for rules and authorities are broken windows within a school system. The persistent occurrence of such disorderly behaviors (or broken windows) by students if not properly checked and corrected by the appropriate authorities has the potential of resulting

into bigger problems (more broken windows). According to Boyd and MacNeil (2018), students who commit disorderly behaviors are less likely to change for the better if school authorities continue to show less concern and lack of interest in their offensive behaviors. The study concluded that little things matter and thus regardless of how small or trivial a disorderly behavior by a student may be, such behaviors if not properly corrected can lead to bigger disorderly behaviors and malpractices in schools.

In relation to security, Wilson and Kelling (1982) in their study “Broken Windows” examined the role of Newark Police Officers in checking minor offenses in Newark City. The study discovered that the police force paid critical attention to minor crimes and other forms of violations such as hopping subway turnstile, smoking and drinking alcohol publicly, riding bicycles on sidewalks, and urinating in public which were considered as broken windows affecting security in Newark City. In fixing such broken windows, the Newark Police Department engaged in court summons and arrest of offenders. According to Wilson and Kelling (1982), the police force believed that in addressing such broken windows (minor offenses), through the strict enforcement of the law on low crimes, perpetrators of criminal offenses will notice their activities are being watched and this will put criminals and lawbreakers on check. The findings of the above studies provided further insight in the current study in examining whether enforcement of electoral laws through arrest and court summons can be adopted by the Ghana Police Service as a means of fixing the broken windows in the conduct of peaceful elections in Ghana.

Shelden (2004) however presents a different notion of the Broken Windows Theory. According to Shelden (2004) the Broken Windows Theory in practice ignores the root causes of crimes and offenses particularly in the United States. The continuous occurrence of crimes such as armed robbery and prostitution in the United States often have their associated root causes of unemployment and general poverty among others. In addressing minor offenses while ignoring the root causes of such minor offenses, police forces are unable to provide sustainable solutions to crimes such as police brutalities and suicide issues. Despite this assertion by Shelden (2004), the researcher believes the Broken Windows Theory as posited by Bratton and Kelling (2006) is suitable for identifying crimes and disorderly activities by the Ghana Police Service and taking measures geared towards preventing such crimes and disorderly activities from escalating.

2.3.3 Applying the Broken Windows Theory to the current study

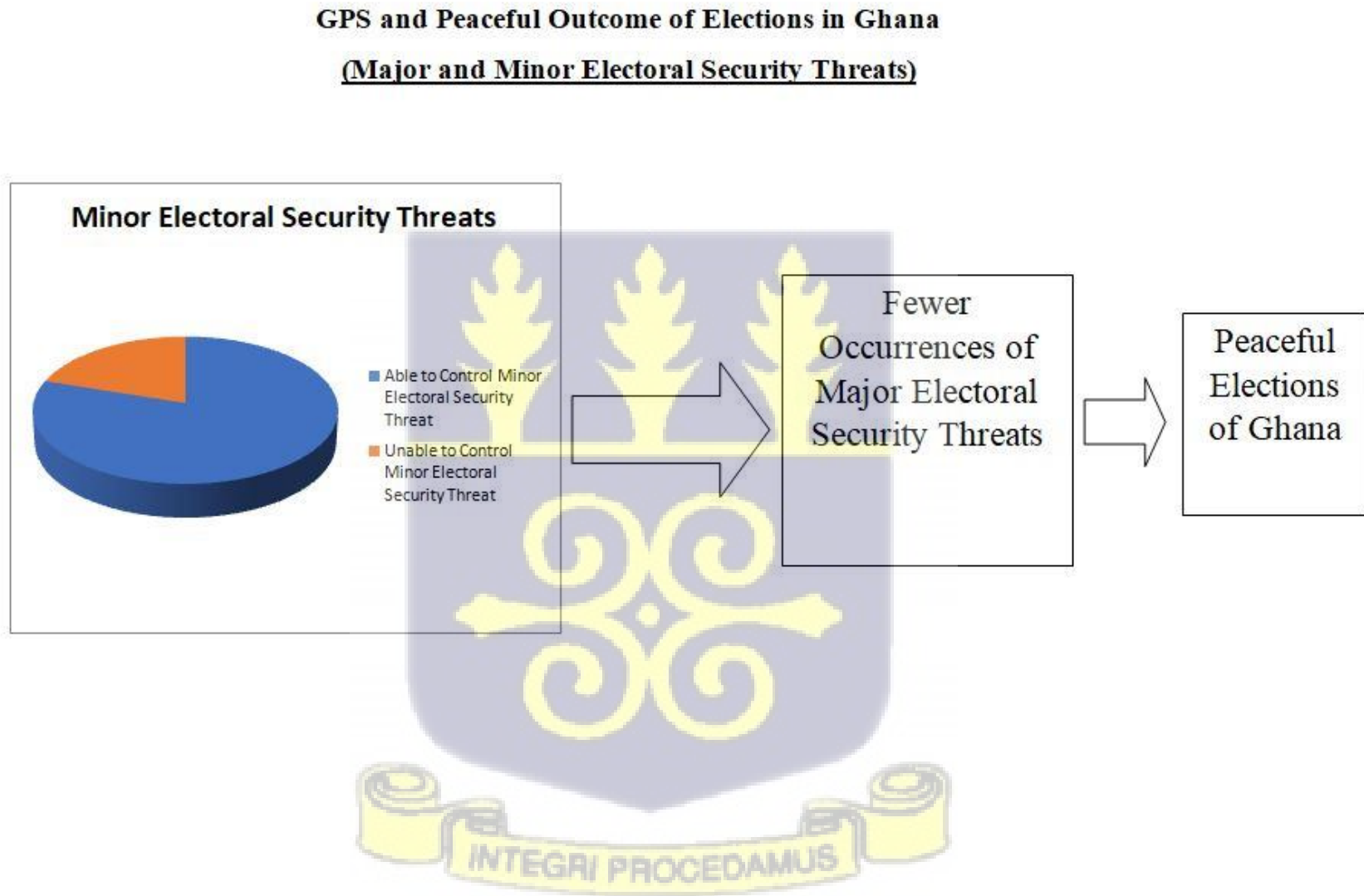
The Broken Windows Theory is applied to the current study to emphasize on the contribution of police forces in promoting peaceful elections by controlling or addressing minor electoral security threats and preventing or limiting the occurrence of major electoral security threats. Minor electoral security threats in the context of the current study represent security issues such as the safety of voters and other election stakeholders, the safety of electoral offices, materials, polling and coalition centers, private and public properties. The spread of false electoral and security information, threats on electoral officers and other election stakeholders and maintenance of law and order, limited logistics and funds for security officers (police officers), all of which must be well managed and addressed by police forces to ensure peaceful electoral processes and prevent the occurrence of other major and more serious electoral security issues.

The Major electoral security threats in the context of the current study are security issues closely associated with the minor electoral security threats and hinders the peaceful conduct of an election. These major security concerns includes the snatching of ballot boxes, violent clashes among political party supporters, political intimidation and violent attacks, public riots and disorder, violent physical attacks on political leaders, electoral officers, and other election stakeholders, coup d'etats and the inability of security officers to respond quickly to security emergencies.

The current study, therefore, posits that the Ghana Police Service in contributing to the promotion of peaceful elections must control minor electoral security issues by ensuring the protection of electoral officers, voters, and electoral materials and also prevent the occurrence of related major electoral security challenges in the form of ballot box snatching, political intimidation, and brutalities and coup d'etats which can affect the peaceful conduct of elections in Ghana. Failure of the Ghana Police Service to control the spread of false electoral and security information (minor electoral security threat), for instance, can also result in public riots and disorder, destruction of public and private properties, and possible violent physical attacks on political leaders and electoral officers among others. Limited availability of funds and logistics by the Ghana Police Service (minor electoral security threat) can in addition result in the inability of the Ghana Police Service to respond quickly to electoral security issues (major electoral security concern).

The current study, therefore, establishes that in order for the Ghana Police Service to ensure peaceful electoral processes in Ghana particularly within the Fourth Republic, both minor and major electoral security threats must be addressed before, during and after the conduct of elections in Ghana as illustrated in the diagram below:

Figure 3: GPS and Peaceful Outcome of the Elections in Ghana



2.3.4 Justification for Theoretical Framework

The Systems Theory and the Broken Windows Theory both provide essential benefits to the current study and are suitable for achieving the research objectives. The Systems theory is suitable for examining the contribution of the Ghana Police Service as a key element in the electoral system of Ghana when it comes to promoting peaceful elections. The contribution of the Ghana Police Service in ensuring a peaceful electoral process before, during, and after elections is examined through the benefits of Easton's (1957) Systems Theory model. The Broken Windows Theory also benefits the current study in examining minor and major electoral security threats that the Ghana Police Service must deal with in ensuring peaceful elections of Ghana and identify possible minor and major security challenges confronting the Ghana Police Service in contributing to peaceful elections and recommend solutions to fix such existing challenges (broken windows).

2.5 Chapter Summary.

The chapter two of the study was focused on the literature review which was divided into empirical review and theoretical review. The empirical review addressed existing studies relating to police forces and peaceful elections in Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, and Ghana. Studies relating to the peaceful nature of Ghanaian elections, challenges facing police forces in promoting peaceful elections, and measures aimed at addressing such existing challenges were also examined with the aim of clearly bringing out the research lacuna which the current study seeks to fill. The chapter also addressed various theories which underpinned the research. The study elaborated on the Systems Theory and the Broken Windows Theory. The system theory was elaborated upon in this study because security officers in performing their duties during elections function and

interdepend on other institutions and organizations within the context of an electoral system to conduct a peaceful, credible, free, and fair election. The system theory locates the Police Service of Ghana as a major stakeholder in the conduct of elections and helps the researcher to explore the major contributions of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of a peaceful Ghanaian electoral process. The Broken Windows Theory also benefits the current study as it allows the researcher to examine the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in dealing with minor security threats in order to prevent the occurrence of major or bigger security threats. The Broken Windows Theory also benefits the study in examining minor and major electoral security challenges that hinder the Ghana Police Service from contributing to peaceful elections and recommended solutions to such challenges.



CHAPTER THREE

OVERVIEW OF THE GHANA POLICE SERVICE AND RESEARCH

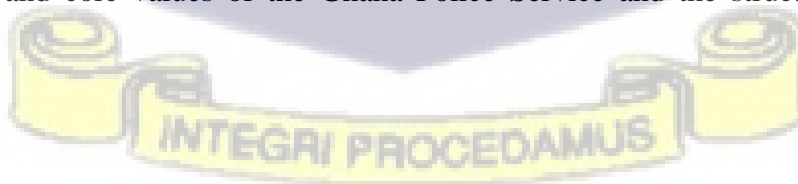
METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the Ghana Police Service and the methodology adopted for the study. In relation to the overview of the Ghana Police Service, the chapter outlines the history of the service, the structure of the service and Special Forces within the Ghana Police Service, and the constitutional mandates of the Ghana Police Service. Concerning the methodology of the study, the chapter presents the research design to be adopted, the study population, the sampling techniques and procedures, the sample determination, the data collection method, and the primary data collection. Issues of validity and reliability of the data collection instrument, data collection procedure, data processing and analysis, ethical considerations, and limitations to the study are also outlined in this chapter.

3.1 Overview of the Ghana Police Service

This section presents the overview of the Ghana Police Service by giving a brief history of the Ghana Police Service prior to independence, the transition of the Ghana Police Service after independence, and the legal framework of the Ghana Police service. The section also gives the mission, vision, and core values of the Ghana Police Service and the structure of the Ghana Police Service.



3.1.1 Brief History of the Ghana Police Service

Present-day policing in Ghana was initiated by British Colonial Authorities when Captain George Maclean in 1831 attempted to train militiamen employed to protect the colonial authorities and trade on formal policing. The Police Ordinance of 1894, however, laid the foundation for civil policing in the Gold Coast (Afari, 2004). Boateng and Darko, (2016) states that at the passage of the Police Ordinance of 1894, the strength of the Gold Coast Police Force was made up of four hundred constables.

In 1902, the existing Gold Coast Police Force was divided into Escort, General, Railway, and Marine Police. The Marine Police Force established between 1916 and 1930 also developed into the Customs, Excise, and Preventive unit. The Intelligence Unit and Special Branch of the Gold Coast Police Force was established after the 1948 riots and in 1949 the Wireless division was formed, and the Women Police Division was established in 1952 (Afari, 2004). After the 1948 riots, and “Young Report, 1951” several changes occurred within the Gold Coast Police Force, such as the appointment of Mr. E.R.T Madjitey as the first Ghanaian to head the police force after 1957. The 1969 constitution subsequently made the Ghana Police Force part of the public service act and later the 1979 constitution (Act, 350) of the Ghana Police Service was also established (Afari, 2004).

3.1.2 Transition of the Ghana Police Service

Atuguba, (2007) states that the Gold Coast Police Force which existed during colonial rule operated and functioned for the benefit of the colonial authorities. The main objective for the establishment of the Gold Coast Police Force was to function as an instrument of the colonial

authorities for managing insurgents and riots and ensuring obedience to existing rules and regulations which largely benefited the interest of the colonial administration (Ansah-Koi, 1987). The Ghana Police Force which existed after independence in 1957 was also used by the existing governments for a similar purpose as the British colonial authorities.

The Ghana Police Force was largely controlled and served the interest of the government in power (Atuguba, 2007; Ansah-Koi, 1986). The shifting of the police institution from Gold Coast Police Force during colonial rule to the Ghana Police Force after independence and finally the Ghana Police Service according to Ansah-Koi (1987) was due to the desire to portray the police institution of Ghana as a service existing for the interest and welfare of the people. Aning (2006) argues that the 1969 constitution after independence recognized the Ghana Police Force as a service.

3.1.3 The Legal Frameworks of the Ghana Police Service

The 1992 Constitution is the main legal framework regulating the activities of the Ghana Police Service within the Fourth Republic. The core duties of the Ghana Police Service under the provisions of the 1992 constitution is the maintenance of law and order. The constitution also establishes the Police Council and the Regional Police Committee (Boateng & Darko, 2016). The composition of the Police Council following provisions of the 1992 constitution includes; the Vice President as the Chairman, the Interior Affairs Minister, the Inspector General of Police, a lawyer from the Ghana Bar Association, the Attorney General or his deputy, a member of the Association of Retired Senior Police Officers, two officers of the Ghana Police Service appointed by the president in consultation with the Council of State and two additional members

also appointed by the president (Boateng & Darko, 2016; Aning, 2015). The Police Council plays an advisory role to the president on matters concerning the police such as finance, budgeting, promotion, and the general roles of the Ghana Police Service.

The Regional Police Committee on the other hand comprises of the regional minister as the chairman and other members operating within the region including two highest-ranking members of the Ghana Police Service in the region, one representative from each district of the region, a practicing lawyer from the Ghana Bar Association, a representative from the office of the Attorney General and a member of the regional house of chiefs. The Regional Police Committee is charged with the duty of advising the Police Council on policing issues relating to the regions. The Inspector-General of Police is the head of the Ghana Police Service and is appointed by the president in consultation with the council of state (Boateng & Darko, 2016; Aning, 2015).

The 1979 Constitution (Act 350) is another legal framework that guides the operations of the Ghana Police Service. The roles of the Ghana Police Service under the provisions of the 1979 Constitution (Act 350) include the prevention and detection of crime, arresting lawbreakers, and protecting lives and properties. Act (350) of the 1979 Constitution also addresses matters concerning the Condition of Service and Structure of the Ghana Police Service, issues on Complaints and Offenses, Unsatisfactory and Misconducted actions, Volunteer Police Units, and Miscellaneous and Supplemental matters. The provisions of Act 350 further establish the existence of private security agencies and procedures for filling vacant positions in the Ghana Police Service; by promotion, transfers, recruitment, or reduction in rank (Boateng & Darko, 2016; Aning, 2006).

Other existing legal frameworks such as the Police Service Regulations 1974 (LI 993) and Police Force Regulations 1974 (LI 993) provide the standards of police conduct and various disciplinary measures within the Ghana Police Service (Boateng & Darko, 2016). The Security Service Act (202) of 1963 on the other hand does not deal explicitly with the Police Service, however, elements of its jurisdiction were equated to the functioning of the Police Service. The 1969 constitution also recognized the police force as a public service and contains provisions for the existence of a Police Council (Aning, 2006).

3.1.4 The Vision, Mission, and Values of the Ghana Police Service

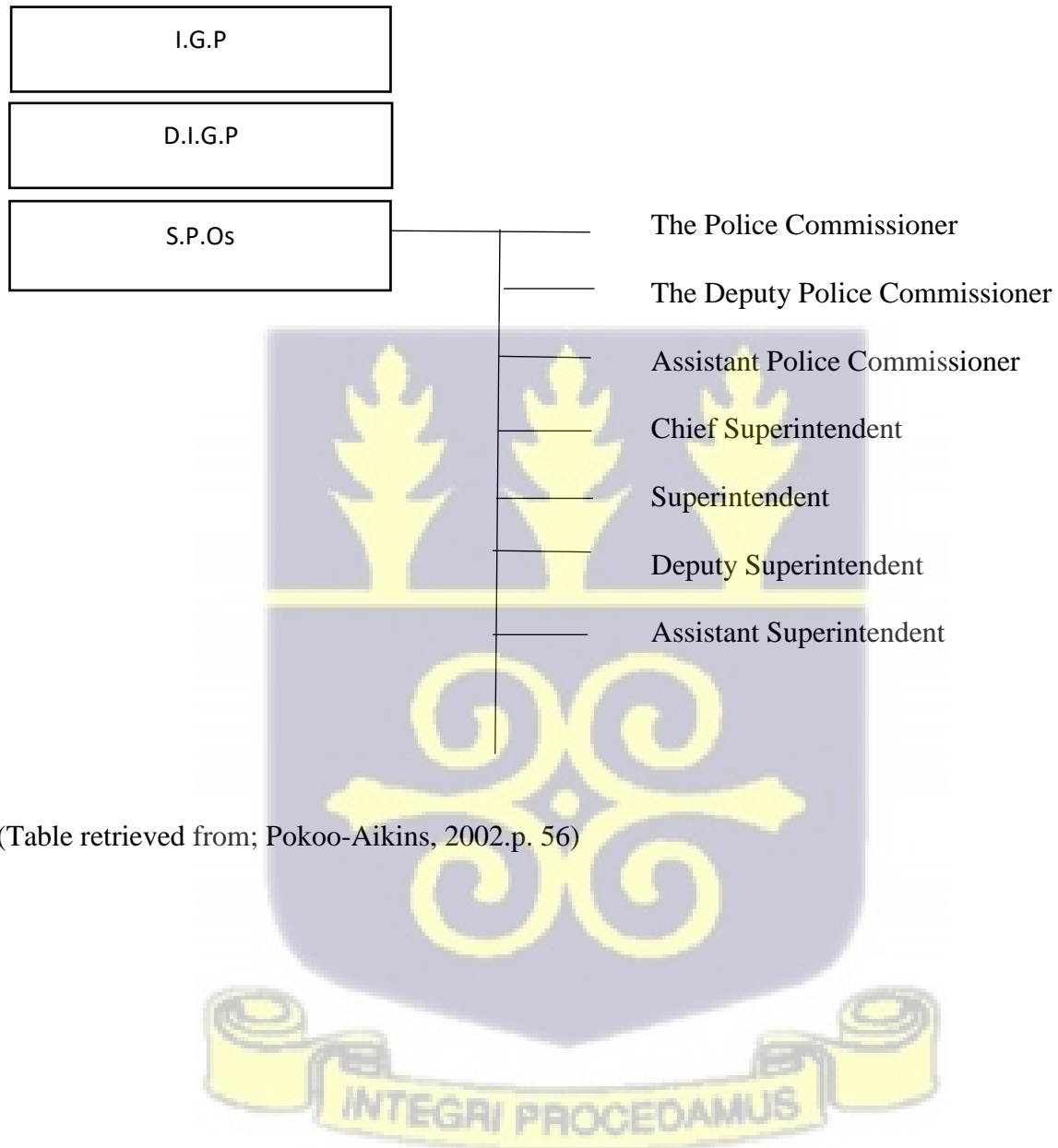
The Ghana Police Service has a vision of ensuring a safe and secure atmosphere that encourages economic and social activities and a mission of delivering security services professionally for all people living in Ghana and making the country safe for legal business transactions. In achieving the mission and vision statement, the Ghana Police Service adheres to the values of honesty, firmness, and fairness in police activities (Pokoo-Aikins, 2002).

3.1.5 Structure of the Ghana Police Service

The Ghana Police Service has a unitary command under the Inspector General of Police and a centralized system of operation from the national level to the district level. The District Headquarters reports to the Divisional Headquarters and the divisions also report to the Regional Headquarters. The Regional Headquarters subsequently report to the National Headquarters (Sowatey & Tankebe, 2019). The highest-ranking position of the Ghana Police Service ranges from the position of Inspector General of Police to Assistant Superintendent of police while low-

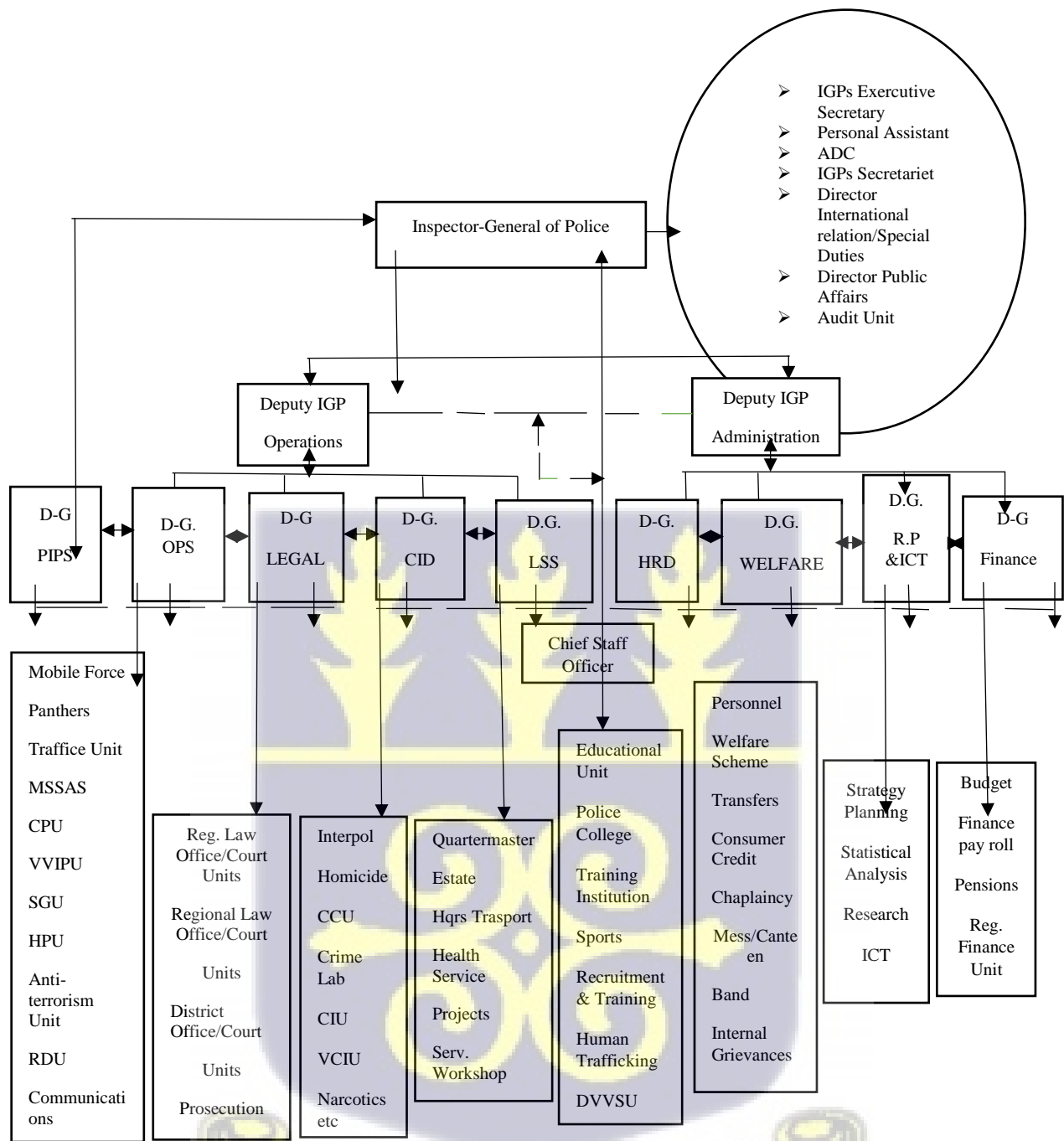
ranking positions usually non-commissioned officers include; Sergeant, Corporal, Lance-Corporal, and Constables (Ebbe, 2008) as illustrated in the two diagrams below.

Figure 4: Rank Structure of The Ghana Police Service; Senior Police Officers



(Table retrieved from; Pokoo-Aikins, 2002.p. 56)

Figure 5: Organizational Structure of the Ghana Police Service



(Twum, 2011.p.14)

3.1.6 Special Units of the Ghana Police Service

The Ghana Police Service has special units such as the Formed Police Unit (FPU), Motor Transport and Traffic Directorate (MTTD), Highway Patrol Unit (HPU), Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), National Protection Unit (NPU), Arms and Ammunitions, Mounted Squadron, Special Weapons, and Tactics Unit (SWAT). The special units of the Ghana Police Service are deployed for duties such as the maintenance of law and order, crowd, and riot control (GPS, 2008). The Motor Transport and Traffic Directorate (MTTD), for instance, is in charge of enforcing traffic rules and regulations on roads, investigating road accidents, and performing escort and dispatch duties (Afari, 2004; Twum, 2011; Pokoo-Aikins, 2002).



3.2 Research Methodology

This section presents the methodology, which was the procedure undertaken to address the research questions and realize the objectives of the study. The section outlines the research design adopted, the study population, the sampling techniques and procedures, the sample determination, the data collection method, and the primary data collection. The section also elaborates on issues of validity and reliability of the data collection instrument, data collection procedure, data processing and analysis, ethical considerations, and limitations to the study.

3.2.1 Research Design

The investigation of the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana within the Fourth Republic requires that a picture of the role of the Ghana Police Service in elections be presented as it occurred naturally. The research design that is able to achieve this most appropriately is the descriptive design (Neuman, 2007). Descriptive design was adopted because of the quest of the study to describe in further detail the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana within the Fourth Republic.

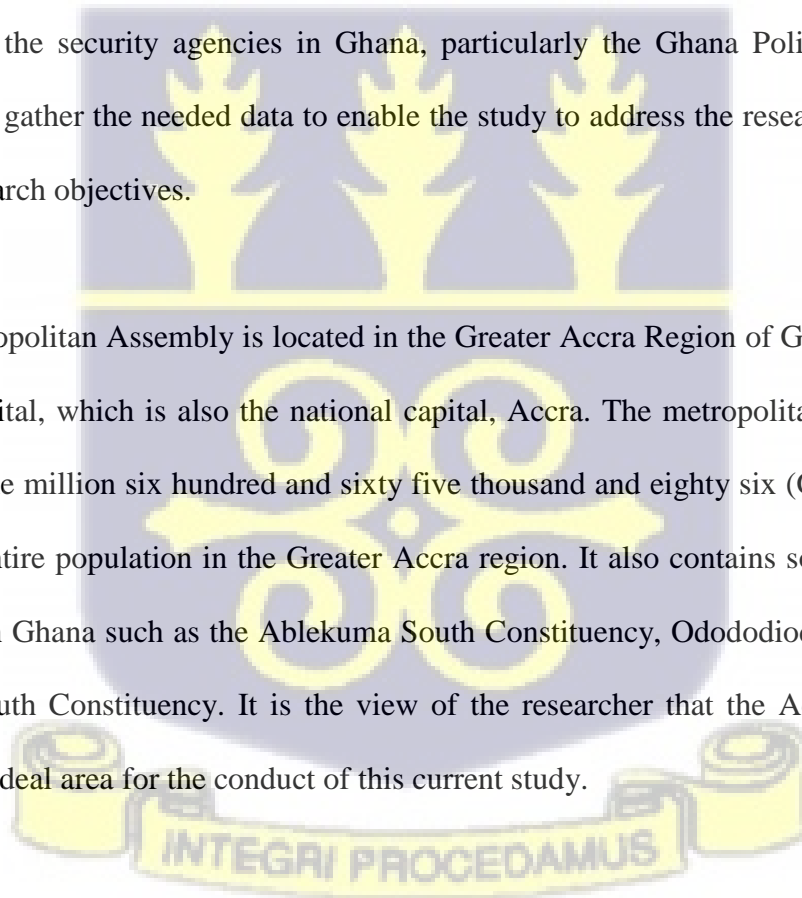
In adopting the descriptive research design, a mixed approach of quantitative techniques and qualitative techniques was used through the administration of questionnaires and the conduct of semi-structured interviews with 130 stakeholders of elections in Ghana within the Fourth Republic. Views and opinions were gathered in relation to the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in the promotion of peaceful elections and the challenges they face in the performance of this role. A mixed approach was adopted for this study because of the advantages of qualitative

and quantitative techniques gives the study, thereby making it detailed enough for the answering of the research questions and the achievement of the research objectives.

3.2.2 Scope of the Study

The study was carried out in the Greater Accra region of Ghana with a particular focus on the Accra Metropolitan Assembly. This area was selected because of its cosmopolitan nature which makes it a good representation of the entire country. Again, the Accra Metropolitan Assembly encompasses a number of constituencies made up of several polling stations which form a good representation of the country at large. The Accra Metropolitan Assembly also has almost all the headquarters of the security agencies in Ghana, particularly the Ghana Police Service which makes it easy to gather the needed data to enable the study to address the research questions and achieve the research objectives.

The Accra Metropolitan Assembly is located in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana and contains the regional capital, which is also the national capital, Accra. The metropolitan assembly has a population of one million six hundred and sixty five thousand and eighty six (GSS, 2014) which is 42% of the entire population in the Greater Accra region. It also contains some of the largest constituencies in Ghana such as the Ablekuma South Constituency, Odododiodioo Constituency and Okaikoi South Constituency. It is the view of the researcher that the Accra Metropolitan Assembly is an ideal area for the conduct of this current study.



3.2.3 Population of the Study

According to Asiamah et al (2017) the population of a study is the group of individuals, objects, persons, or subjects from which a researcher can select samples for measurement. For the purpose of this study the population comprised of personals from the Ghana Police Service, the Electoral Commission of Ghana, the National Peace Council, Civil Society Organizations, the Media, and the general public. Although the entire population of the Accra Metropolitan is one million six hundred and sixty five thousand and eighty six according to the 2014 population and housing census report of the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS), the population that is accessible to the researcher was about 500. The accessible population comprised of respondents from the Ghana Police Service, the Electoral Commission of Ghana, the National Peace Council, Civil Society Organizations, the Media, and the general public.

3.2.4 Techniques and Procedures of Sampling

Although the accessible population for the study was about 500 respondents, Kumekpor (2002) is of the view that a technique or process must be adopted that allows the researcher to select a section of a population based on which inferences can be made about the entire population. This selected section of the population is referred to as the sample and its size and method of selection are elaborated below.

3.2.4.1 Determination of Sample Size

In determining the sample size of the current study, the convenient sampling technique was used to select a sample population of 222 respondents, however, after the data collection was concluded data was gathered from only 190 of the sample size based on which processing and

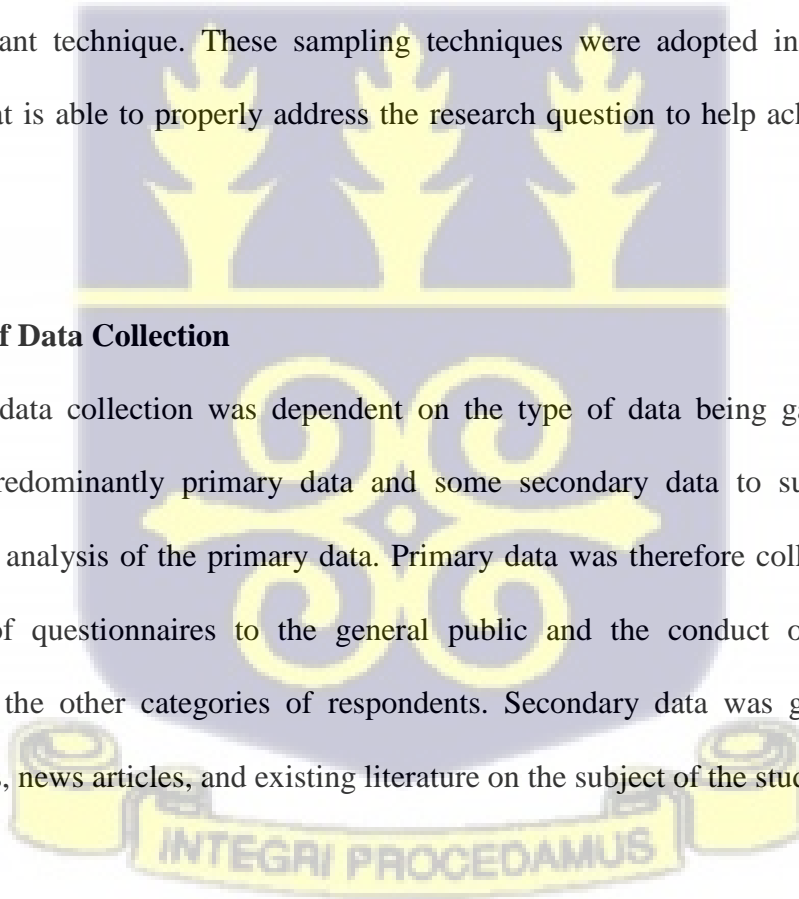
analysis were done. The convenient sampling technique was adopted because the researcher does not seek to generalize the findings of the study.

3.2.4.2 Method of Sampling

The method of sampling of the respondents for the study varied based on the means by which the data was to be gathered. In the case of data to be gathered from the general public, the respondent employed the use of questionnaires hence the method of sampling employed was simple random sampling. The data to be gathered from the remaining categories of respondents was to be gathered through semi-structured interviews hence the method of sampling employed was key informant technique. These sampling techniques were adopted in order to get the required data that is able to properly address the research question to help achieve the research objective.

3.2.5 Methods of Data Collection

The method of data collection was dependent on the type of data being gathered. The data gathered was predominantly primary data and some secondary data to support the results produced by the analysis of the primary data. Primary data was therefore collected through the administration of questionnaires to the general public and the conduct of semi-structured interviews with the other categories of respondents. Secondary data was gathered from the review of reports, news articles, and existing literature on the subject of the study.



3.2.6 Data Gathering Instruments

The data gathering instruments used comprised of a structured questionnaire for the gathering of data from the general public and an interview guide for the semi-structured with the other categories of respondents. The structured questionnaire had four main sections comprising of open and closed-ended questions. The first section was based on the demographic information of the respondents, the second section was on the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in peaceful Ghanaian elections, the third section was on challenges faced by the Ghana Police Service in contributing to peaceful elections, and the final section focused on how the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections can be improved. The questionnaire sections were predominantly Likert scale questions with the respondents required to indicate their level of agreement with various statements concerning the subject of the section.

The design of the interview guide was in two forms: one for the respondents from the Ghana Police Service and the other for the other categories of respondents. The interview guide for the Ghana Police Service Respondents focused on determining the role they play to promote peaceful elections, the challenges they face, and how the challenges can be mitigated to enhance their work. The interview guide for the other categories of respondents focused on their partnership with the Ghana Police Service to promote peaceful elections and their assessment of the role of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in Ghana.

3.2.7 Validity and Reliability of Instruments

According to Opoku (2005), test-retest reliability is one of the best ways that reliability can be obtained in the course of research. For the purpose of validity, pre-survey testing was carried out

on 20 respondents to ensure the suitability of the information in the questionnaire and to address any issues that may arise in the course of the study. Bryman and Bell (2003) also argue that validity and reliability tests are crucial in order to ensure all items needed to form a total score for research are interrelated as well as amassed. To achieve this, the study employed the “Cronbach’s alpha” technique. Cronbach’s alpha is defined by Bryman and Bell (2003) as an index of reliability that is related to the variation accounted for by the actual score of the underlying construct under study. The test is accepted at a research range of 0.70 to 0.90 with a greater value representing a strong relationship and vice versa according to Tavakol and Dennick, (2011)

3.2.8 Procedures for Data Gathering

The process of data collection varied based on the mode of data collection. In relation to the collection of data with a questionnaire, the researcher mostly introduced himself and the purpose of the study to the respondent and explains to them that participation is purely voluntary, and they could opt to discontinue at any point. The research tried as much as possible to simplify the items in the questionnaire and where the respondent is not literate, provide interpretation in a language familiar to the respondent. This was possible because the questionnaires were administered through face-to-face interaction.

The procedure for the gathering of data using the interview guide required the researcher to present an introductory letter to the headquarters of the institution of the categories of respondents. The institutions responded after several follow-ups and assigned key personnel that are allowed to address the questions asked in the interview guide. In most cases, a senior officer

with key information about the subject matter was assigned to respond to the questions. Other officers that play several roles in various aspects of the institutions in relation to the role of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful election were also assigned to answer the questions in the interview guide in order to ensure that the responses given were accurate.

3.2.9 Data Processing and Analysis

The data gathered through the administration of questionnaires and the conduct of structured interviews were processed by editing, coding, classifying, and tabulating to identify the central themes upon which discussions will be made. The editing, coding, and classifying helped in determining the consistency in responses and identifying particular patterns in the responses of the respondents. After the editing, coding, and classification, the researcher entered the data in Microsoft Excel and SPSS software to generate basic statistics that help in determining the accuracy of the data and to identify outlier responses. The Data was further analyzed in tables of frequencies, percentages, and measures of central tendency and deviations for the purpose of discussion.

3.2.10 Ethical Considerations

Oliver (2010) explained ethics to refer to the ability of the researcher to protect the privacy of the respondents contacted for the study. Thus, there is the need to seek their consent and assure them of the confidentiality of the information collected. To avoid any abuse of the socio-culture and emotional rights of the respondents, consent was sought from all respondents. The questionnaire was administered to only those who agreed to take part in the study. The respondents were assured of the confidentiality of the information collected and were informed that it is used

purposely for the study under consideration and nothing else. Participation in the survey was voluntary and respondents were free to withdraw their participation in the survey once they informed the researcher about their decisions. The respondents were also prevented from writing their names to ensure anonymity in the information collected.

3.2.11 Limitations of the Study

The conduct of this study was not without challenges although most of the challenges were overcome by the researcher, there remained a few that were beyond the control of the researcher. Amongst these was the unwillingness of respondents to take time off their busy schedules to respond to the research questionnaires and the interview guides. Although the efforts of the researcher to convince the respondents to respond to the questionnaires and interview guide yield significant results, a total of 32 responses were not received and this limited the sample to 190 respondents. Due to the scope of the study, there is a possibility of the findings of the study not being applicable to all cases in relation to the subject matter of the study particularly outside of Ghana as laws governing elections and security forces vary from country to country. In spite of these limitations, the researcher is of the view that the study to a large extent answers the research questions and achieves the objectives of the study.

3.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the overview of the Ghana Police Service detailing the history of the service, its mission, vision and core values, its structure, and the legal framework within which it operates. The methodology of the study was also outlined in this chapter by bringing to the fore the research design, the scope of the study, the data collection procedure and tools, and the

sampling techniques and sample size. The chapter concluded by presenting the validity and reliability of the study, ethical considerations for the study, and the limitations of the study.



CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and presentation of data gathered through the administration of questionnaires and the conduct of semi-structured interviews. The chapter began with a profile of respondents to whom the questionnaires were administered and with whom the semi-structured interviews were conducted. This was followed by a descriptive analysis of the responses of the questionnaires administered and a narrative analysis of the responses gathered from the respondents concerning the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in the conduct of peaceful elections in Ghana. The analysis of responses from the respondents also included the challenges faced by the Ghana Police Service and various means through which the challenges can be addressed.

4.1 Background of Respondents

This section presents the analysis of demographic information gathered from the respondent from whom the questionnaires were successfully retrieved, and interviews conducted. Out of the sample of 222 respondents amongst whom questionnaires were administered and interviews conducted, responses were successfully obtained from 190 of them. This section, therefore, presents the analysis of the gender, level of education, category of respondents, and number of elections participated in by the 190 respondents.

4.1.1 Gender of Respondents

Table 4.1 Gender of Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	107	56.3
Female	83	43.7
Total	190	100.0

Source: Survey data, 2020

Table 4.1 above shows the gender of the 190 respondents whose responses were successfully retrieved. Out of the 190 respondents, 107 representing 56.3% were males whilst the remaining 83 respondents representing 43.7% were females. This shows the sample was fairly balanced in terms of gender and the finding may be applicable to all.

4.1.2 Level of Education of Respondents

Table 4.2 Level of Education of Respondents

Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage
Secondary Level	82	43.2
Tertiary Level	54	28.4
Professional	33	17.4
Others	21	11.1
Total	190	100.0

Source: Survey data, 2020

The level of education of the respondents was asked to determine their level of literacy in order to comprehend the questions in the questionnaires as well as interview guides to respond to them

appropriately. In response to the question on their level of education, 82 respondents representing 43.2% indicated that their level of education is secondary, 54 respondents representing 28.4% indicated that their level of education was tertiary, 33 respondents responded that their level of education was professional qualification and the remaining 21 respondents representing 11.1% responded that their level of education were others such as vocational and technical education level. It can be seen from the responses that all the respondents have a fair level of literacy to understand the questions in the questionnaires and address them accordingly. The researcher however made himself available in situations where any respondent faced a challenge in understanding the requirements of the questionnaires or interview guide.

4.1.3 Categories of Respondents

Table 4.3: Categories of Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Ghana Police Service	52	27.4
Media Organisation	10	5.3
Civil Society	6	3.2
Electoral Commission	2	1.1
Political Party Representatives	4	2.1
National Peace Council	2	1.1
General Public	114	60.0
Total	190	100.0

Source: Survey data, 2020

The category of the respondent was required to help identify the respondents who were given questionnaires and the respondents that were involved in the conduct of semi-structured interviews. From Table 4.3, it can be seen that the 190 respondents comprised of 52 respondents representing 27.4% were from the Ghana Police Service, 10 respondents representing 5.3% were from media organizations, 6 respondents representing 3.2% were from Civil Society organizations, 2 respondents representing 1.1% were from the Electoral Commission, 4 respondents representing 2.1% were political party representatives, 2 respondents representing 1.1% were from the National Peace Council and the remaining 114 respondents representing 60.0% were members of the general public. It is important to note that a total of 76 respondents representing 40% were involved in the conduct of semi-structured interviews whilst the 60%, that the 114 forming the general public were administered with questionnaires.

4.1.4 Number of Participations in Elections

Table 4.4 Number of Participations in Elections

	Frequency	Percentage
1 to 2	46	24.2
3 to 4	78	41.1
5 to 6	37	19.5
7 to 8	29	15.3
Total	190	100.0

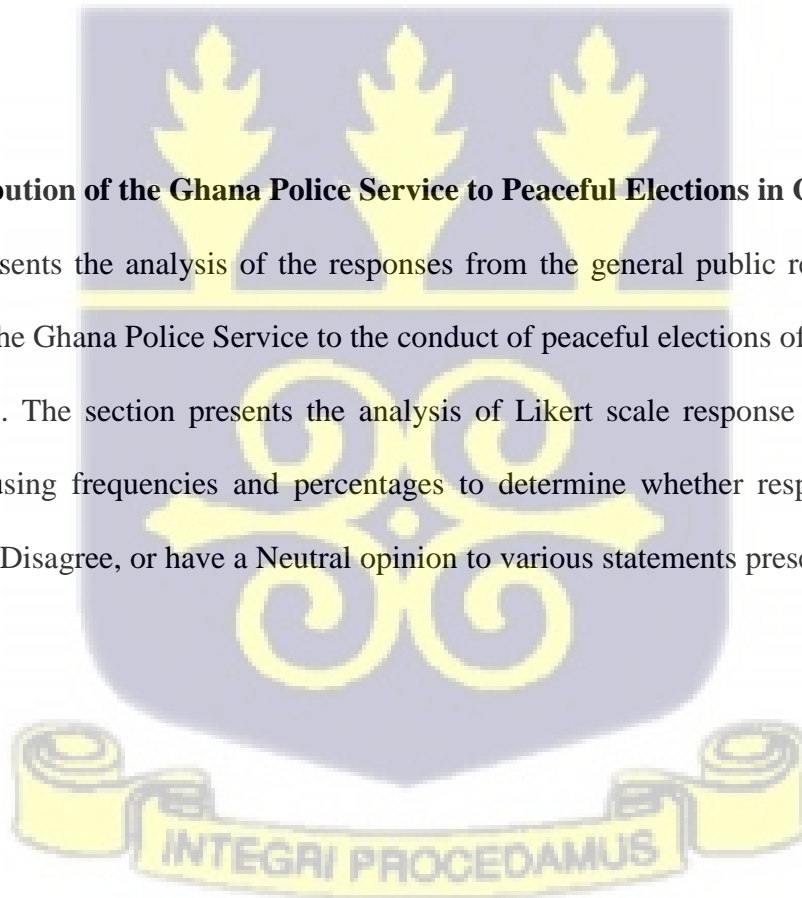
Source: Survey data, 2020

The study required the respondents to indicate the number of times they have participated in the Elections of Ghana in the Fourth Republic. The idea behind this question is to determine if the

respondents have experience with elections in Ghana within the Fourth Republic in order to better respond to the subject matter of the study. In response to this, 46 respondents representing 24.2% indicated that they had participated 1 to 2 times in the elections of Ghana in the Fourth Republic, 78 respondents representing 41.1% indicated that they had participated 3 to 4 times, 37 respondents indicated that they had participated 5 to 6 times and the remaining 29 respondents representing 15.3% indicated that they had participate 7 to 8 times in the elections of Ghana within the Fourth Republic. The response shows that all the respondents had taken part in elections within the Fourth Republic of Ghana and were well-positioned to respond appropriately to the questionnaires and interview guide.

4.2 The Contribution of the Ghana Police Service to Peaceful Elections in Ghana

This section presents the analysis of the responses from the general public respondents on the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the conduct of peaceful elections of Ghana within the Fourth Republic. The section presents the analysis of Likert scale response in relation to the subject matter using frequencies and percentages to determine whether respondents Strongly Agree, Strongly Disagree, or have a Neutral opinion to various statements presented in the Likert scale.



Contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the Promotion of Peaceful election (Pre-Election Phase)

Table: 4.5 Ghana Police Service and Minor Electoral Security Threats (Pre-Electoral Phase)

Statement for Minor Electoral Security Threats	Frequency			Percentages		
	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral
Does GPS ensure peaceful elections by controlling activities of homeless people and macho-men (heavy bodybuilders), political thugs and vigilante groups?	70	22	N.R	36.84	11.58	N.R
Does GPS ensure peaceful Elections by controlling spread of false information	62	36	N.R	32.63	18.95	N.R
Total	190			100%		

Table 4.6: Ghana Police Service and Major Electoral Security Threats (Pre-Electoral Phase)

Statement for Major Electoral Security Threats	Frequency			Percentages		
	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral
Does GPS ensure peaceful pre-election outcome by preventing political intimidations and brutalities	82	26	N.R	43.16	13.68	N.R
Does GPS ensure peaceful pre-election, outcome by preventing: public riots, violent political clashes among party supporters during voter registration and political campaigns, breakdown of law and order within the public	70	12	N.R	36.84	6.32	N.R
Total	190			100%		



Table 4.5 and table 4.6 above illustrate the response rate from the General Public regarding the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in dealing with major and minor electoral security threats (concerns) to promote peaceful elections during the pre-election phase of Ghana. The respondents with a response rate of 36.84% (70) and 32.63 (62) for minor electoral security threats as shown in table 4.5 strongly agreed that the Ghana Police Service has contributed to the peaceful outcome of the pre-election phase of Ghana by controlling minor electoral security issues like activities of homeless people and macho-men (heavy bodybuilders), political thugs, vigilante groups and spread of false electoral security information which are minor electoral security threats. In relation to the major electoral security threats represented by table 4.6, respondents from the General Public with a 43.16% (82) and 36.84% (70) response rate also strongly agreed to the position that the Ghana Police Service has contributed to the promotion of peaceful pre-election outcomes in Ghana by preventing major electoral security threats like political intimidation and brutalities, violent clashes among opposition party supporters particularly during voter registrations and election campaigns, violent attacks on electoral offices and materials, violent riots and breakdown of law and order within the public.

On the other hand, some respondents represented by a response rate of 11.58% (22) and 18.95% (36) in the case of the Minor Electoral Security Threats strongly disagreed that the Ghana Police Service has successfully managed minor electoral security threats in the pre-election phase of Ghana. In relation to the Major Electoral Security Threats as indicated in table 4.6, a response rate of 13.68% (26) and 6.32% (12), shows that some respondents also strongly disagreed that the Ghana Police Service has contributed to the promotion of peaceful pre-election outcomes in Ghana in relation to dealing with major electoral security threats. The respondents revealed that

minor electoral security threats such as activities of political vigilantism and violent activities of party loyalist still characterizes the pre-electoral phase of Ghanaian elections which the Ghana Police Service has failed to fully address leading to the increase in major electoral security threats. The respondents, for instance, stated that clashes between opposition party supporters (mainly the New Patriotic Party and the National Democratic Congress) at Awutu Senya East Constituency during the 2020 voter registration exercise witnessed a Member of Parliament and Minister of State Mavis Hawa Koomson, allegedly firing gunshots at the voter registration center. The inability of the Ghana Police Service to prevent such minor electoral security threats according to the respondents led to major electoral security threats like public disorder and riots in the country.

In all, a total aggregate response of 69.47% and 80% indicates that the majority of the respondents strongly agreed to the fact that the Ghana Police Service promote peaceful elections (pre-election phase) by dealing with minor and major electoral security threats respectively while a total aggregate response of 30.53% and 20% strongly disagreed that the Ghana Police contributes to the promotion of peaceful elections (pre-election phase) by dealing with minor and major electoral security threats respectively as illustrated in the diagram below.

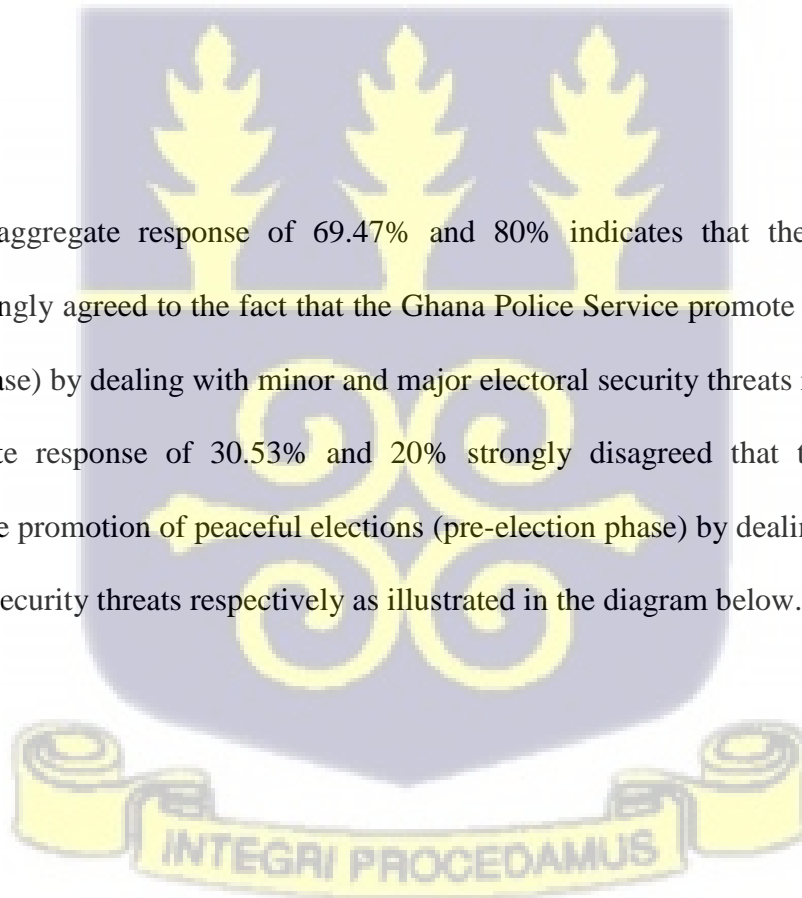
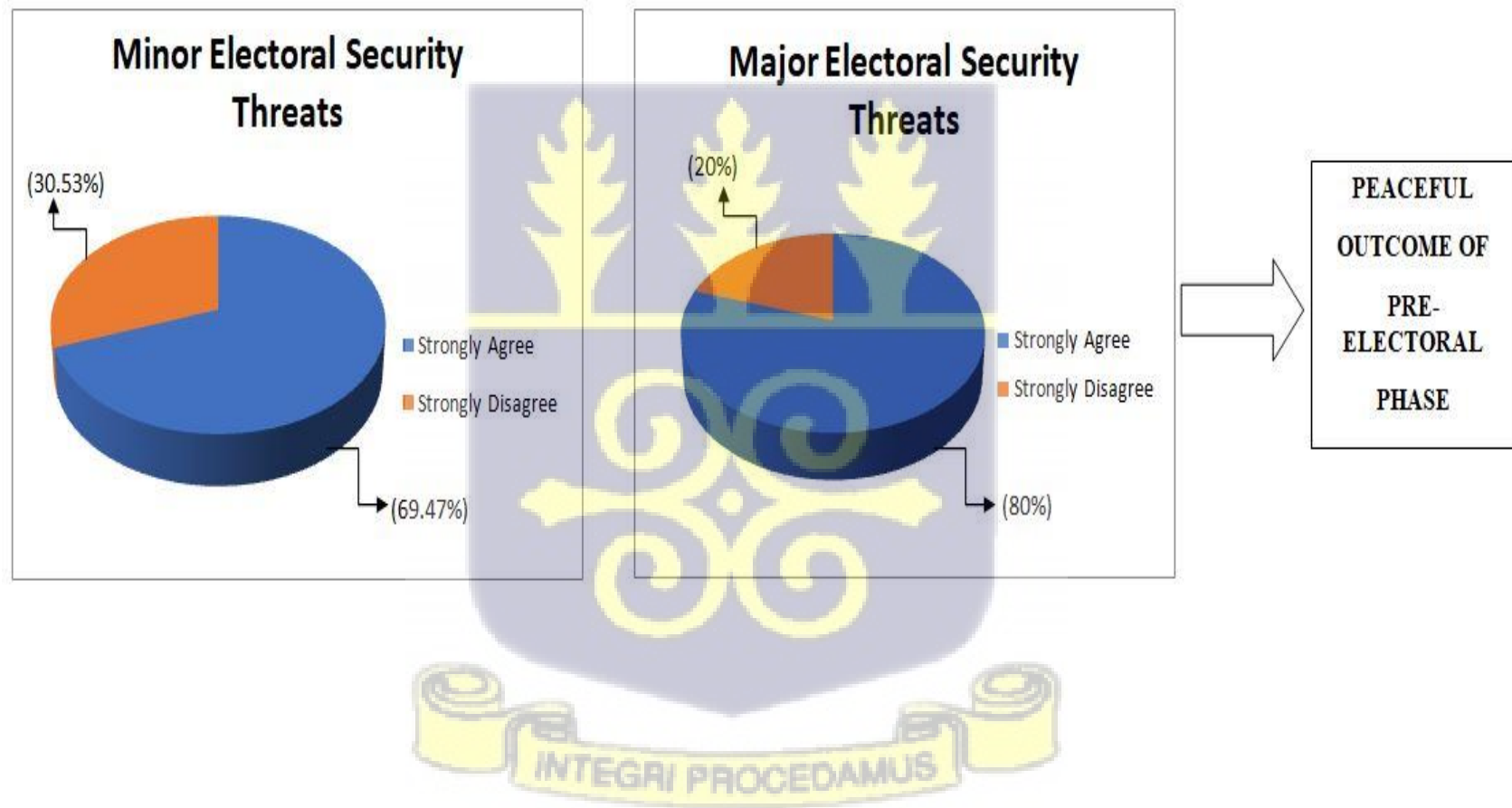


Figure 6: GPS and Peaceful Outcome of the Elections in Ghana (Pre-Electoral Phase)

GPS and Peaceful Outcome of the Pre-Electoral Phase of Ghana
(Major and Minor Electoral Security Threats)



Contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the Promotion of Peaceful elections (During-Election Phase)

Table 4.7 Ghana Police Service and Minor Electoral Security Threats (During-Electoral Phase)

Statement for Minor Electoral Security Threats	Frequency			Percentages		
	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral
Does GPS contribute to peaceful elections (on election day) by protecting: voters and other election stakeholders in Ghana, prevent breakdown of law and order, and political vigilantism	72	20	N.R	37.89	10.53	N.R
Does GPS contribute to peaceful elections (on election day) by protecting: electoral officers and materials, electoral offices, polling centers, public and private properties	73	25	N.R	38.42	13.16	N.R
Total	190			100%		

Table 4.8: Ghana Police Service and Major Electoral Security Threats (During-Electoral Phase)

Statement for Major Electoral Security Threats	Frequency			Percentages		
	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral
Does GPS contribute to peaceful elections (on election day) by preventing: political intimidations and brutalities, clashes among party supporters, and breakdown of public order?	60	24	N.R	31.59	12.63	N.R
Does GPS contribute to peaceful elections (on election day) by preventing: ballot box snatching, attacks on electoral officers and materials, violence at polling stations, public riots and violence, damage to public and private properties	90	16	N.R	47.37	8.42	N.R
Total	190			100%		

The above tables indicate the response rate from the General Public on the efforts of the Ghana Police Service in controlling major and minor electoral security threats aimed at promoting peaceful elections on election day. The respondents with a response rate of 37.89 (72) and 38.42 (73) as shown on table 4.7 strongly agreed that the Ghana Police Service contributes to the promotion of peaceful elections on the day of an election in controlling minor security threats by protecting: voters, media officers, party agents, election observers and all existing election stakeholders in Ghana. In relation to the major electoral security threats represented by table 4.8, respondents from the General Public with a 31.58% (60) and 47.37% (90) response rate strongly agreed that the Ghana Police Service contributes to the promotion of peaceful elections on the day of the election in addressing major electoral security threats by preventing: political intimidations and brutalities, clashes among party agents, breakdown of public order, attacks on electoral materials, officers and offices, violence at polling stations and damage to private and public properties.

On the other hand, some respondents represented by 10.53 (20) and 13.16% (25) response rate strongly disagreed as indicated in Table 4.7 that the Ghana Police Service contributes to the promotion of peaceful elections on election day when it comes to addressing minor electoral security threats. A response rate of 12.6% (24) and 8.42 (16) in terms of addressing major electoral threats indicates that some respondents strongly disagreed that the Ghana Police Service promotes peaceful elections on election days as illustrated in table 4.8 above. The respondents from the general public who strongly disagreed with both minor and major electoral threats revealed that Ghana still records major electoral security threats of political intimidations on voters, media personnel, and electoral officers among others. Citing cases of violent attacks on

voters and electoral officers at Chireponi By-election in 2009, and Ayawaso West Wuogon By-election in 2019 the respondents emphasized that the minor security issues such as the safety of voters, electoral officers and materials, and other election stakeholders in Ghanaian elections have not been properly taken care of by the Ghana Police Service leading to major electoral security threats in the form of increase public tension and violence on election day in Ghana.

A total aggregate response of 76.31% and 78.95% indicates that the majority of the respondents strongly agreed to the fact that the Ghana Police Service promote peaceful elections (on election day) by dealing with minor and major electoral security threats respectively while a total aggregate response of 23.69% and 21.05% strongly disagreed that the Ghana Police contributes to the promotion of peaceful elections (on election days) in dealing with minor and major electoral security threats respectively as illustrated in the diagram below.

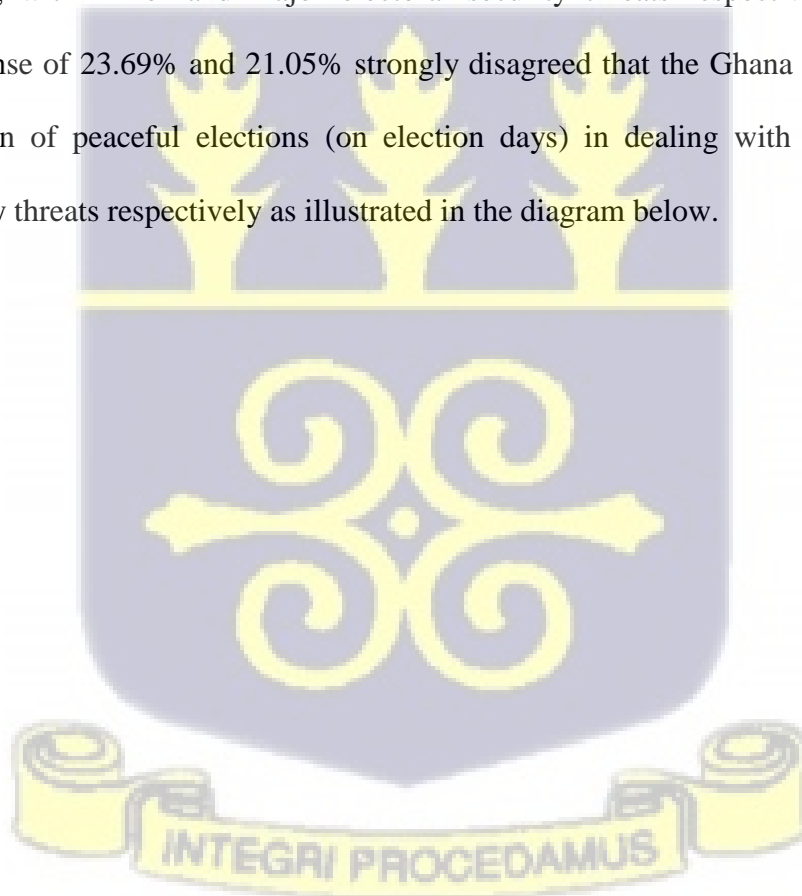
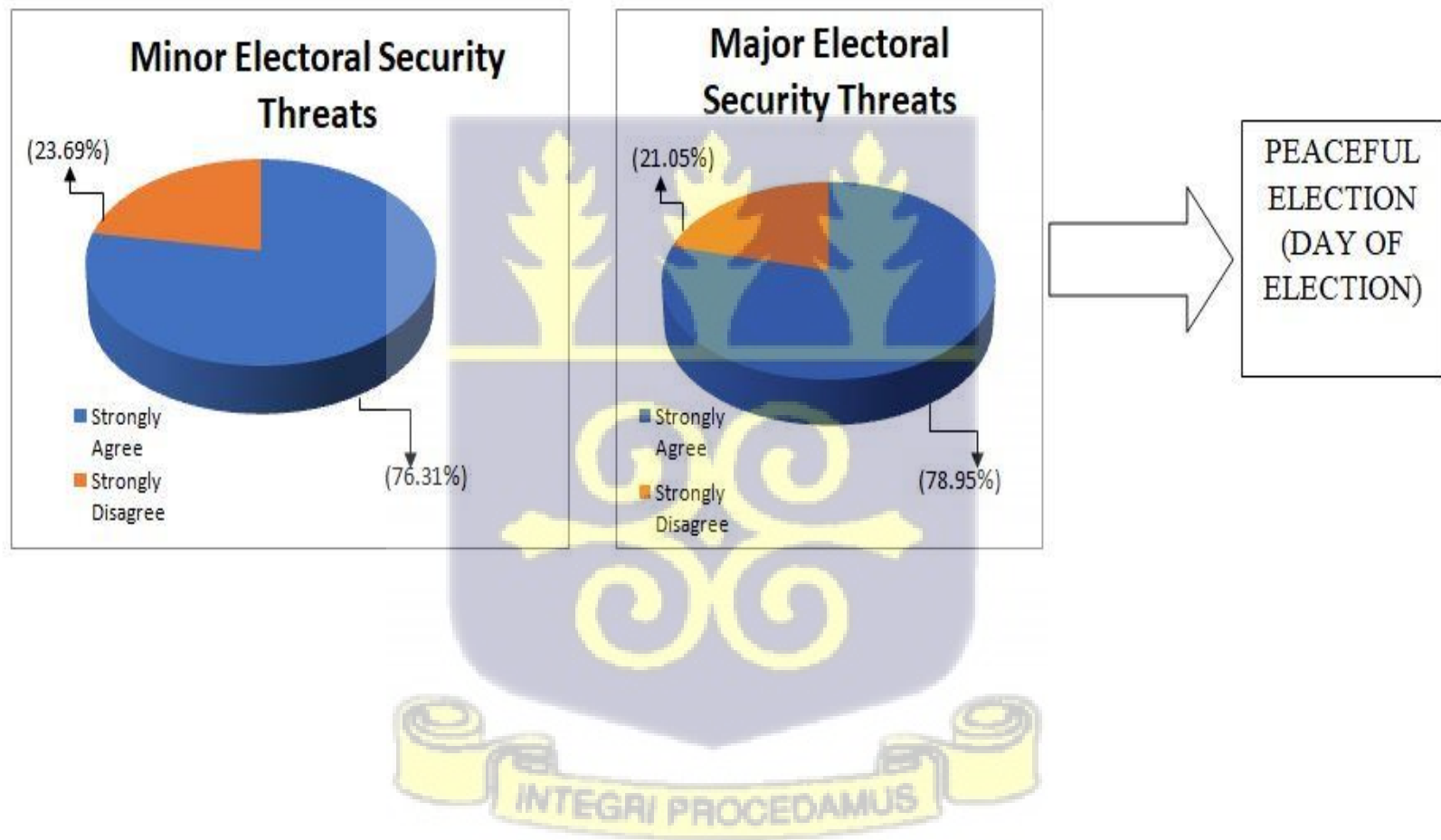


Figure 7: GPS and Peaceful Outcome of the Elections in Ghana (During-Electoral Phase)

GPS and Peaceful Outcome of the Electoral Phase (Day of Election) in Ghana
(Major and Minor Electoral Security Threats)



Contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the Promotion of Peaceful election (Post-Election Phase)

Table 4.9: Ghana Police Service and Minor Electoral Security Threats (Post-Electoral Phase)

Statement for Minor Electoral Security Threats	Frequency			Percentages		
	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral
Does GPS ensure peaceful elections by protecting: the electoral office, officers and materials, coalition centers, public and private properties, and maintaining law and order within the public, protecting: voters, elected officials, Judicial Officers (Judges)	60	10	22	31.58	5.26	11.58
Does GPS ensure the peaceful outcome of the post-electoral phase by controlling unlawful declaration of electoral results and the spread of false information political?	30	50	18	15.79	26.32	9.47
Total	190			100%		

Table 4.10: Ghana Police Service and Major Electoral Security Threats (Post-Electoral Phase)

Statement for Major Electoral Security Threats	Frequency			Percentages		
	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral	Strongly Agree	Strongly Disagree	Neutral
Does GPS ensure the peaceful outcome of the post-electoral phase by controlling: public riots and violence, violent clashes among opposition parties, destruction of public and private properties	59	40	10	31.05	21.05	5.26
Does GPS ensure the peaceful outcome of the post-electoral phase by preventing: violent attacks or assassination of elected political leaders, electoral officers and Judicial Officers (Judges), Coup de' tats, and relapse of the Fourth Republic	52	20	9	27.37	10.53	4.74
Total	190			100%		

The above tables indicate the response rates from the general public on the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in ensuring a peaceful post-election phase in Ghana. The respondents with a 31.58% (60) and 15.79% (30) response rates as shown in table 4.9 strongly agreed that the Ghana Police Service contributes to the peaceful outcome of the post-election phase of Ghana in regulating minor electoral security threats by protecting: electoral officers, offices and materials, coalition centers, public and private properties, maintain law and order within the public, preventing threats on voters, elected officials, Judicial Officers (Judges), controlling unlawful declaration of electoral results and spread of false electoral security information. In relation to the major electoral security threats represented in table 4.10, respondents from the General Public with a 31.05% (59) and 27.37% (52) response rates indicated that the Ghana Police Service contributes to peaceful post-electoral outcomes in controlling major electoral security threats by preventing: public riots and violence, violent clashes among opposition parties, destruction of public and private properties, violent attacks or assassination of elected political leaders, electoral officers and Judicial Officers (Judges), Coup de' tats and relapse of the Fourth Republic.

On the other hand, a response rate of 5.26 (10) and 26.32 (50) on table 4.9 indicates that the respondents strongly disagreed that the Ghana Police Service contributes to the promotion of a peaceful post-election phase by addressing minor electoral security offenses. The respondents identified cases of unlawful declaration of election results by political parties and political parties declaring themselves as winners of elections ahead of the official declaration by the Electoral Commission of Ghana as was the case in the 2012 and 2016 elections of Ghana. The issue of threats and violence against political leaders, electoral officers, and even Judges is also common

in Ghanaian elections as witnessed in the 2012 election petition of Ghana where Supreme Court Judges were openly threatened by party supporters. A response rate of 21.05% (40) and 10.53% (20) as illustrated in table 4.10 for major electoral security threats also indicates that respondents strongly disagreed that the Ghana Police Service contributes to the promotion of peaceful post-electoral process in Ghana. The respondents emphasized that the inability of the Ghana Police Service in controlling minor electoral offenses can result in the possible assassination of elected political leaders, electoral officers, and even Judges, public riots and violence, a possible coup de tats, and relapse of Ghana's Fourth Republic. Some respondents were however completely neutral as indicated by an 11.58% (22) and 9.47% (18) response rate on table 4.9 for minor electoral security threats and 5.26% (10) and 4.74 (9) response rate indicated in table 4.10 for major electoral disorders.

An aggregate response rate of 47.37 % and 58.42% indicates that the majority of the respondents overall strongly agreed to the fact that the Ghana Police Service has contributed to the peaceful outcome of the post-electoral phase of Ghanaian elections by controlling both major and minor electoral security threats respectively while 31.58 appear to strongly disagreed to the notion. A total response rate of 21.05% and 10% also shows that some of the respondents were neutral on whether the Ghana Police Service has indeed contributed to the peaceful outcome of the post-electoral phase of Ghanaian elections in dealing with minor and major electoral security threats as illustrated in the diagram below.

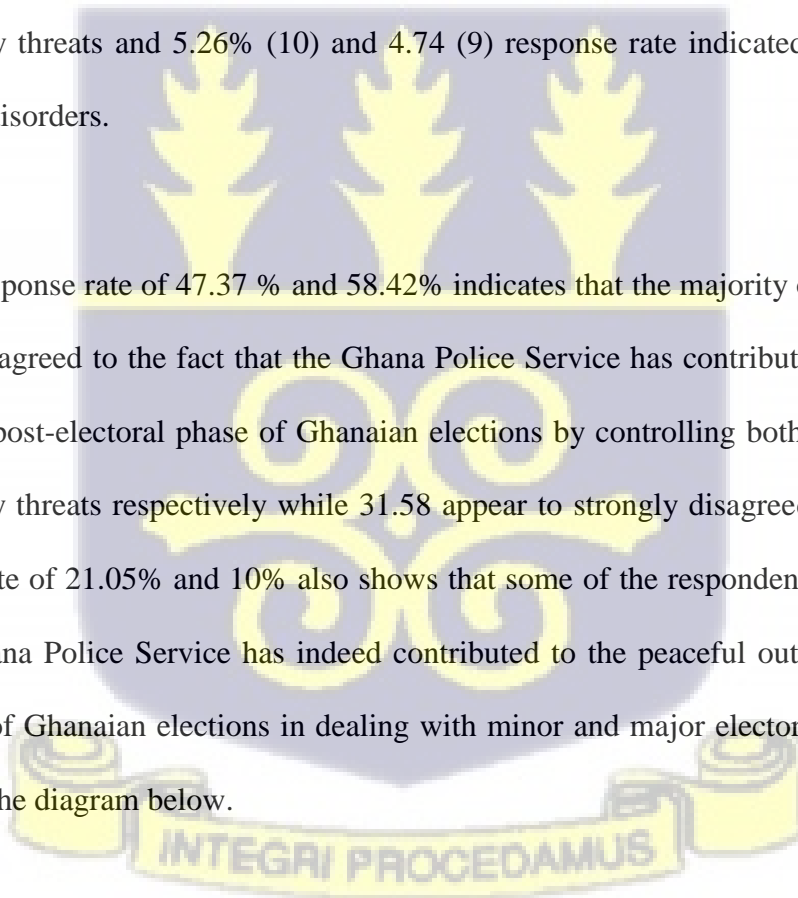


Figure 8: GPS and Peaceful Outcome of the Elections in Ghana (Post-Electoral Phase)

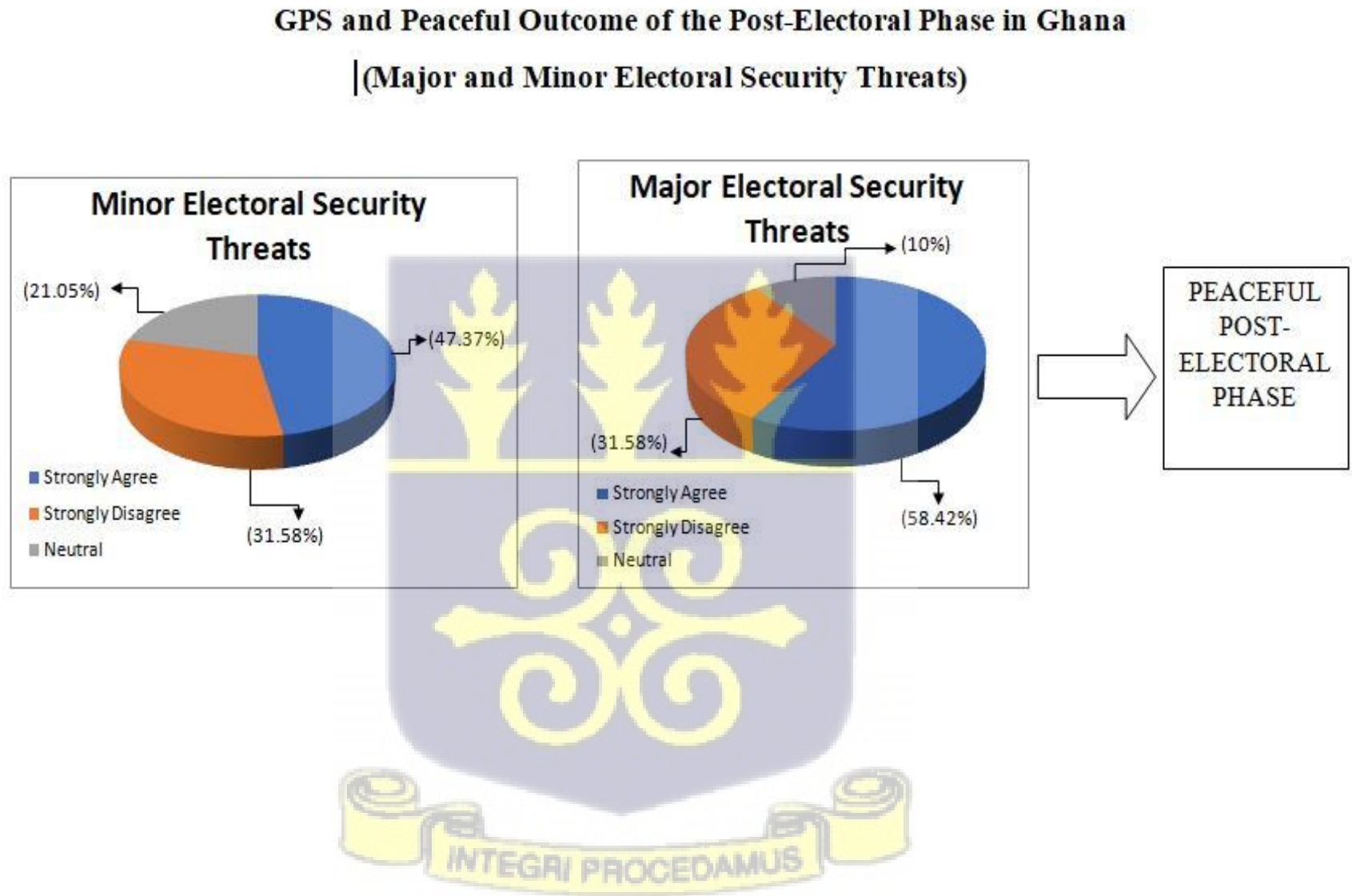
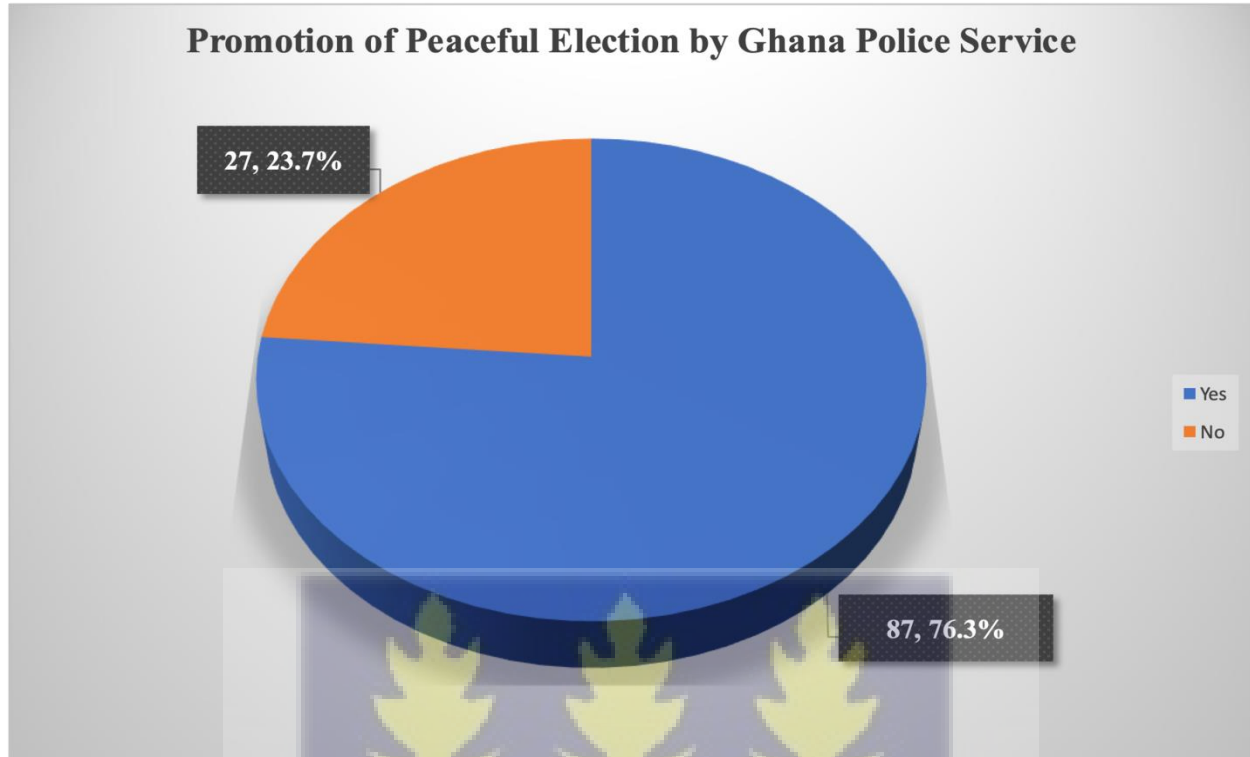


Figure 9: Promotion of Peaceful election by Ghana Police Service



Source: Survey data, 2020

The responses from the respondents in general as shown in figure 9 above proves that 76.3%(87) of the respondents indicated that the Ghana Police Service contributes to the promotion of peaceful elections whilst 23.7% indicated that the Ghana Police Service does not contribute to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana within the Fourth Republic. The respondents who indicated that the Ghana Police Service contributes to peaceful elections in Ghana explained that the Ghana Police Service controls both minor and major electoral security threats (concerns) and is also neutral, impartial, and respects human rights and electoral laws in the performance of their electoral duties.

4.2.1 Readiness of Ghana Police to tackle Election Tensions

This section presents the responses of the respondents in relation to the level of election-related tensions in the country before, during, and after elections. The section also presents the response of the respondents on the readiness of the Ghana Police Service to tackle such tensions to ensure that they do not escalate into violent situations. In analyzing the response of the respondents, the average response was used to determine the level of tension at each stage of the election that is before, during, and after elections. The average response between 0.00 to 1.50 was considered a low level of tension, 1.51 to 2.50 was considered as a moderate level of tension whilst 2.51 to 3.00 was considered as a high level of tension.

Table 4.11 Level of Elections-Related Tension

	Frequency			Percentage		
	Before	During	After	Before	During	After
High	57	132	26	30.0	69.5	13.7
Moderate	70	36	43	36.8	18.9	22.6
Low	63	22	121	33.2	11.6	63.7
Total	190	190	190	1.97	2.58	1.50

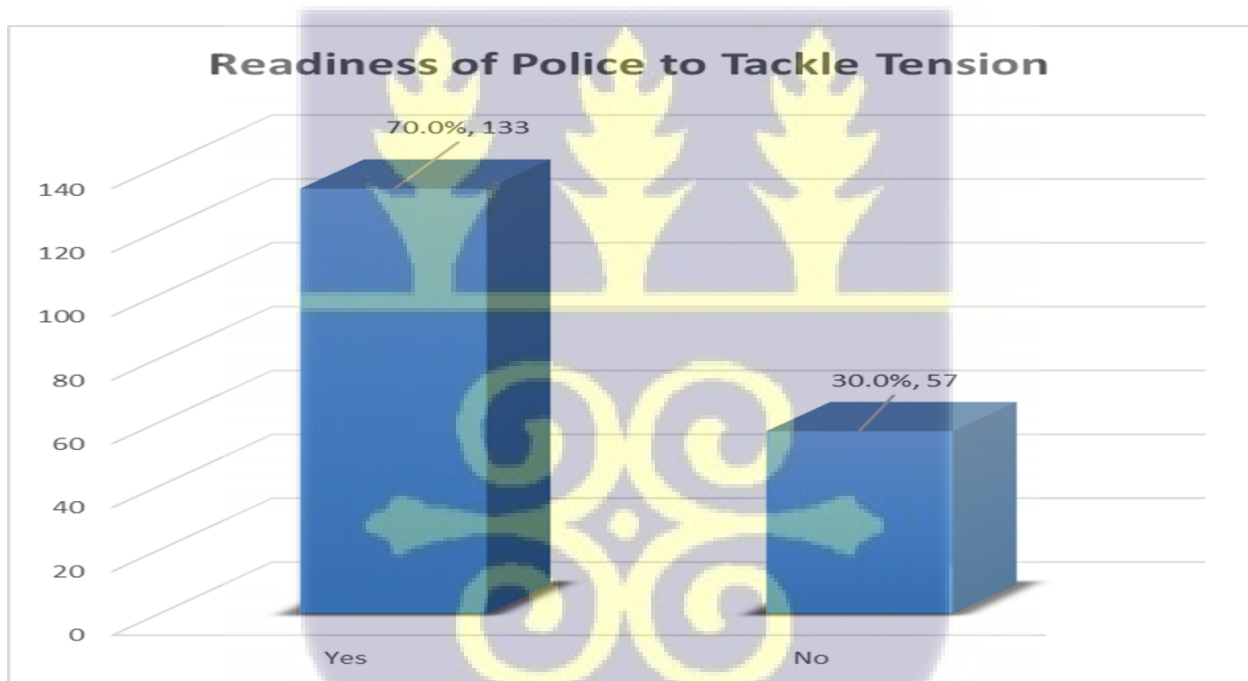
Source: Survey data, 2020

From Table 4.11 above, it can be seen that before elections, 30.0% (57), 36.8% (70), and 33.2% (63) of the respondents indicated that election-related tensions are high, moderate, and low respectively. In relation to during elections, 69.5% (132), 18.9% (36), and 11.6% (22) of the respondents indicated that election-related tensions are high, moderate, and low respectively. After elections, 13.7% (26), 22.6% (43), and 63.7% (121) of the respondents noted that election-related tensions are high, moderate, and low respectively. Using the average response of the respondents, an average response of 1.97 for before election, 2.58 for during election, and 1.50

for after election were recorded indicating that the respondents considered election-related tensions to be moderate before elections, high during elections, and low after elections.

The respondents were further asked to indicate the readiness of the Ghana Police Service to address election-related tensions before, during, and after elections. In response to this 70.0% (133) of the respondents responded in the affirmative whilst the remaining 30.0% (57) indicated that the Ghana Police Service is not ready to address election-related tensions before, during, and after elections.

Figure 10: Readiness of Ghana Police to Tackle Election-Related Tension



Source: Survey data, 2020

4.3 Challenges of the Ghana Police Service in Contributing to Peaceful Elections of Ghana

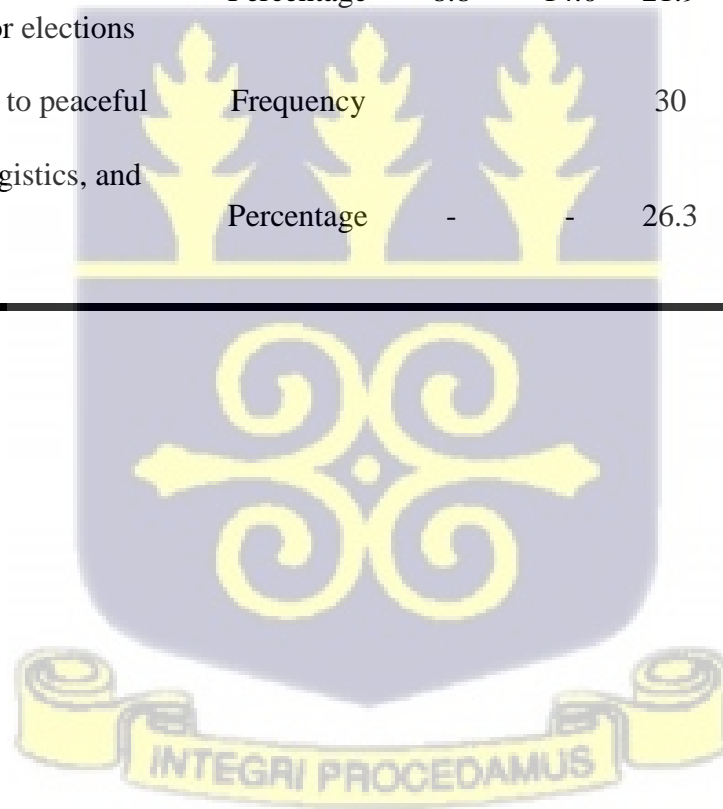
This section presents the analysis of the responses from the general public respondents on the challenges faced by the Ghana Police Service in contributing to peaceful elections in Ghana. The section presents the analysis of Likert scale response in relation to the subject matter using frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations.



Table 4.12: Challenges of the Ghana Police Service in Contributing to Peaceful Elections in Ghana (Minor Challenges)

Statement		SD	D	N	A	SA	TOTAL	M	SD
The GPS is challenged in contributing to peaceful elections because of its political manipulations	Frequency	2	14	21	30	47	114	3.58	1.15
	Percentage	1.8	12.3	18.4	26.3	41.2	100		
The GPS is challenged in contributing to peaceful elections because of its limited training and non-adherence to rules and standards set for elections	Frequency	10	16	25	21	32	104	3.41	0.99
	Percentage	8.8	14.0	21.9	18.4	28.1	91		
The GPS is challenged in contributing to peaceful elections because the limited funds, logistics, and personnel	Frequency			30	53	31	114	4.01	0.73
	Percentage	-	-	26.3	46.5	27.2	100		

Source: Survey data, 2020



The respondents from the General Public as indicated on the above table with a mean score of 3.58 and standard deviation of 1.15 agreed that the Ghana Police Service is challenged in contributing to peaceful elections (before, during, and after elections) due to political manipulations and intimidations. The responses identified political manipulations and intimidation as a minor threat that has hindered efforts of the Ghana Police Service in controlling and preventing bigger electoral security challenges such as the violent activities of political vigilantism and intimidations by party foot soldiers and loyalists before, during, and after elections. The respondents from the General Public with a mean score of 3.41 and a standard deviation of 0.99 were however neutral to the fact that limited training and non-adherence to rules and standards set for elections post a challenge to the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections. In the case of limited funds, logistics, and personnel the respondents from the General public agreed with a mean score of 4.01 and a standard deviation score of 0.73 that the Ghana Police Service is unable to contribute effectively to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana due to limited funds, logistics, and personnel.

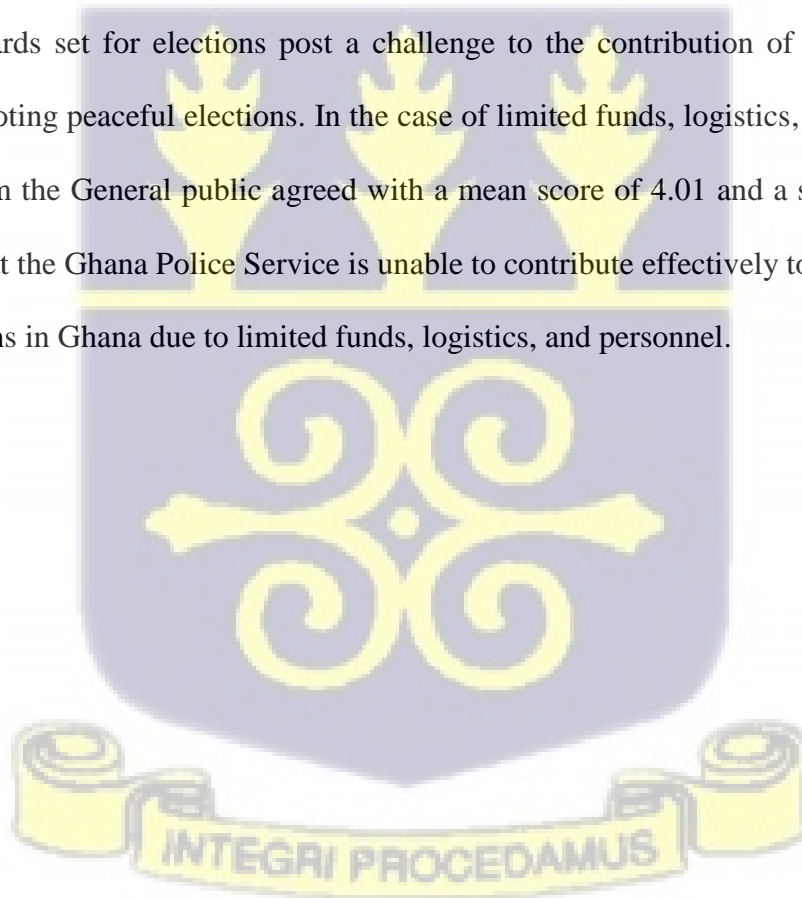
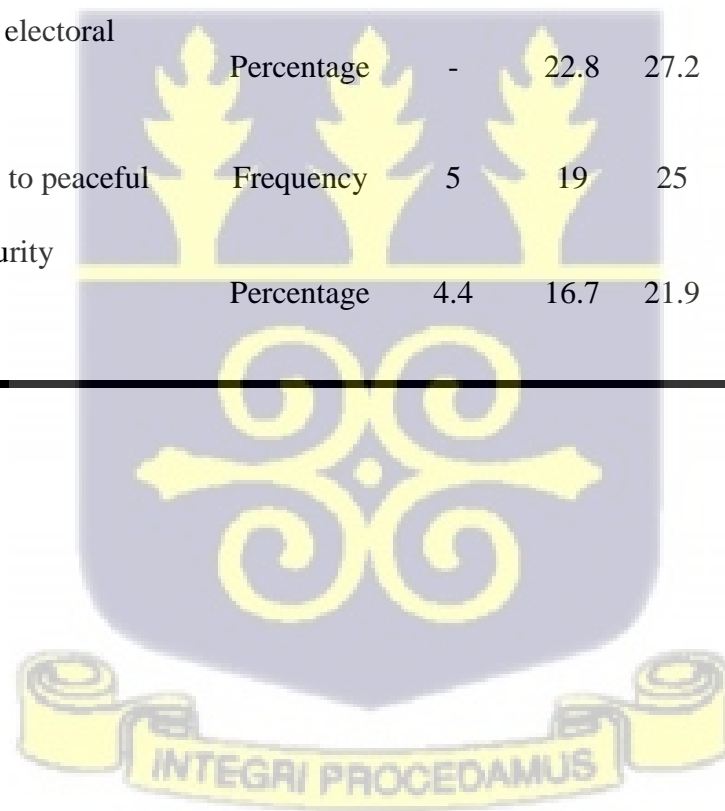


Table 4.13: Challenges of the Ghana Police Service in Contributing to Peaceful Elections in Ghana (Major Challenges)

Statement		SD	D	N	A	SA	TOTAL	M	SD
The GPS is challenged in contributing to peaceful elections because of the existence of parallel security agencies and vigilante groups	Frequency	9	12	19	52	22	114	3.46	1.06
	Percentage	7.9	10.5	16.7	45.6	19.3	100		
The GPS is challenged in contributing to peaceful elections because of its brutalities and electoral violence	Frequency		26	31	41	16	114	3.93	0.11
	Percentage	-	22.8	27.2	36.0	14.0	100		
The GPS is challenged in contributing to peaceful elections in responding quickly to security emergencies	Frequency	5	19	25	49	16	114	3.46	1.06
	Percentage	4.4	16.7	21.9	43.0	14.0	100		

Source: Survey data, 2020



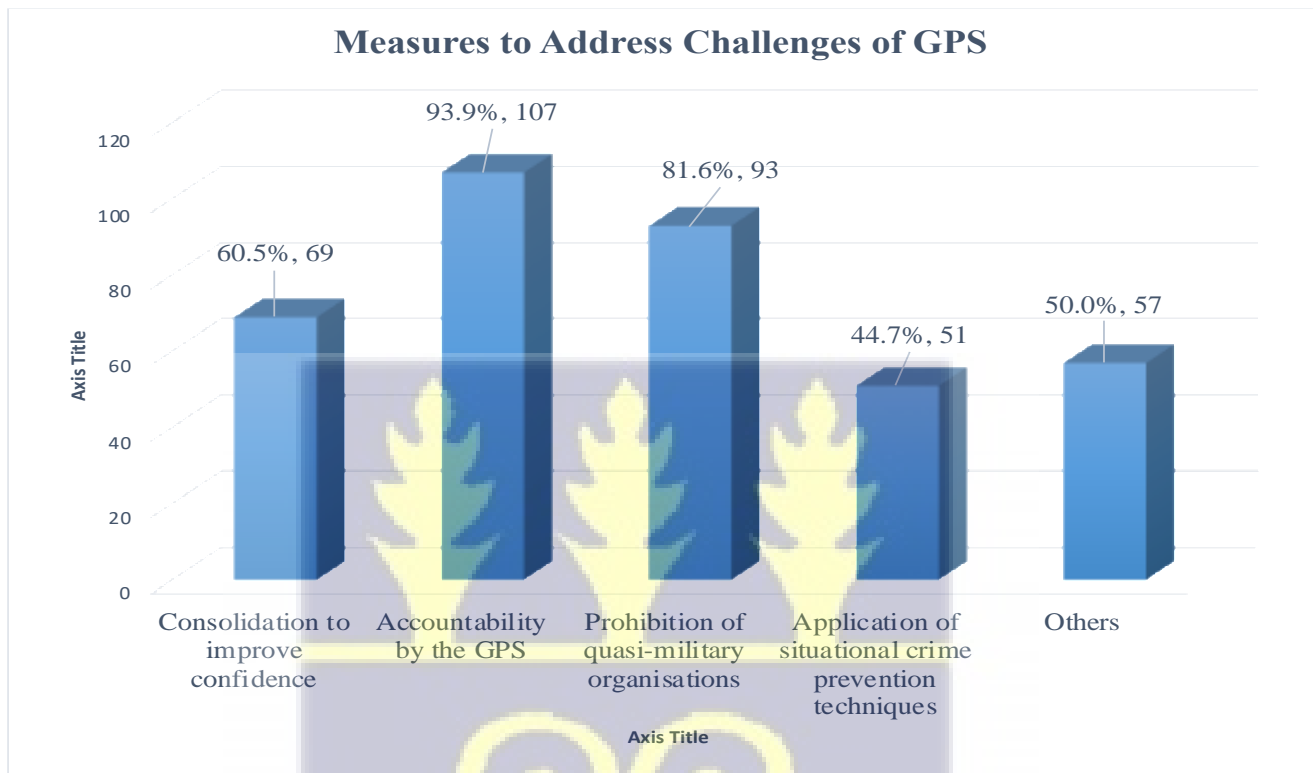
The respondents from the General Public with a mean score of 3.46 and standard deviation of 1.06 as indicated in the table above agreed that activities of parallel security agencies and vigilante groups post a major challenge to the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections and this is due to the challenge of political manipulations and intimidation (minor challenge) of the Ghana Police Service. The respondents with a mean score of 3.93 and a standard deviation of 0.11 were however neutral on police brutalities and violence as a challenge that hinders the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections. The respondents also agreed that the inability of the police to respond quickly to electoral security challenges before, during, and after elections is a major challenge to hindering efforts of the Ghana Police Service in contributing to peaceful elections indicated with a mean score of 3.58 and a standard deviation of 1.15 and this can be linked to the existence of minor challenges of limited funds, logistics, and personnel facing the Ghana Police Service.

4.4 Measures to address challenges faced by the Ghana Police Service in Promoting Peaceful Elections within Ghana.

The respondents were asked to identify measures in their view will help resolve the major and minor security challenges facing the Ghana Police Service in order to improve the performance of the Ghana Police in relation to their contribution to peaceful Ghanaian elections. The responses of the respondents are presented in Figure 8 below which shows that accountability by the Ghana Police Service which was pointed out by 107 of the respondents representing 93.9% was the most required measure to help address the challenges the Ghana Polices Service faces in contributing to peaceful elections. The next most required measure was the prohibition of quasi-military organizations which was identified by 93 respondents representing 81.6%. It is followed

by the consolidation of the electoral system to improve the confidence in the Ghana Police Service pointed out by 69 respondents representing 60.5%.

Figure 8: Measures to Address Challenges of the Ghana Police Service in contributing to peaceful elections.



Source: Survey data, 2020

The application of situational crime prevention techniques was the least identified measure for addressing the challenges faced by the Ghana Police Service in contributing to peaceful elections. The measure was pointed out by 51 respondents representing 44.7%. Other measures were recommended by 57 respondents representing 50.0%. Amongst these measures are the education of the Ghana Police Officers on emotional intelligence, the provision of adequate resources to the Ghana Police Service for the performance of their electoral roles, and the giving

of stiff punishment to Ghana Police Service officers who flout the law during the electoral process.

4.5 Semi-Structure Interviews with Respondents

This section presents the analysis of the semi-structured interviews conducted with 76 respondents comprising of 52 respondents from the Ghana Police Service, 10 respondents from Media organizations, 6 respondents from Civil Society organizations, 2 respondents from the Electoral Commission, 4 respondents from Political Parties, and 2 respondents from the National Peace Council. The 52 respondents from the Ghana Police Service comprised of 6 Divisional Commanders, 8 District Commanders, 6 Assistant Superintendent of Police, 8 Chief Inspectors, 6 Corporals, 8 Sergeants, 6 Constables, and 4 Crime Officers who have played key roles in several elections within the fourth republic of Ghana. The 10 respondents from Media Organisations were senior reporters in major media organizations that report on electoral issues before, during, and after elections. The 6 respondents from the Civil Society Organization comprised the heads of civil institutions that play key roles in the conduct of elections in Ghana. The 2 respondents each from the National Peace Council and the Electoral Commission were senior officers of the institutions that have witnessed the conduct of several elections within the Fourth Republic of Ghana. The 4 respondents from the Political Parties were senior party officials of the two leading political parties in Ghana: The National Democratic Congress (NDC) and The New Patriotic Party (NPP).

It can be seen from the profile of the respondents that they possessed sufficient experience with elections within the Fourth Republic of Ghana to appropriately respond to the questions on

elections in Ghana, particularly, concerning the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in the promotion of peaceful elections within the fourth republic of Ghana. The semi-structured interviews were therefore centered on discussions of the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in the Fourth Republic of Ghana. The analysis of the interview was therefore divided into three main sections: the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful elections within the Fourth Republic of Ghana, the challenges of the Ghana Police Service in the promotion of peaceful elections within the Fourth Republic of Ghana, and the solutions to the challenges of the Ghana Police in the promotion of peaceful elections within the Fourth Republic of Ghana.

4.5.1 The contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the Promotion of Peaceful Elections (Pre-Electoral Phase)

The respondents from the Ghana Police Service revealed that the presence of homeless people, operations of political thugs and macho-men are minor security disorders controlled by the Ghana Police Service through maximum police presence within and around Electoral Offices, voter registration centers, political campaign grounds, and within the general public to avoid the occurrence of bigger security threats such as political intimidations and brutalities, violent clashes among opposition political party supporters, attacks on electoral offices, electoral materials and officers and breakdown of public order. In performing patrol duties, static police functions, and early response to security emergencies, the Ghana Police Service also contributes to the peaceful outcome of the pre-electoral phase in Ghana by guaranteeing the safety of voters, electoral officers and materials, election observers, media personnel, and other election

stakeholders of Ghana. The Ghana Police Service, for instance, maintains security presence: during the printing of ballot papers, in and around electoral offices and other designated areas where electoral materials are kept before Election Day, security is also ensured in and around voter registration and political campaign grounds to prevent violent attacks and political intimidation. The strategic investigation, arrest, and detention of individuals who speculate false electoral and security information has also been a strong contribution of the Ghana Police Service in reducing public tensions and violent clashes among party supporters. Issues of police self-defense, violent riots, unlawful protest or demonstrations, and resistance to arrest sometimes trigger the Ghana Police Service to make use of minimal force as a means of maintaining law and order and ensuring the peaceful conduct of elections, before, during, and after elections. The Ghana Police Service prepares an Operational Order (action plan) and collaborates peacefully with other election stakeholders through the National Election Security Task Force, Regional Election Security Task Force, and the District Election Security Task Force as a means of ensuring peaceful elections. Police Officers are deployed to ensure peaceful elections by performing static, mobile, and standby functions. The static functions are performed at polling stations, electoral offices, coalition centers, party offices, among other vital security zones of Ghana such as the Parliament of Ghana. The mobile functions are patrol duties performed by the patrol units of the Ghana Police Service to provide police surveillance and protection while the standby security duties are managed by special forces of the Ghana Police Service such as the Formed Police Unit (FPU) to regulate public riots and other violent security threats before, during and after elections as a contribution to peaceful elections.

4.5.2 The contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the Promotion of Peaceful Elections (During Electoral Phase)

In contributing to the conduct of peaceful elections on the day of an election, respondents from Ghana Police Service indicated that electoral materials and officers are escorted through safety routes and maximum police presence is maintained in and around polling stations. The police enforce electoral laws particularly at the polling centers through police investigations, arrests, and detentions to prevent major electoral security threats such as double voting, snatching of ballot boxes, political intimidation, brutalities, and an increase in public tension. The safety of voters, media personnel, electoral officers and materials, election observers, and other existing election stakeholders are also guaranteed by the Ghana Police Service on Election Day as part of their contribution towards ensuring peaceful elections by performing standby and mobile police duties. Electoral materials and officers, for instance, are protected by the Ghana Police Service before and during the counting of electoral materials and safely escorted out of the polling centers. The Ghana Police Service continues to maintain law and order in and around electoral offices, party offices, and within the general public as part of police contribution to ensuring peaceful elections on Election Day by performing patrol duties and community policing functions to prevent major electoral security threats of violent political clashes, brutalities, unlawful public gatherings, and political campaigns.

4.5.3 The contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the Promotion of Peaceful Elections (Post-Electoral Phase)

During the post-electoral phase, the contribution of the Ghana Police Service according to the 52 police respondents is still required to ensure peaceful: electoral adjudication processes,

compilation, and announcement of election results and inauguration of elected political candidates, security of elected Political Officials, Judicial Officers (Judges), Electoral Officers and general public safety. The Ghana Police Service, for instance, responds quickly to issues of political threats and hate speech by investigating, arresting, and detaining culprits as strategies to prevent violent attacks or assassination attempts on electoral officers, Judicial Officers (Judges), media personnel, and elected political leaders. The police maintain constant security presence around elected officials (particularly the head of state) to prevent the occurrence of bigger security problems such as political assassinations or violent attacks on elected political leaders, a possible coup de tats, or relapse of Ghana's Fourth Republic. Constant police presence is maintained through static police functions and patrol duties around courts, electoral offices, and coalition centers, and within the general public to maintain law and order and provide police surveillance and security. Public riots and unlawful gatherings are also controlled by the Ghana Police Service to ensure a peaceful outcome of the post-electoral phase of Ghanaian elections.

The 24 other election stakeholders who contributed to the study provided similar responses in relation to the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana. The respondents identified the maintenance of law and order, provision of security for electoral campaigns and voter registrations, protection of lives and properties, protection of electoral materials and officers, and the management of violence as the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana. The respondents also emphasized on police neutrality and professionalism in obeying the electoral laws of Ghana during elections as a contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana.

4.5.4 The Challenges of the Ghana Police Service in the Promotion of Peaceful Elections in Ghana Before, During, and After Elections (Minor and Major Challenges).

The interviewees were asked in their view what they consider as challenges faced by the Ghana Police Service in their contribution to peaceful elections within the Fourth Republic of Ghana. In response, respondents from the Ghana Police Service identified inadequate personnel as minor security challenges facing the Ghana Police Service in contributing to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana. Police Officers needed for static, mobile, and standby security operations before, during, and after elections especially in violent prone electoral areas are inadequate and this has over the years contributed to the occurrence of major security challenges in Ghanaian elections such as public riots, increase in political intimidations and violence before, during and after elections, and attacks on electoral officers and materials. The respondents also indicated that inadequate logistics such as bulletproof clothing and vehicles, pepper sprays, rubber guns, communication gadgets are additional minor security challenges that pose a threat to the Ghana Police Service in their contribution to peaceful elections in Ghana leading to other major security threats such as police inability to respond quickly to security emergencies and violent attacks on police officers by political thugs before, during and after elections.

Inadequate funds were also identified by respondents from Ghana Police Service as another minor challenge that limits the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana. Funds released from the government are often delayed and insufficient to meet the security needs of the Ghana Police Service which hinders the Ghana Police Service in ensuring credible and peaceful elections in Ghana. The inadequate funds contributed to major challenges in the form of police inability to effectively train and deploy

their personnel to perform static, mobile, and standby police functions before, during, and after elections.

The respondents from the Ghana Police Service also emphasized on political manipulation and intimidation as additional challenges confronting the Ghana Police Service in contributing to peaceful elections in Ghana. They posit that the Inspector General of Police who heads the police administration of Ghana and oversees the entire electoral security operations in Ghana is appointed by and takes instructions from the Head of State (President of Ghana). This contributes to a major challenge to the Ghana Police Service in relation to police neutrality and fairness and police ability to control party vigilantism in the conduct of elections before, during, and after elections in Ghana. They emphasized that police officers are not entirely free from political intimidations and police officers who fall out of favor particularly with high-profile politicians during elections become targets for political transfers into very remote areas of Ghana.

Similar responses were also given by the 24 other respondents of the study who identified inadequate logistics and personnel, activities of vigilante groups, political intimidations, and manipulations, and limited funds as major and minor security challenges that hinder the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in Ghana.

4.5.5 The Solutions to the Challenges of the Ghana Police Service in the Promotion of Peaceful Election in Ghana (Before, During, and After Elections).

Concerning the solutions to the minor and major challenges facing the Ghana Police Service in the promotion of peaceful elections within the Fourth Republic of Ghana. All the respondents emphasized that, in limiting political manipulation and influence within the Ghana Police Service, existing legal provisions which allows for the political appointment of the Inspector General of Police (IGP) must be amended and replaced with already existing process for filling vacant positions within the police administration such as the use of promotions. Appointment of the Inspector General of Police can also be made by a constitutionally recognized politically independent body. This will strengthen the Ghana Police Service in enforcing electoral laws through investigation, arrest, and prosecution of electoral offenders and maintain law and order during the conduct of elections in Ghana.

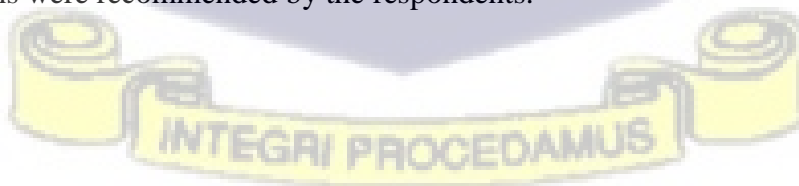
All the respondents also established that funds made available to the Ghana Police Service during elections must be improved and released on time to motivate and ensure proper training of police personnel for electoral duties. Security logistics such as bulletproof clothing and vehicles, rubber guns, and communication tools among others must also be improved to boost electoral security operations of the Ghana Police Service.

Finally, all the respondents further identified the collaboration of the Ghana Police Service, sister security organizations, Electoral Commission of Ghana, and other election stakeholders through the election security task forces as a means of improving the shortage of personnel by the Ghana Police Service during elections. Regular recruitment by the Ghana Police Service, in addition,

can equally enhance the shortage of police officers available for electoral duties. Police Forces must also be held accountable in the event of any police malpractice before, during, and after the conduct of elections.

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the analysis of data gathered from the responses of respondents who were administered questionnaires and respondents with whom semi-structured interviews were conducted. The chapter gave the demographic information of the respondents and proceeded with the analysis of questionnaires that were administered to the general public in relation to the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana within the Fourth Republic. The chapter revealed that the majority of respondents pointed out that the Ghana Police Service promotes peaceful elections in Ghana but are faced with several challenges in doing so. Measures were therefore identified by the respondents to aid the Ghana Police Service to overcome the challenges. The Chapter continued with the analysis of the data gathered through the semi-structured interviews which also support the assertion that the Ghana Police Service overall promotes peaceful elections in Ghana. The Analysis of the interview data also revealed challenges faced by the Ghana Police Service in the performance of their electoral roles to which solutions were recommended by the respondents.



CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the discussion of the finding of the study in relation to existing literature, theories, and concepts related to the subject matter. The chapter presents the discussion in line with the research objectives of the study by addressing them to ensure that the purpose of the study is accomplished. The chapter is therefore focused on the discussion of the findings of the study in order to investigate the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections within Ghana's Fourth Republic which is the main objective of the study. The main objective of the study is therefore discussed first followed by the two additional objectives that seek:

1. To examine the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in Promoting Peaceful Elections within Ghana's Fourth Republic
2. To examine the challenges that the Ghana Police Service face in the performance of their duties during elections.
3. To identify the various means of enhancing the role of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in Ghana.

5.1 The Contribution of the Ghana Police Service in Promoting Peaceful Elections within Ghana's Fourth Republic

The study through the administration of questionnaires to the general public as respondents and the conduct of semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders in the electoral system of

Ghana's Fourth Republic revealed that the Ghana Police Service indeed contributes to the promotion of peaceful election in Ghana's Fourth Republic at each stage of the electoral cycle (before, during and after elections).

5.1.1 Contribution of the Ghana Police Service in Promoting Peaceful Elections (Pre-election Phase)

It was discovered through the study that the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in the Pre-electoral Phase of Ghanaian elections is in the form of protecting Electoral Offices and Officers, protecting electoral materials, ensuring the safety of public and private properties, maintaining law and order, mitigation of public riots and violent clashes among political party supporters, investigating and arresting of criminals, enforcing electoral laws and codes of conduct particularly at voter registration and coalition centers, maintaining security during election campaigns, protecting and collaborating peacefully with other election stakeholders of Ghana, and the training and deployment of police officers for static, mobile and police patrol duties. The findings of the study are in line with the finding of Edson (2018) and Shaka (2013) whose study revealed similar contributions by the Uganda Police Force and the Kenya Police Force in the peaceful 2016 and 2013 elections of Kenya and Uganda respectively.

5.1.2 Contribution of the Ghana Police Service in Promoting Peaceful Elections (During-election Phase)

It was also discovered through the study that the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in Ghana on the day of an election (During the Election Phase) is in

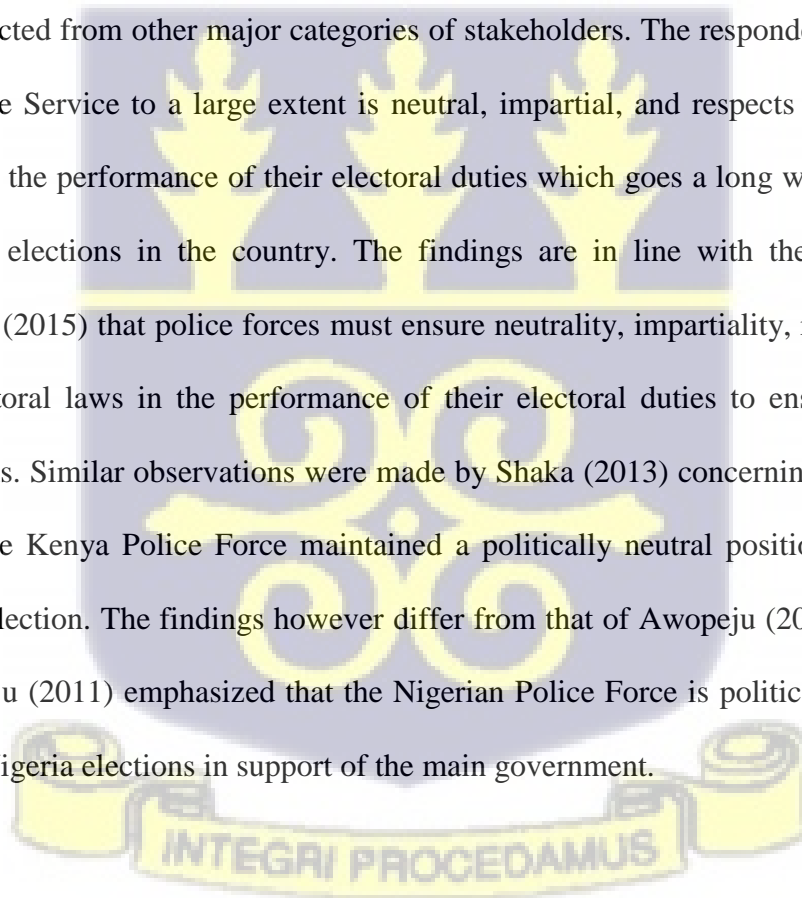
the form of maintaining law and order with the public, safely escorting electoral materials and officers in and out of polling stations, protecting polling stations and enforcing electoral laws and codes of conduct, electoral offices, public and private properties, ensuring the safety of voters, media officers, party supporters and agents, election observers and other election stakeholders in Ghana, preventing political intimidations violence and public riots. The findings of the study though similar to the findings of Houkpe and Gueye (2010) whose study makes similar observations, however, differs from the existing works of Ajayi (2006) and Nwolise (2007) in the case of Nigeria. Ajayi (2006) and Nwolise (2007) both associated the Nigeria Police Force with issues of election rigging, intimidation of voters and opposition parties, and other forms of electoral malpractices.

5.1.3 Contribution of the Ghana Police Service in Promoting Peaceful Elections (Post-election Phase)

In addition, the study also discovered that the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in the Post-Electoral Phase of Ghanaian elections is in the form of protecting Electoral Offices and coalition centers, maintaining law and order within the general public, preventing and controlling violent activities of vigilante groups and party supporters, preventing and controlling violent clashes among opposition political groups, ensuring security during electoral adjudication processes and inauguration of elected political leaders, providing security for elected political leaders, Electoral Officers, Judicial Officers (Judges) and ensuring the safety of other election stakeholders in Ghana such as media officers and voters and preventing public riots. These functions are in line with the finding of Obi (2007) who also indicated that police forces in ensuring peaceful elections are expected to provide security for

electoral officials and offices, protecting coalition centers and electoral offices among others. The findings of the study, however, differ from that of Okia (2007) in the case of the 2007 elections of Kenya. Okia (2007) emphasized that the Kenya Police Force contributed to the killing of civilians, public disorder, and violence of the electoral process, particularly during the post-electoral period.

Overall, a (76.3%) majority of respondents who were sampled from the general public indicated that the Ghana Police Service promotes peaceful elections in Ghana through the performance of various roles before, during, and after elections in Ghana. This was affirmed by all the 76 respondents selected from other major categories of stakeholders. The respondents indicated that the Ghana Police Service to a large extent is neutral, impartial, and respects human rights and electoral laws in the performance of their electoral duties which goes a long way to promote the peacefulness of elections in the country. The findings are in line with the assertion of the Tanzania Police (2015) that police forces must ensure neutrality, impartiality, respect for human rights, and electoral laws in the performance of their electoral duties to ensure peaceful and credible elections. Similar observations were made by Shaka (2013) concerning the 2013 Kenya elections that the Kenya Police Force maintained a politically neutral position throughout the conduct of the election. The findings however differ from that of Awopeju (2011) in the case of Nigeria. Awopeju (2011) emphasized that the Nigerian Police Force is politically biased during the conduct of Nigeria elections in support of the main government.



5.2 Challenges that the Ghana Police Service face in Contributing to Peaceful Elections in Ghana.

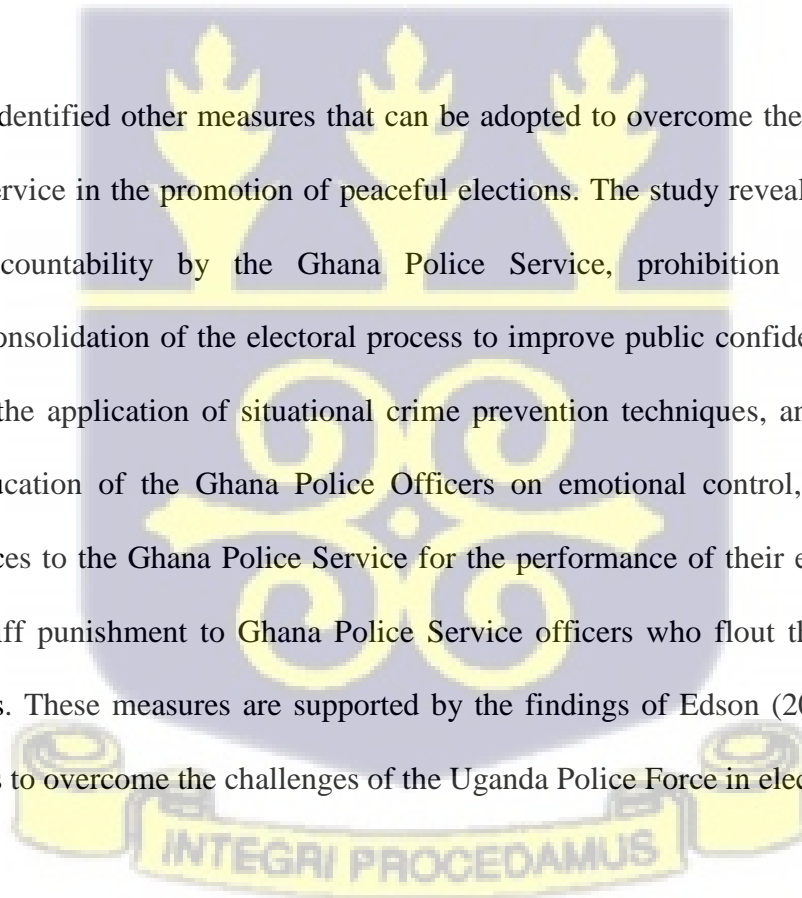
The study aimed at examining the challenges that the Ghana Police Service face in contributing to peaceful elections in Ghana. This current study revealed that the minor electoral security challenges faced by the Ghana Police Service in ensuring peaceful elections within Ghana's Fourth Republic are political intimidation and influence of the Ghana Police Service, inadequate logistics and personnel for election security duties, the activities of vigilante groups in elections and limited funds for security operations. These minor electoral security threats have resulted to the Ghana Police Service facing major electoral security challenges in the form of not being able to respond quickly to electoral security issues before, during, and after elections, limitations in training, and deployment of police officers for electoral security duties, political intimidations and increase in fear of possible violence, and not being able to manage and control political vigilantism. These findings are in line with the studies of Aubyn and Abdallah (2013) and Hunkpe and Gueye (2010) who discovered similar challenges faced by police forces in their studies. Aubyn and Abdallah (2013), for instance, posits that, in Ghanaian elections, politicians who feel above the law often engage in electoral malpractices without fear and without being punished.

5.3 Means of Enhancing the Contribution of the Ghana Police Service in Promoting Peaceful Elections in Ghana

The final objective of the study was to identify a solution to the minor and major electoral security challenges faced by the Ghana Police Service in their contribution to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana. In view of this, the study revealed solutions to challenges such as

political intimidation and influence of the Ghana Police Service, inadequate logistics and personnel for election security duties, the activities of vigilante groups in elections, and limited funds for security operations identified in the study. The recommended solutions were the appointment of the Inspector General of Police by an independent body, the increase in the election security funds by the government, the restructuring of the recruitment procedures of the Ghana Police Service, and the provision of adequate logistics by the Government. These solutions are supported by the findings of Hunkpe and Gueye, (2010), Gyamfi (2012) and Gyamfi (2013) who made similar recommendations for the improvement of the performance of security forces.

The study also identified other measures that can be adopted to overcome the challenges of the Ghana Police Service in the promotion of peaceful elections. The study revealed measures such as ensuring accountability by the Ghana Police Service, prohibition of quasi-military organizations, consolidation of the electoral process to improve public confidence in the Ghana Police Service, the application of situational crime prevention techniques, and other measures such as the education of the Ghana Police Officers on emotional control, the provision of adequate resources to the Ghana Police Service for the performance of their electoral roles and the giving of stiff punishment to Ghana Police Service officers who flout the law during the electoral process. These measures are supported by the findings of Edson (2018) who identify similar measures to overcome the challenges of the Uganda Police Force in elections.



5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the discussion of the finding of the study in relation to the existing literature on the subject matter. The findings of the study were discussed in line with the objectives of the study. It was discussed that the Ghana Polices Service contributes to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana's Fourth Republic. This contribution is in the performance of its electoral role. The electoral roles of the Ghana Police Service were thus discussed together with its challenges and measures to take to taken by the Ghana Police Service to overcome them.



CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusion, and recommendations of the study. It starts with the summary of the major findings of the study, draws conclusions on those findings, and then makes recommendations that are necessary for improving the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful election in Ghana's Fourth Republic.

6.2 Summary

This study was conducted on 190 respondents comprising of 114 from the general public and 76 key individuals from various stakeholder institutions in relation to the electoral system of Ghana. The study aimed at investigating the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful elections in Ghana's Fourth Republic. The study also had the objectives to identify the challenges faced by the Ghana Police Service in contributing to peaceful elections and identify measures that can be adopted to overcome the identified challenges.

Data was gathered through the administration of questionnaires to the 114 general public respondents and the conduct of semi-structured interviews with the 76 key stakeholder institutions respondents. Through the use of descriptive analysis of frequencies and percentages, the following findings were discovered from the study.

In relation to the first objective of the study, it was discovered that the Ghana Police Service contributes to peaceful elections (before, during, and after elections) and addresses minor and

major electoral security threats in the form of maintaining law and Order. The police engage in patrol duties, investigations, and arrest of electoral offenses, and ensure neutrality in their operations during elections as a means of maintaining law and order. The 1992 constitution of Ghana mandates the police to maintain law and order (Boateng & Darko, 2016). The study also reveals that the safety of electoral activities such as campaigns and rallies are another contribution of the Ghana Police Service towards peaceful elections in Ghana. The Ghana Police Service assesses the rate of security threats of election campaigns, rallies, and even voter registration periods by gathering security information through police informants and agents. Unarmed officers also mingle with the crowd at campaigns, rallies, or voter registration events to provide internal security (Houkpe and Gueye, 2010).

The study also found out that the Ghana Police Service escort and protect electoral materials and officials. Electoral materials and officials are escorted through safety routes by the police (Olurode, 2013). Security is also maintained at vital places such as electoral offices and collating centers where electoral materials are kept before, during, and after elections (Houkpe & Gueye, 2010). The study further discovered that the Ghana Police Service also protects lives and properties by ensuring the rule of law, performing patrol duties, and checking crimes throughout elections. The standby security forces are also placed on alert to control public riots. The 1979 constitution (Act, 350) mandates the Ghana Police Service to protect lives and properties (Aning, 2006). The study further indicates that the management of violence in elections has been a contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections in Ghana. The Formed Police Unit (FPU) and other special units of the police are placed on alert to assist in crowd

control and public riots. Violence in Ghanaian elections are localized and managed and does not lead to a national crisis (Otchere-Darko, 2010; Amankwaah, 2013).

Concerning the second objective of the study, the study proved minor electoral security challenges in the form of political influence and manipulations is a challenge facing the police service. Politicians who feel above the rules especially when their government is in power often interfere with police work in elections of Ghana (Aubyn & Abdallah, 2013). The study also proves that the number of police officers for electoral duties in Ghana is not sufficient to meet the election security demands of the country (Hunkpe & Gueye, 2010). Logistics such as bulletproof clothes are also minor security challenges facing the Ghana Police Service in elections (Hunkpe & Gueye, 2010). The study further identifies activities of Vigilante Groups associated with political parties as a challenge to the Ghana Police Service in elections (Asamoah, 2020; Gyampo et al, 2017; Bob-Miller, 2014). The study further discovered that the funds available to the Ghana Police Service for security operations are insufficient. Dunne (2006) states that funding security operations in an election is a major challenge in many countries. Funds for election security in Ghana are inadequate (Hounkpe & Gueye, 2010). The study further identifies major challenges of activities of Vigilante Groups associated with political parties as a challenge to the Ghana Police Service in elections (Asamoah, 2020; Gyampo et al, 2017; Bob-Miller, 2014). Finally, the Ghana Police Service is unable to respond quickly to electoral security emergencies which is a major security challenge of the Ghana Police Service (Hounkpe & Gueye, 2010).

In addressing the third objective of the study, it was indicated that the appointment of the Inspector General of Police in Ghana must be done by an Independent body through

constitutional amendments, or due processes for filling vacant positions in the police service such as the use of promotions must also apply to the position of Inspector General of Police. Danso and Lartey, (2012) argue that the appointment of the Police Inspector-General in Ghana must no longer be based on the decisions of the government. The findings of the study also show that the personnel capacity of the Ghana Police Service can be improved by restructuring the recruitment procedures of the Ghana Police Service to put more emphasis on educational qualifications and entrance exams (Gyamfi, 2012; Gyamfi, 2013).

Finally, the study indicates that logistics needed by the Ghana Police Service must be provided by the Government every four years and this must be constitutionalized. There is a need for a well-equipped police force to protect citizens and reduce crimes in Ghana (Tankebe, 2009; Hounkpe & Gueye, 2010)

6.3 Conclusion

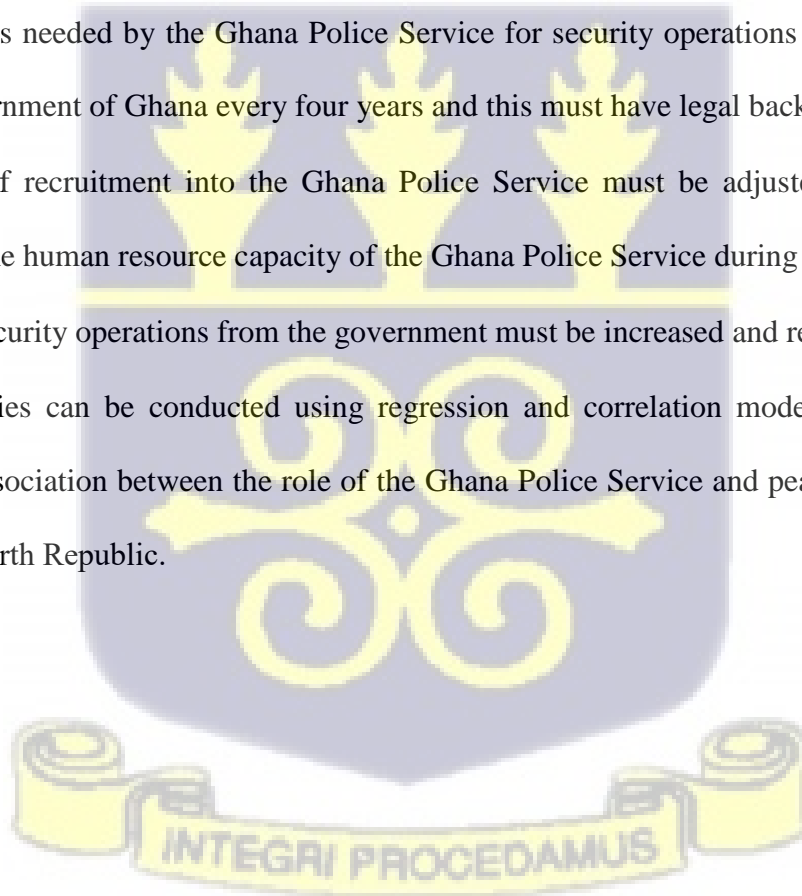
The overriding objective of the study was to assess the contribution of the Ghana Police Service in promoting peaceful elections within the Fourth Republic of Ghana. The findings of the study reveal that the Ghana Police Service has contributed to the peaceful elections of Ghana through the maintenance of public order, management of electoral violence, protection and escort of electoral materials and officers, protection of lives and properties, and ensuring security during election campaigns and rallies. There are challenges that were identified with the performance of the roles of the Ghana Police Service which could be overcome through an improvement in logistics and course training within the Ghana Police Service. Existing challenges still facing the

Ghana Police Service in elections however include political influence and manipulations, insufficient funding, and shortages in logistics and personnel.

6.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations are therefore being made in the light of the findings of this study to improve upon the efficiency of the Ghana Police Service in elections.

- An Independent body should appoint the Inspector General of Police or existing procedures for filling vacant positions in the Ghana Police Service per the provisions of the 1979 Constitution (Act, 350) must also apply to the position of Inspector General of Police in Ghana.
- The Logistics needed by the Ghana Police Service for security operations must be provided by the Government of Ghana every four years and this must have legal backing.
- The mode of recruitment into the Ghana Police Service must be adjusted as a means of improving the human resource capacity of the Ghana Police Service during elections.
- Funds for security operations from the government must be increased and released on time.
- Further studies can be conducted using regression and correlation models to identify the degree of association between the role of the Ghana Police Service and peaceful elections in Ghana's Fourth Republic.



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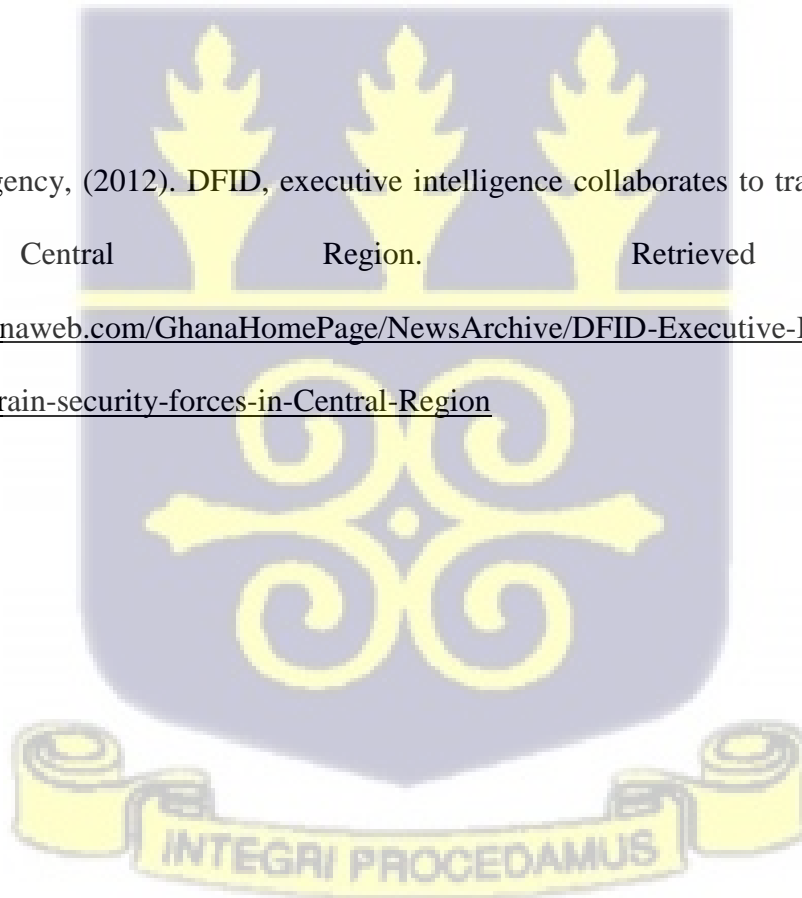
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Appendix A: Sample Questionnaire

I am a student from the University of Ghana, Department of Political Science undertaking a research project in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for a Master of Philosophy degree in Political Science. The purpose of this research is to investigate the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promotion of peaceful election in Ghana's Fourth Republic. I will be very grateful if you can take some time off your busy schedule to complete this questionnaire. Please read each questionnaire item carefully and respond according to your true and candid opinion and where you are unable to give an answer to any question, please leave that question unanswered. Be assured that this research is solely for academic purposes. The information provided will be treated as confidential and the identity of respondents will be kept anonymous.

1) What is your gender?

Male []

Female []

2) What is your highest academic or professional qualification?

Secondary Level [] Tertiary Level [] Profession []

Others []

3) Which of the following categories of respondents do you belong to?

Ghana Police Service [] Media Organisation []

Civil Society [] Electoral Commission []

Political Party Representative [] National Peace Council []

General Public []

4) How many times have you participated in Elections in Ghana's Fourth Republic?

1 to 2 times [] 3 to 4 times [] 5 to 6 times []

7 to 8 times []

Please, use the rating scale that has been provided below:

Strongly disagree (SD)	Disagree (D)	Partially agree (PA)	Agree (A)	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

5) Kindly indicate your level of agreement with the statements below in relation to the roles performed by the Ghana Police Service in elections within Ghana's Fourth Republic.

Statement	S D	D	N	A	SA
The GPS is involved in the protection of election materials					
The GPS is involved in the protection of voters and the voting process					
The GPS is involved in the mitigation of violence and investigation of criminal and election offenses					
The GPS is involved in the enforcement of laws and codes of conduct of elections					
The GPS is involved in the provision of escort teams to election candidates					
The GPS is involved in the regulation of public order					
The GPS show preparedness to respond to emergency situations					

6) In your opinion, do you think the Ghana Police Service makes any contribution to the promotion of peaceful election in Ghana's Fourth Republic?

Yes [] No []

7) Kindly indicate the reason for your answer to Q.6) above

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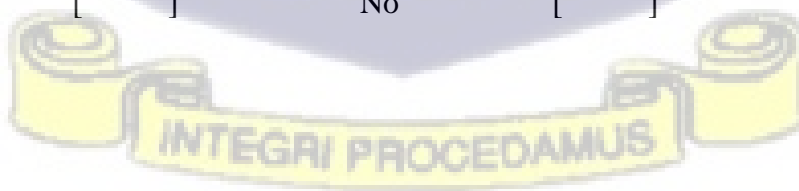
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8) Kindly indicate by ticking (√) the level of election related tension in the country before, during and after elections in the table below.

Period	Level of Election-Related Tension		
	Before	During	After
High Tension			
Moderate Tension			
Low Tension			

9) In your opinion, do you consider that Ghana Police Service to be ready to address election-related tensions before, during and after elections?

Yes [] No []



10) Kindly indicate your level of agreement with the statements below in relation to the challenges the Ghana Police Service faces in the performance of electoral roles within Ghana's Fourth Republic.

Statement	SD	D	N	A	SA
The GPS is challenged in the performance of its roles in election because of its partisan nature					
The GPS is challenged in the performance of its roles in election because of its subject to political misuse					
The GPS is challenged in the performance of its roles in election because of its non-adherence to rules and standards set for elections					
The GPS is challenged in the performance of its roles in election because of the existence of parallel security agencies					
The GPS is challenged in the performance of its roles in election because of its brutalities and electoral violence					
The GPS is challenged in the performance of its roles in election because of corruption					
The GPS is challenged in the performance of its roles in election because the politization of issues					



11) What measures do you think can be adopted to address the challenges faced by the Ghana Police Service in the performance of their electoral roles within Ghana's Fourth Republic?

(kindly indicate as many as apply)

Consolidation to improve public confidence in the Ghana Police Service []

Ensuring the accountability of the Ghana Police Service []

Prohibition of quasi-military organization in election in Ghana []

Application of situational crime prevention techniques []

Others, please specify

.....

12) Kindly indicate any recommendation you have as to how to improve the contribution of the Ghana Police Service to the promoting of peaceful elections in Ghana's Fourth Republic below.

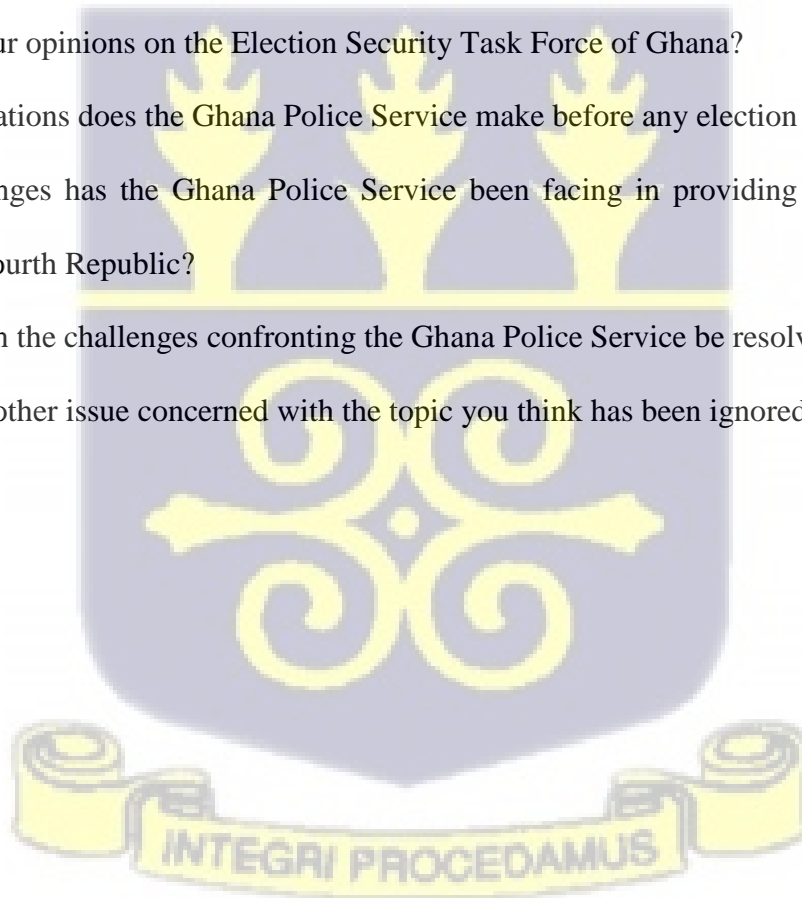
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Thank You



Appendix B: Interview Guide for the Ghana Police Service Respondents

1. How is the Ghana Police Service involved in the management of Public order in Ghanaian Elections?
2. Does the Ghana Police Service have specific units to prepare strategies for the preparation of elections?
3. What specific tasks has the Ghana Police Service been carrying out in elections within the Fourth Republic?
4. How has the Ghana Police Service been managing electoral violence within the Fourth Republic?
5. What are your opinions on the Election Security Task Force of Ghana?
6. What preparations does the Ghana Police Service make before any election in Ghana?
7. What challenges has the Ghana Police Service been facing in providing electoral security within the Fourth Republic?
8. How best can the challenges confronting the Ghana Police Service be resolved?
9. Is there any other issue concerned with the topic you think has been ignored?



Appendix C: Interview Guide for Other Stakeholder Respondents

1. How has the Electoral Commission of Ghana been involved with the Ghana Police Service in elections within the Fourth Republic?
2. What are some of the challenges of the Electoral Commission in dealing with the Ghana Police Service in elections and how could it be addressed?
3. What are your opinions on the Election Security Task Force of Ghanaian elections?
4. What contributions has the Ghana Police Service made towards peaceful elections within the Fourth Republic?
5. What are some of the challenges of the Ghana Police Service in elections in your opinion?
6. How can the challenges facing the Ghana Police Service in elections in your opinion be solved?
7. Is there any other issue concerned with the topic you think has been ignored?

